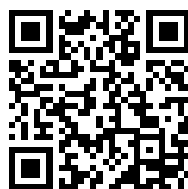
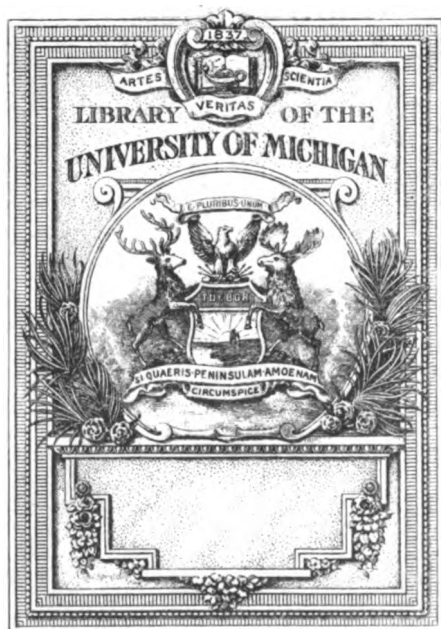

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XVI, I.

WHOLE No. 61.

I.—AGGLUTINATION AND ADAPTATION.

II.

THE ROOT *dhē* IN AGGLUTINATIVE GROUPS.—In A. J. P. XV, p. 217 sq., I explained the gerundive in *-en-dae* as made up of an infin.-noun in *-mē* + a dat. from *√ dhē*,¹ and equated the suffix

¹ In the same number of the Journal an explanation of this form was published by Mr. L. Horton-Smith that proceeded on much the same lines. The suffixal *-d-* he ascribed, after some debate, to *√ do*, as against *√ dhē*, on the ground of the Osc.-Umbr. gerundives in *-n-* || *-nn-*. To this decision he was led by the belief that Aryan *-dh-* must become *f* (< *p*) in these dialects. It is, however, demonstrable, I believe, that Aryan *-ndh-* gave Osc.-Umbr. *-np->-nd->-nn-* || *-n-*. I take it that Umbr. *enom* || *ennom* 'then' is kindred with Lat. *in-de*, Grk. *ἐν-θεν*, and represents a primitive **en-dhom*, with suffix nearly parallel to that in the Lat. preposition *en-do* || *in-du*. Comparable is also *quan-do*. Another form of similar make-up is the form *pone* || *ponne* (< **qom-dhe*) 'cum,' represented in Latin by *un-de*, with loss of *q°* as in *ut, ubi*, etc. (cf. the author in Class. Rev. VIII, p. 447, and Part I, p. 417). Other material can also be explained on the basis of this law (cf. von Planta, Gram. d. osk.-umbr. Spr., p. 468), if we assume that *-nd-* was estopped in its passage to *-nn-* in certain consonantal environments. Against this law Osc. *anafriss* may be urged, but as to this word we cannot be sure of its meaning (cf. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XXXVII 644), and its *-fr-* can be ascribed to *-dhr-* or to *-sr-* (von Planta, l. c., p. 455). I remark that in any case *-np-* doubtless had a different phonetic treatment from intervocalic *-np-*. The passage of *-sr-* into *-pr-*, thence *-fr-*, certain for Latin and probable for Italic (von Planta, l. c., p. 476), warrants us in believing that *-pr-* from any source was not liable to change. If, however, these comparisons are unsatisfactory to anybody, I have but to remark that there was an Aryan doublet to *ndh*, viz. *nd* (cf. Noreen, Ugerm. Lautlehre, §51, 2), represented in Greek *πύθμην* || *πύθδαξ* 'bottom.'

with Sk. *-a-dh(y)āi*, Grk. *-ε-<σ>-θαi* for *-a-<σ>-θαi*¹; the two last had already been brought together by Bartholomae (Rhein. Mus. XLV 151 sq.). It is to be noted that this infin. is used as an impv. (Part I, p. 439). We shall not go amiss, then, if we recognize the same origin in the impv. suffix *-dhi*, Grk. *-θi*, Sk. *-(d)hī*.² In Sk. we have a doublet *kuru* || *kuru-hi*; Lat. *i* || Grk. *i-θi* 'go' may serve for an Aryan example. The nature of the form in *-dhi* is disclosed by the Lat. locutions *fac ames* || *amā* 'do love' || 'love,' emphatic and unemphatic. In the infinitives also there was the doublet **ag-ṛ + dhāi* and **agam* (cf. the author, A. J. P. XV, p. 218). From these sources *√dhā* penetrated into verb-inflexion. In Latin also this impv. termination is to be found in a modified form in the enclitic *-dum*, e. g. *age-dum*. It is also seen in *ce-do* (infra, footnote), which is precisely comparable with the adv.-prep. *en-do* in formation. The earliest form of the suffix *-dhi* we do not certainly know. It may, after all, base on a demonstrative stem, for *√dhā* means 'put,' and *put* is very clearly a demonstrative.³ The earliest formations with **-dhā*

¹ But *-a-(σ)θαi* is preserved in *πρίασθαι*.

² For *-i* cf. RV. VII 31, 4; *-i* is also found in older Avestan and in old Persian.

³ This point requires no demonstration on the semasic side. As a conversational word *put* means nothing save in so far as it is supplemented by a directive adverb. Under the conception of the impv. ending *-θi* as a demonstrative we have no difficulty in identifying it with the case-ending *-θi*, as in *κηρό-θi* (Homer, 9 times) 'in the heart.' Other varieties of the same termination are seen in *ἐν-θα*, *ἐν-θεν*. In *-θα* of *ἐν-θα* 'there, thither' I see the undifferentiated Aryan *-a* of the stem: *-θi* in the verb is due to assimilation to the primary endings, and in the noun to the locative *-i* (cf. Part I, p. 423). There is every reason, on the semasic side, to claim kinship between this *-θi* of the 'where' locative and *-δε* of the 'whither' locative. In point of phonetic kinship we would have to set up an Aryan doublet *dha* || *da*. Our warrant for doing so is not limited to Greek, for Goth. *du* || Ger. *zu* implies the same variation in the initials. I cite the following forms referable to this Aryan demonstrative doublet *dha* || *da*: Avest. reflex. *dim* (cf. Avest. *hi-m*, Lat. *se*, *i<p>-se*, with *<p>* from *cum<p>-se*, Grk. *ἐ* and *ἐαυτόν* for a similar reflexive turn to a demonstrative stem); Lat. *i-dem*, Grk. *δ-δε*, *δεῖνα* (like *κείνος* in formation, with *a* = Aryan *a*, Part I, p. 425), akin to which is *ὀν-δεῖς*, on which popular etymology has been at work, Homeric *ιδέ* 'and' (cf. Lat. *idem* 'likewise'), Sk. *i-dam*, and the infixed *-d-*, *-da-* in O.Irish (cf. Wind., Ir. Texte, pp. 513, 515). Greek preserves the doublet in the adverbial forms *ὅθι* || *θην*, which are of closely parallel use: thus with the impv. A 545 *μὴ ὅθι . . . ἐπιέλλω* (N 620 *λείψετε θην . . . ντάς*, where *λείψετε* is *fut. impv.*, cf. *ὤψεσθε*, Ω 704, and Seymour's Lang. and Verse of Homer, §30; *ἐπειδὴ*) (*ἐπει θην*, π 91;

passed into the root just as was assumed above (Part I, p. 435) for the *-kz-*formations. Thus it is pretty generally agreed that Sk. *√yudh* 'fight' is an extension of *√yu* 'unite,' by *√dhz* (Brug., Gr. II, §689).

The ENDING IN *-dha* EXTENDED itself beyond the infin.-impv.: Sk. 1st plur. *-ma-hi*, *-ma-he*, Avest. *mai-ðē*, Grk. *-με-θα*. In the Sk. ending *-ma-hi* (act. *-ma*) we have probably an emphatic extension based on the impv. doublet *kuru* || *kuru-hi*. The Sk. and Avest. primary endings are made to accord with the other middles (infra, p. 17), and especially with the infinitives in *-dh(y)āi*. In Grk. *με-θα* we either have *-dha* with the primitive vocalization retained, or considering the form *-με-σθα* (? or *-μεσ-θα*, *ἰκόμεσθα* 9 times, *μαχομέσθα* 3 times in Homer), the 2d sg. ending *-σθα* has affected the vocalization by a conscious¹ interpretation as 'I+thou.'

In SK. 2D PLUR. *-dhvam* || *-dhuvam*, Avest. *-ðvem* || Gāthic *-dūm*, the same demonstrative must lurk; with *-dhvam* 2d dual *-σθον* has already been compared, but the *-σ-* has not been satisfactorily explained, and we cannot be certain of **σθFov*. In Aryan there were the two impv. endings *sa* (Grk. *-σο*, Lat. *-re*) and *s-wa* (Sk. *-sua*), of which the latter is a compound demonstrative (Part I, p. 412). There was also the impv. ending *-dha*. In Sk. *-dhva-m* I see a similar compound demonstrative, *-dha+va-m* (for *-m* see below, p. 16). IN GRK. 2D DUAL *-σθον* I see *sa+ dha-m*. It is possible, however, to explain 2D PLUR. *-σθε* as equal to 2d sg. pf. *-σθα* (Part I, p. 418; infra, p. 16), and thus connect with the Sk. act. ending *-tha*.² The two explanations do not exclude one

apodotic, *ὅθι*, E 898) (*θην*, I 394. Greek has a further demonstrative in *δεῦρο*, from **δε+ορο* (Kaegi, Gr. Gram.², §227, 4), **ορο* being related to *ἄλλος* (Part I, p. 433); the sense 'hither' comes from the **δε*, a demonstrative sign to a distant person (*αρα-*). Latin has a similar composition in *de-in* || *in-de*, where the pronominal stem *a-n* appears. To *δεῦρο* belong *δεύτερος* 'second,' *δευτατος* 'last'; cf. Lat. *alter* 'second': *ultra* 'afar.' On the meaning cf., however, Brugmann in KZ. XXV, p. 299. I note that *δεῦρο* makes a quasi-plural *δευτε*. Of comparable formation is Lat. *ce-do*, where *-do* is a demonstrative suffix, and this too has shaped itself a plural in *-t-le*.

¹ An agglutinative origin for the endings makes it necessary to consider the psychological moment as everywhere present. Back of *-μες* lies a conscious 'we.'

² Hillebrandt (BB. XVIII, p. 279) has previously made the same explanation, but this was unknown to me when the first draft of my own explanation was made. There are no impeccable examples of Grk. *θ* = Sk. *th*, *pace* Zubaty

another. In both Sk. and Grk. the emphatic *-dh*-forms were put in the 'MIDDLE' (infra, p. 17); and in Grk. the *-σθ-* was generalized as a substitute for *-θ-* in verb-inflexion.

It seems possible also to find here the LAT. 2D SG. IMPV. *mino*,¹ Osc.-Umbr. *-mo*. The phonetics involved can be illustrated from Lat. *imus* beside *inf-ra*. The earliest Italic was **nd+mo-*, whence **inbmo-*, **immo-*, *imo-*. In *-mino* I see **-dm+na*, whence **mm'no*, *-mino*. It is not absolutely necessary, however, to operate with *-dm-* if we treat Sk. *-dhvam* as a direct representative of an Aryan form, whence in Latin the development would normally be *-dvam>-bam*, and, in monosyllabic roots, *-bm-*² (*>-mm-*), to which was added the *impv.* suffix *-na* (cf. Brug., Gr. II, §1010); in the Vedas this suffix was freely added to 2d act. *impv.* *-la* (Wh.², §§549, 618). We could thus interpret the *-i-* of *-mino* as anaptyptic. As regards the relation of Osc.-Umbr. *-m-o* to *-m'no*, it is possible that *-m-* is for *-mn-* (cf. v. Planta, l. c.,

(KZ. XXXI, p. 1): *οισθα*, whence the ending *-σθα* (: Sk. *-tha*) spread in Greek, can never have been dissociated from 2d sg. *impv.* *λοθι*; cf. also *ησθα* and *λοθι* (*ειμι*). For Wackernagel's equation of Sk. 2d sg. *-thās* with Grk. 2d sg. aor. passive *-θη-ς*, I refer to the explanation to be given presently. Zubaty's comparison of *άθην* 'ear of wheat' with Sk. *atharī* 'etwa spitze' fails because of *άνθος* 'flower'; cf. *άνθήρις* 'ear of corn.' The comparison of *ρόθος* 'swift motion, noise' with *rdtha-s* 'chariot' is not conclusive. Joh. Schmidt's comparison with OHG. *stredan* 'fervere' is as good, and Bechtel's comparison with Sk. *vrādhāt* 'noisy stream' is still better (BB. XX, p. 255). I suggest myself that the word is Sk. *vrā* 'bark, roar, flow' (: *vrī*, infra, p. 5) with the *-dha* extension. In Aeschylus's *πολυρρόθιος* 'loud roaring (wave)' the *-pp-* comes from *πολύρρυντος* 'strong-flowing (sea).' Homeric *ἐπίρροθος* meant 'cheerer on'; compare *ἐπιρρύζω* 'set on a dog' (Aristophanes); the *-pp-* comes from association with *ἐπίρρησις* 'rebuke' (Archil.): *vrē* (or ? *vrer*). The *θ* in *πλαθάνη* 'board' derives from **πλατνη*, with *τν>θν* (cf. Curt., Etym.⁵, p. 502; Feist, Got. Etym., s. v. *ahana*, *χν<κν*): the same phonetic relation in *λανθάνω*; Lat. *latere*; *φάτνη* | *πάθνη* 'manger' is better connected with *πατέομαι* 'feed' than with *πίθος* 'cask' (cf. Prellwitz, s. v.). Association with other congeners often stopped the change, e. g. in *πίτνμη*. We can explain *μανθάνω* 'learn' as **mn+ dha* 'put in <one's own> mind, learn' = Lat. *mandāre* 'put in <another's> mind, suggest, enjoin'; cf. Sk. *mandhātr-* 'der Sinnige.' For further remarks on Sk. *-tha* compare below, p. .

¹ But also 3d plural; cf. *appellamino*, MS reading in Cicero de Leg. III 3, 8.

² For the change of *dm* (*pm*) to *bm* (*fm*) in Oscan I cite Osc. *imaden* = Lat. *imā<d>+in*. Therefore I have represented the change as Italic. Thurneysen's explanation of *imus* from **ins-mo* because of Ir. *iss* is entirely unnecessary, for *iss* is itself referable to **ndh+to* with a different superlative suffix but otherwise identical with *imus* from **gdh+mo*.

§152), i. e. *-mmo* was the first form: we could thus see in Umbr. 3d plur. impv. *-m^omo* an anaptyctic vowel.

The ending *-dh'am* may also lurk in the Lat. FUT. 2D PLUR. (pass.) *°b'mini*, which was susceptible to employment as an imperative. Its phonetic history may be illustrated thus: post-tonic *-dvamni* > *-bim'nī*. For *i* of the ending *-nī* in this deponent ('middle') form the source must be sought in *-i* of the pf. It is generally agreed, however, that the ending *-mini* is participial, or infinitival (cf. Stolz in Hdbch. II³, §98). With a 2d plural *-mini* already in the language, the extension of the *bi-* of *bi-mini* to the entire fut.-tense system is rendered easy. The impf. *-bās, -bat*, etc., would be modelled on *-bis, -bit*, like *er-ās, er-at* to *eris, erit*.

But an explanation of the *-b-fut.* in Latin must also suit the *-b-fut.* in O.Irish, and it seems possible that *dw* becomes *db, b* in this language (Brug., Gr. I, §175). But another explanation has also occurred to me, which I now proceed to give, viz. Lat. fut. *-bi* = Grk. *-θη-* of the aor.-fut. passive.¹ Before this thesis can be proved it will be necessary to prove (A) that the ARYAN LANGUAGE HAD A CONFUSION OF *ē* AND *i*, and (B) that the CELTIC LANGUAGE SHOWS, like Latin, A PASSAGE OF *-d-* (p) INTO *-b-*.

A. The phonetic interval between a close *ē* and an open *i* is almost nothing. We know that in Latin *ei* was a variant spelling for either (cf. V. Henry, l. c., §§29, 33). In one Italic word the spelling with *i* for *ē* is universal; cf. *filius* 'suckling' || *fēmīna* 'she who suckles.' In Sk. *i* is very frequent as a variant to *ā* in roots that are known to have Aryan *ē*. This has been gravely ascribed to 'apt Ablaut's artful aid,' as if naming a thing explained it. I cite to Aryan *√mē* the double present systems Sk. *māti* || *mimīte*²; to Aryan *dhē* 'suck' Sk. *a-dhā-t* || *dhi-tā*, and,

¹ It was one of the tenets of the first students of linguistics that these Greek tenses were formed agglutinatively, and in *-θη-* they recognized the root of *τι-θη-μι*. Wackernagel (KZ. XXX, p. 302) and V. Henry (Gram. Comp.², §102, footnote) have explained the *-θη-* as an ending = Sk. 2d sg. mid. *-thās*, and on this *sole* foundation the entire aor.-fut. pass. has been built up. The theory has another great objection: there is no proof for Grk. *-θ-* = Sk. *-th-* (supra, p. 2), and many certain etymologies seem to contradict it.

² I find in the reduplicating vowel *-i-* of the present proof of the correctness of this view. Thus if we recognize the root as *mē* || *mī*, we understand how the second form might reduplicate *mi-mi-*.

with 'guṇa,' *dhenū*¹ 'cow'; to Aryan *√dhē* 'put' Sk. aorists *dhā-mahe* || *dhi-mahi*. As to the form *dhi-mahi* there seems to be a confusion in the famous Sāvitrī verse as to whether it comes from *√dhā* 'put' or *√dhi* 'think' (cf. Whitney's note in Kaegi's RV., Am. ed., n. 222). Aryan *√dhē* seems to have developed the meaning 'think' in other languages. We have in Homer the locutions *θεῖναι τιτί τι ἐν φρεσὶ* (Φ 145), and *θέσθαι ἐν φρεσὶ* (δ 729) c. infin. 'to think of doing a thing.' Even more explicit is φ 333 *τί δ' ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα τίθεσθε* 'why do you put this <down> an insult to yourselves.' For further examples see L. and Sc., s. v. *τίθημι* B. II. The same usage belongs to Lat. *fa-cio*: thus Cic. N. D. I 8, 19 Plato construi a deo mundum facit. Very common is the impv. *fac* 'put case, suppose' (cf. L. and Sh., s. v. I B. 4-6). In Sanskrit forms of *√dhā* show this meaning (cf. Lanman, Sk. Read., s. v. *√dhā* 9); but this meaning was provided for more particularly by the forms in *dhi*^o, which thus developed into value as a 'root.' So *√dhē* 'suck' is but a specialization of *√dhē* 'put.' If we note the Aryan idiom vouched for by Sk. *gārbham* + *√dhā*, Grk. *θέσθαι νόον* 'conceive a child in the womb,' we can see in Lat. *fē-mina* 'woman' a ptc. meaning 'she who conceives,' whence the passage to 'suckling mother' is natural enough.²

Greek also gives its warrant for *-i-* in congeners of this root: *θίς*, gen. *θιν-ός* 'beach,' Sk. *dhānu* || *dhanū* 'deposit, sand-bank.' In the latter form the accentuation has shortened the previous syllable. There was doubtless an Aryan doublet *dhēn* || *dhin*. To this group Lat. *fīn-is* 'boundary' also belongs. The banks of streams are natural boundaries.³ O.Ir. *dūn* 'arx' also belongs here; one meaning of Sk. *dhanū* is 'promontory'; the Eng. word *dune* is said by Kluge (s. v. *düne*) to have been borrowed from

¹ I see no reason why the diphthong here (*ε<αι>*) may not be on the same footing as the Lat. variant orthography and pronunciation of *ε||i* by *ei*. Comparable also is the so-called spurious diphthong *ei* in Grk. for *ε*. In line with this are the Sk. pfs. in *ε* to roots in *a* (Aryan *ei* : *ε*); cf. Lat. *frēgi* : *fra(n)go* (infra, p. 26).

² Perhaps the semasy had another development: Ω 58 *Ἐκτωρ μὲν θνητός τε γυναικά τε θέσαστο μασόν* means 'made a woman put <down> her breast' (cf. ο 506 *παραθείμην δαῖτα* 'have meat set before one'). The only other passage is δ 89 *ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρέχουσιν ἐπηετανὸν γάλα θέσθαι* 'they always have milk to set <before> themselves,' where *παρέχουσιν θέσθαι* may be for *παρ' ἐχουσιν θέσθαι*.

³ I cite Sall. Jug. 79, 3 *Neque flumen neque mons erat qui fines eorum discerneret*. I note that with the semasy thus vouched for, one ought to be careful about separating *δρος* 'boundary' from *δρος* 'mountain.'

this Celtic word, and it still preserves the sense of 'sand-bank.' The primitive Celtic was **dēnū*, whence *dūn* by infection (cf. Windisch, Ir. Gram., §22, and the forms *laigiū* || *lugu*, **ber-u* || *do-bur*). I further suggest that in *φῖ-τυ* 'son, scion' we have a **θι-τυ* affected in its initial part by *φυτόν* 'scion.' Dialectic variations of *φ°* || *θ°* would help to this (cf. the author in Proc. A. P. A., 1894, p. ix).¹ Along with this demonstration of the doublet *dhē-* || *dhī-* we reach a different point of view for judging the Sk. ptc. *hi-tá*, Grk. *θε-τός*. I see here no **dha-tó*, but merely the shorts to the corresponding longs (cf. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, pp. 98, 151).

I add some additional Greek examples that are more or less plausible: *ἱθῖς* from **sādhús*: Sk. *sādhús*; *ἡνι-ς*,² an epithet of a 'heifer,' and *ἱνις* 'son, daughter'; *ἦκω* || *ἦκω*³ 'come,' to which the spelling *εἶκω* also occurs dialectically (Doric), an orthography showing association perhaps with *εἶμι* 'go.'⁴

¹ I there suggested that Grk. *φῶρ* 'thief' is for *θῶρ*, Lat. *fūr*, Sk. *dhūr-ta*, with influence from *φέρειν* 'carry off, <plunder>,' and especial association with the doublet *φῆρ* || *θηρ* 'wild-beast.' As confirmation of the latter suggestion I note the proverb cited by Arist. (Eth. E. 7, 1, 5): *ἐγνώ δὲ φῶρ τε φῶρα καὶ λύκος λύκων*. The wolf was *ferus* in Latin, and his character as a thief is attested by Tibull. I 1, 33 *At vos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique | parcite*.

² There is probable kinship with *ἦ-βη* 'youth.' The rough breathing may be that we see in *Ἑστία*. I suggest that this had a pietistic origin. Greek was possessed of a group of words for which *ἀγής* 'accursed' and *ἁγός* 'holy' are representative. The latter was a frequent epithet of divinities, and possibly its aspiration was extended to names of divinities beginning with vowels. If we bear in mind that *ἀγός* meant a 'thing polluted' in a religious sense, while *ἁγός* meant a 'thing sanctified,' it does not seem hard to believe that the rough breathing was a conscious point of reverential pronunciation. One hears very commonly in America a pronunciation of the name of the deity something like *Gāwd* in the pulpit, even where the current pronunciation is *Gōd*. This I have always associated with the reverential intention (cf. Whitney, however, on Sporadic Phonetic Change, IF. IV, p. 32). In the lips of some such speakers there is a marked intensification of this aberrant pronunciation. We use in English a long-continued spirant (*sh* = Sk. *ḥ*) in the sense of the Grk. *εἰρήμει*, Lat. *favē linguā*. Possibly the Greek pietistic rough breathing has some connection with this. The pietistic influence can be seen in *Schepper* 'creator,' but *schepper* 'dipper' in the Silesian dialects (cf. Weinhold, Ueber deutsche Dialectforschung, p. 73; cited by Wiener, Mod. Lang. Notes, X, No. 1).

³ The root is *sē* in *ἔμμι* 'send,' i. e. 'cause to go,' but the *-κε-* has become a permanent part of the stem (Part I, p. 435). The congeners of Grk. *δόδος* 'road' are doubtless extensions by *-de-* of the same root *sē*.

⁴ Or *ei* is on the footing of the diphthong in *dhenú-* (supra, p. 6, n. 1).

Another example is furnished by ἥρως, where the rough breathing was pietistic. The unaffected etymological form is found in ἥρως 'guard, friend' and in ἥρσιον 'hero's grave.' Sk. *vāraṇā* (RV.) 'strong, powerful,' *vāra* 'treasure,' Lat. *vēr-us* 'true' are congeners. The root was doubtless *vr* 'cover, close.' In Sk. *vīra* 'hero,' Lat. *vir* and *vir-tus* we have the *i* vowel. Eng. *close* (adj.), *to close* (vb.) show a striking semasiac parallel, e. g. 'a close friend does not betray a secret.'

B. The prevailing doctrine at present is that in Celtic *-dh-* became *-d-*, and that then this *-d-* became *ḍ*. There is no reason why *-dh-* did not become *-ḍ-* at once in intervocalic position, and *-d-* otherwise. From this source original Aryan *-d-* received its impulse to become *-ḍ-*. For the passage of *-ḍ-* into *-b-* I submit the following etymologies: 1. O.Ir. *ucht* 'breast' is akin to Lat. *uber*, Grk. οἰσθα, gen. *οὐσθη-ος, Sk. *śudhar*, gen. *śudhmas*. The phonetic chain of the Celtic word may be thus represented: **ūd̥h-ŋ-t* > **ūd̥h-ŋ-t* > **ūd̥hŋt* > **ūbit* (cf. *it* 'sunt,' Brug., Gr. I, §243, 3) > *tibt* (i. e. **upt*) > *ucht*¹ (cf. *secht* = *septem*). 2. O.Ir. *lucht* 'people' <in attendance>, *luchtaire* 'lanista,' Lat. *liber* 'free,' *libertus* 'freedman' (still in attendance on his master), Grk. ἐλεύθερος 'free.' The primary sense was 'noisy, outspoken': *Liber* and Ἰαλῆος, titles of the wine-god, both meant 'shouter.'

¹ I find it hard to believe that *ucht* 'breast' and *uball* 'apple' are not congeneric. It is a common modern association of ideas, and Ar. Eys. 155, Eccl. 903 use μήλον in the sense of 'breasts.' In the Anthology κυδωνιάω 'swell like a quince' and μηλοῦχος 'apple-holding (girdle)' are used of the breasts. There is also a passage of exquisite beauty in Aucassin et Nicolète (xii, l. 23), where the breasts are likened to two walnuts. It is clear from all the uses of μήλον that the name was suggested by the shape; the word may be connected with mā 'mother,' and have had a primary meaning of 'breast,' which was crowded out in Greek by μαζός, and in Latin by *mamma*. It has been supposed that the word *apple* (cf. Kluge, s. v. *Apfel*) has been derived from *Abella*, a small locality in Italy famous for its apples. But just the contrary thing may have taken place. Into the vocalization of this group space forbids me to go. The acceptance of primitive kinship would demand the acceptance of a European change of *-d-* to *-b-*. We might, however, avoid this difficulty by recognizing influence from the group of which ὀμφαλός 'navel' is a representative: I note that the Latin pair *umbilicus* 'navel,' *umbo* 'boss of a shield' (with Aryan *-bh-*) is represented in O.Ir. by *imblíu* and *uball* 'apple on a shield' (cf. Wind., s. v.).

² For ἐλεύθερος 'outspoken' cf. the author in A. J. P. XV, p. 220, f. n.; examples for *liber* are Pl. Cist. 127-8 Quiaque adeo me complevi flore *Liberi* | magis *libera* uti lingua conlubuit mihi; Liv. XXXV 32, 6 vocem liberam mittere adversus aliquem.

The great festival at 'Eleusis had on the fifth day a procession to Eleusis called the procession of Iakchos, which was of a very noisy character.¹ Thus it is clear that 'Eleusis belongs to the same group. In Lat. *liberi* 'children' we must see a primary sense of 'noisy.' In Ir. *lúth* 'joy' (yearning?) we have the same facet of meaning; and if we see in *lúath* 'quick' an underlying notion of noisy motion, we are able to bring *ἐλεύθω* 'go' into this group. On the phonetic side I would see in *lucht* the development of an *-n*-stem lengthened by *-t*- like that in *ucht*; in *libertus* the corresponding *-r*-stem² (extended also by *t*) is seen. 3. We have in Irish a word *ruad* 'red' corresponding to Lat. *ruber*, Sk. *rudhirá*; *rucht*³ (<**rubít*, cf. Sk. *rohít*- 'red') 'red <tunic>' seems to be an indubitable congener. The conclusion to be drawn from these three examples is that the Latin *-d-* which passes into *-ð-* began to make that change in the Italo-Celtic period.⁴

Returning from this digression to the discussion of the *b*-forms, I seek to prove that in the fut. *-bit* we have composition with *-dhē-*. According to this theory a fut. *calebit* must have been at one time **calefit*. This constructed form is in actual existence (save for the quantity of the *e*⁵) in the sense of 'is made warm,' a pr. pass. to *calefacio*. When the form **calefit* was in this state, its termination was associated with *fit*, 3d sg. pass. to *facio*, and forms like *calefacio* created, but this did not keep the form from

¹ I cite from Stengel (Iw. Müller's Hdbch. V 3, p. 123): "Jakchoszug hiess die Prozession nach dem Gotte. . . . Es ist eine Gottheit, dem Bakchos nahe verwandt, der Gott der lärmenden Freude."

² I note that *vir* and *homo* have *r*- and *n*-stems; variation of *r*- (*l*-) and *n*- is seen in Eng. *girl*: Lat. (gen.) *virgin-is* (cf. H. Möller in P.-BB. VII, p. 542, who reconstructs a reduplicated stem **gherghen-*); there is ultimate relation, too, between *πατήρ* 'father' and *πότνια* 'lady.'

³ Windisch, s. v. "i. *inar*, ut dixit Fercertne: *hi n-deich ruchtaið derga*, Corm., p. 39"; *inar* means 'tunic' and *derga* after *ruchtaið* means 'red'; *rucht* 'tunic' is doubtless an extension like Lat. *purpura* 'toga' and our 'purple and fine linen.' I note the language of a little girl, who asked me one day: "Have I got on a flannel and a white to-day or two whites?" <sc. petticoats>.

⁴ In all the O.Irish forms the change seems conditioned on a *t* following the *-d-*, and this *-t* is possibly present in the background of all the Latin words (*rubidus* for **rubitus*, cf. the author in A. J. P. XIII, p. 475); by this explanation it will be easier to explain *iubeo* (3d sg. *iubet*), which was entirely devoid of noun-kindred to hold it in place, as e. g. *fides*: *fido*, etc.

⁵ The lengthening took place in the quadrisyllabic forms, *calēbitis* like *cupīdinis*: *cupīdus*, and is comparable with that in *σοφώτερος*.

passing on to *calebit*. I thus endow my verb with the form *calet* 'is dry' and **calefit* 'is made dry'¹; they were adapted to different uses, and *calebit* became a fut., helped to this, perhaps, by the form *erit* (infra, p. 21); but certainly no English-speaker would find it hard to believe that the fut. sense has developed directly from the pres. Beside *erit* and *eram* there grew up a pair *calebit* and *calebam*.

The phonetics involved in this explanation have been already explained on the basis of an Aryan doublet *ē* || *i* and the Italo-Celtic change *d* > *ð*. Implicit in this explanation is the assignment of Lat. *fio* to Aryan √ *dhē*. This identification of the earlier 'linguisticians'² has been latterly abandoned. Brugmann constructs *fio* from **bhy-ix̥ō* (Gr. I, §56) and from **fu-īo* (ib. II, §707). Bartholomae (Stud. z. i.-g. Spr.-Gesch. II, p. 191) writes the base **bhyūio*, with an *i* to suit his *āi* || *ā/ī*³ series. But with the numerous Sk. forms in which √ *dhē* appears as *dhī-* (supra, p. 5), who shall say we do not have the same phenomenon in Latin? If *fio* belongs to √ *bhū*, why does it everywhere appear as the pass. of *facio*⁴? It is incredible to me that, with a large development of √ *bhū* in Latin (*fui, fuat, futurus*, etc.), such utter

¹ i. e. 'becomes dry'; note the Germ. fut. auxiliary *werden*.

² This neologism should be as good as 'statistician,' 'logician,' etc.

³ On the basis of a few highly questionable Sk. preterites in *-āit* for *-it* (cf. Wh.², §904 b), Bartholomae makes an ingenious but altogether improbable plea for such a series. The forms are *viçarāir* (AV. XII 3, 18), *pārāçarāit* (ib. VI 66, 2), *dçarāit* (ib. VI 32, 2), but there are MS variants in *-is, -it* for all the passages. The forms *ajāir* (RV. IX 72, 5), *apājāit* (AV. XII 3, 54) are to be explained as belonging to √ *ji*, as Prof. Whitney assured me in a private letter (cf. also his Vb.-Roots, s. v. √ *ji*). In AV. XII 3, 18 *viçarāis* is certainly an 'injunctive.' I see in it nothing but a 2d pers. to the dithematic *-ai* of the 1st pers. (Part I, p. 439), which was not primitively a 'middle,' but corresponds to the monothematic ending in Grk. opt. *φείρ-ους*. The augmented forms are susceptible to the same explanation, for the augment had originally no past value. Nothing is commoner in Vedic style than the occurrence of an augmented aor. in a string of petitions, and the explanation in vogue is what may be called the explanation from *naivetté*, which makes the petitioner express the thing wished for as the thing realized. But as the unaugmented forms are injunctive or narrative, I see no reason why the augmented forms may not now and then be narrative or injunctive (Part I, p. 422). A warrant for this usage is found in the Greek aorist as a future and a hortative (cf. Goodwin, M. and T., §§61-62). Explanation of this phenomenon is to be sought in the original timelessness of the verb. The *-s*-fut. and aor. developed from the same or cognate agglutinative groups (Part I, p. 422).

⁴ Cf. *fitum est* for *factum* (Liv. Andron. ap. Non. 475, 16).

phonetic and semasic dissociation should have been made. It seems to be natural for a '*be made*' to pale in signification to a mere copula '*be*,' but the converse process is much more difficult to grant.

The most plausible justification of these monstrous-looking forms **bhuṛjo*, etc. (which look even worse written **bhuṛyo*) is the equation of Lat. °*fio* in *suffio* 'fumigate' with Grk. θύω 'sacrifice.' Now, the shift of meanings in θύω and its kin is absolutely Protean (cf. Prellwitz, s. v.). From Sk. √*dhū* || *dhu-kṣ* 'kindle,' θύω 'offer <in the fire>,' and °*fio* 'fumigate' we cannot go wrong in ascribing to this group an Aryan sense of 'kindle.' But there is more than a hint of the self-same semasy for √*dhē*. In Latin comedy the phrase *rem divinam facere* 'sacrifice' is very common, and *facere* || *fieri* is used alone in this sense (cf. L. and Sh., s. v. I B. 8). Grk. τιθῆμι comes close to this in its sense of 'offer to the gods' (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. A. III 2).¹ Much more pertinent is the use of τιθῆμι as a *terminus technicus*² for gathering the firewood. In Sanskrit ā + √*dhā*³ was the special *terminus technicus* for kindling the sacrificial fire. If we note that Lat. *suf-fio* is not restricted to the sense 'fumigate,' but also means in general 'burn' (Lucr. II 1098), it will be possible to regard this °*fio* too as belonging to √*dhē* || *dhī*. To this conclusion we seem led by a comparison between the Roman and Hindu funeral rites. Festus (p. 3, Müll.) thus employs the word *suffitio*: *funus prosecuti redeuntes ignem supergradiebantur aqua aspersi; quod purificationis genus vocabant suffitionem*. Similarly in the Hindu ritual, after the burial of a *Guru* they carry off the old fire and, returning, kindle a new one (Āçvalāyana Grh. Sū. IV 6, 1-6): "when all sounds have ceased, or when <the others> have gone to the house or the resting-place, <the performer of the cere-

¹ I note Z 92-3 θείναι <πέπλον> 'Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡνκόμοιο | καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυνκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηφ̄.

² Cf. Aristophanes, Pax 1023 sq.:

σέ τοι θύρασι χρῆ μένοντα τοίνυν
σχίζας δευρὶ τιθέναι ταχέως
· · · ·
οὔκουν δοκῶ σοι μαντικῶς τὸ φρύγανον τίθεσθαι,

where the word μαντικῶς clinches this statement.

³ I note for Latin Plaut. Rud. 767 ignem magnum hic faciam, and Capt. 843 iube . . . ignem ingentem fieri. We have possibly a compound of √*dhē* in Mil. 411 *inde* ignem in aram, unless indeed *inde* is to be referred to Sk. √*indh* 'kindle,' a root warranted for Italic by *aedes*, *aestus*, etc.

mony> should pour out an uninterrupted stream of water, beginning at the south side of the door, . . . <going round the house>, ending at the north side of the door" (Sn. 7).¹ If one believes in an Aryan folk at all, it will be necessary to believe that these ceremonial acts go back to a common basis.²

But support is possibly given to this theory for the development of the pf. from the pairs *per-do*, *ven-do* with their passives *pereo*, *veneo*. Now, if these actives contain $\sqrt{dh\bar{a}}$, as is generally supposed, we might expect a pass. in *-dhi-* (>*bi-*), and this we actually have retained for us perhaps in a proverbial sentence of Plautus, where we are supposed to have a form of *perbitere*. Plautus's uses of this vb. are as follows: Rud. 495 *utinam . . . Malo cruciatu in Sicilia perbiteres*; Pseud. 778 *interminatus est . . . Siquis non hodie munus misisset sibi Eum cras cruciatu maxumo perbitere*. In the latter passage *perbitere* is plainly a fut. infin. so far as the sense goes, and in the former the sense is that of a plupf. subj. This relation is precisely paralleled by *fore*, *fores*.³ But one other passage remains to be discussed, Capt. 690 *Qui per virtutem peritat non interit*. This is the MS reading, but a *corrector recens*, whom Schoell takes to be Camerarius, has written on the margin of B. *perbitat*; and Spengel, followed by Brix, reads *perbitit*, while others have divided *perit at*. In Nonius's time the reading was supposed to represent *perire*, but Osbernus reads *peritat* as indic. to *peritare*. Of all the corrections that have been proposed, *perbitat* involves the least change. I propose to read the line: *Qui per virtutem perbit at non interit*. This verse has all the look of a '*sententia*,' and may be much older than Plautus. A contextual motive for the change is close at hand: cf. vs. 693 *Vel te interisse vel perisse praedicat*. Plautus is here unquestionably playing on the relation of *-do* and *-eo*; contrast 694 *Dum pereas, nihil interdo*⁴ *dicant vivere* with the

¹ This is Oldenberg's translation (S. B. E. XXIX, p. 248), but I am not sure of the italicized passage.

² It would be going too far afield to seek completeness on this point. The meaning of *ignem supergradiebantur* is not easy to state. Does it mean 'jumped over the fire' or 'walked round it'? In form *suffitio* must belong with *upa* + $\sqrt{dh\bar{a}}$ 'put <wood> on <the fire>.' The next sutra begins with *agnim upasamādhāya* 'putting the fire in place.'

³ For. *foret* as plupf. subj. I cite Bacch. 1047-8 *ne ille edepol Ephesi multo mavellem foret*, | *Dum salvos esset, quam revenisset domum* 'I would prefer his having stayed,' etc.; cf. also Mil.² 49 c. Brix's note, Trin. 832, 837; Truc. 89; Tibull. I 10, 11.

⁴ Conjectural reading, but very probable; cf. Brix ad loc.

previous verse, and also vs. 683 Si ego hic *peribo*, si ille, ut dixit, non *redit* with vs. 696 Si ille huc *rebitet*,¹ etc. I cite as a warrant for the proverbial nature of this play on the words Epid. 74-6 Puppis *pereundast* probe | Quid istuc ad med attinet | Quo tu *interbitas* modo, where *interbitas* is R. Müller's correction for the unmetrical *intereas*. If we can assume that vs. 690 as I have given it was a maxim of long standing, we then reach a point from which we can explain *bito*, that utter *crux* in Latin etymology²: from *perbit* at the user of language got over to a *perbitat* of equivalent meaning with *percat*. The parallelism of *perbitere* and *perbiteres* with *fore* and *fores* should make us see a fut. idea in the maxim, thus: 'if a man were to perish for virtue's sake, why that's no death.' In all the cases of *betere* (cited by Brix, Capt.⁴ 380) only pres. subjs. in *-as*, etc., futs. in *-ēs*, etc., and, in addition to the fut. forms cited in the text (*perbitere*, *perbiteres*), the 1st sg. *rebito* (in a fut. condition) occur. It will thus be seen that the verb never strayed far from its original employment.

The case resolves to this: *fio*, *suffio* can be referred to $\sqrt{dhē}$; *fio* with a far better semasy than by the identification with $\sqrt{bhū}$, while *suffio* shows too good a semasic concordance with $\upsilon\phi a + \sqrt{dhā}$ ³ to be inevitably referred to $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$.³

¹ Conjectural reading; cf. Schoell ad loc.

² Latin varies between *bīto* and *bēto*, which is in line with my explanation. The spelling *bæto*, for which there is very slight MS warrant, is only a palaeographic variant for *bēto*. There is no cogency whatever in comparing the Osc. word *basteis* with *bīto*, for its signification is utterly dark (cf. Bugge, KZ. XXII, p. 438 sq.).

³ I am not sure but $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ can be brought into accord with $\sqrt{dhē} \parallel dhi$. The semasy for the sense 'sacrifice' has been exploited in the text. We have but to mention Lat. *pro-ficiscor* 'set out' to give early warrant for use as a verb of motion. For the three most immediate uses of $\sqrt{dhē}$ 'put, set, make,' English shows plenty of phrases implying motion, and some of them rapid or hostile motion: 'make off, make forward, make at'; 'set out, set forward, set on'; 'put off <home>, put out,' etc.; the phrase 'then he *put out*' two persons rendered for me by *scooted* and *skedaddled*. It is not necessary to posit an Aryan \sqrt{sedo} 'go' (cf. Prellwitz, s. v. $\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$), for this meaning can come from the sense 'set out' by decomposition. I note $\phi\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (< $\pi\rho\acute{o} + \acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ > 'clean gone' as a source from which the meaning may have got back to the simple root. Thus, in point of semasy $\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ is subsequent to $\phi\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$. In Latin *facio* never became a 'decomposite' to *proficiscor*. A word needs to be said on the phonetics. There can be no doubt of the vowel *u* having a connection with this root. Plautus gives ample warrant for *creduit*, Sk. $\text{crdd} + \sqrt{dhā}$, and *perduit*: Grk. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\omega$, Sk. $\sqrt{sp\ddot{r}}-dh$, where we must recognize composition with

Support has been derived for *fio* : *√ bhū* from Celtic *biu*, which Windisch referred in Curtius' Grundzüge to this root. Against this etymology Stokes declared himself in his review of this work. Meantime Osthoff (M. U. IV 16, Anm.) based on it an Italo-Celtic phonetic law. Zimmer (KZ. XXVI, p. 423) declared, with Stokes, for the equation with Lat. *vivo*, which Plautus uses as a stronger *sum* (cf. Brix, Trin.⁴ 390). Windisch (KZ. XXVII, p. 165) defends his view on the semasic ground that *biu* never means 'live' in the full sense of the word, and on the phonetic ground that the Celtic correspondents of Lat. *vivus* always show *i*. The combination of these two objections makes an objection to his etymology. There was an Aryan variation *ǝ* in this word (cf. *vivus* : *βίος*). What wonder if Celtic adapted this variation to varying uses! Stokes (KZ. XXVIII, p. 84) declares: "The forms belonging to this root often retain their original meaning 'to live,'" and maintains the tenet that *biuu* is a genuine representative of **bivo* (< **givo*). Bartholomae (l. c., p. 190) brings into the argument the Ang.-Sax. forms, but these have no claim to being considered original. Gothic knows only *im*, *is*, *ist* in the sg., to which OHG. has made analogical forms *b-im*, *b-ist* (*b-is*), with retention of *ist*, while Anglo-Saxon has the forms *eom*, *eart*, *is*, and beside them *bēo*, *bist*, *bip*. Analogy and syncretism have been very fully at work in the paradigm of the copulative verb. In *bist* the influence of the (Goth.) pret. *wast* and *waist* 'thou knowest' added a *-t-* to the first analogical form *bis*. In Ang.-Sax. 3d pers. *bip* : 2d pers. *bist* we have to see nothing but analogy to *bindest*, *bindep*, or any regular verb. The 1st pers. *bēo*, 3d plur. *beoð* represent Aryan **bhevo*, **bhevont-i*.¹

√ dhē (this by way of addition to my comparison in A. J. P. XIII, p. 480). Unexplained hitherto has been this vocalization. In Sk. *dhū-nu-te*, Grk. *θύνο*, and inferentially in Latin (cf. *danunt* : *dare*), we see that this group had the nasal inflexion. If we assume a primitive **dhi-no/u* to *√ dhē* | *dhi*, the change to **dhū-no/u* is explicable phonetically. These syllables produce 'rounding' by anticipation, and thus *i* becomes *ū* (cf. Vietor, Germ. Pronunc.², p. 10). Anticipative rounding has also produced the 'velars' (Proc. A. P. A. 1894, p. ix). To this phonetic condition we can refer Grk. *γυνά* < Aryan **ǵenā* | *ǵ'enā*. I note further Sk. *√ sã* | *st* 'bind' and Lat. *su-o* 'sew.' Sk. *√ siv* | *syū* is a compromise form.

¹ Cf. v. Feierlinger in KZ. XXVII, p. 439 sq. His explanations of *bis* (2d sg.), *bip* (3d sg.) as representatives of Aryan **bhvesi*, **bhveti* are not based on the warrant of any actually occurring forms, and the explanation by analogy given in the text seems to me sufficiently strong without creating a *bis* as descendant of a primitive **bvis*, as an additional source for the analogy.

I sum up this argument by stating that Lat. *fit*, O.Ir. *bith*, Ang.-Sax. *bīð* are none of them referred with cogency to an Aryan **bhwiye*t, while the two first have just as credible connections with other roots, and thus this 'law' is based on altogether insufficient etymological material.

In Greek also $\sqrt{dhē}$ has become identified with a tense-voice-formation, the aor. and fut. pass. The passive voice is an accident of later adaptation. It is almost certain that the Aryans had reached no finite passive forms. They had, however, emphatic ('middle') forms in *-dh-*. In Greek there were doubtless other simple *-θ-* forms besides *-με-θα* and *-θι*, but the compound *-σθ-* forms prevailed after a conflict, of which *-με-σθα* shows traces. What wonder, then, if we find *-σθ-* beside *-θ-* in the aorist.¹

Seeing so many cases of development of inflexion by composition with $\sqrt{dhē}$, we must, it seems to me, return to the older explanation by which the weak German preterit was referred to this source. I take it that there are no insuperable phonetic objections in the way (cf. Brug., Gr. II, §907), and no other explanation gives so precise a correspondence of form as to equate Grk. *-θης* with Goth. 2d sg. *-dēs*. In the 1st sg. *-da* (<*-dhō*) corresponds precisely to Lat. *-bo*, and to this the 3d pers. *-da* was associated by the analogy of the strong preterit. But there was previously a 3d sg. **nasidēp* which was also a 2d plur., for we are under no compunction to believe that the *nasida*-type was always past. So when this 2d plur. **nasidēp* did receive past interpretation, it was extended to **nasidēp-up* > *nasid-ed-up*, thus: 3d sg. *nam* : 2d plur. *nem-up* = 3d sg. **nasidēp* : 2d plur. *nasid-ed-up*.

The greatest argument against connecting this weak preterit with $\sqrt{dhē}$ is the O.Ir. *-t* pret., but no valid objection can be made to regarding this pret. act. as just the equivalent of the pret. pass. in *-t*. In two persons it has the 'deponent' inflexion, and we

¹ Extremely neat is Henry's $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\sigma\theta\eta\varsigma$ = Sk. *d-jñā-s-thās* (Bull. Soc. Ling. VII, p. 29), but I have given reasons (supra, p. 3) for not showing any confidence in Grk. θ = Sk. *th*. For the σ of $\gamma\omega\sigma\theta\eta\varsigma$ I posit the demonstrative doublet *te* || *ste*. Convincing proof of this can be given from the suffixes *-ter* || *-ster* in Lat. *ven-ter* : Grk. *γα-στῆρ*; cf. also *Mén-τωρ* and Lat. *mon-itor* with *mon-STR-are*. The *-σθ-* aorists may be patterned on *-σμ-* of the pf., e. g. $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$, but I would base aor. and pf. both on the ptc. doublet. I note that the ptc. suffix *-ne* also had a by-form *-sne* (Brug., Gr. II, §66). We can refer to this suffix *-ste* the group of formations for which Aryan **t* > **t* has been assumed (Brug., Gr. I, §469).

shall see below that the 'deponent' is either act. or pass. at will; this suits the origin of the *-to*-suffix entirely (Part I, p. 416).

The Lithuanian impf. in *-davau* (Brug., Gr. II. §908) is perhaps also to be referred to this source. Perhaps the original 1st sg. was *-d-au*, whence, by doubling the ending, *-d-av-au*.¹

THE ACC.-IMPV.—Sanskrit and Greek have a final *-m* that characterizes their impv. forms. I cite *duhām* 'let one milk,' *δείξον* 'show thou,' and Syrac. *λάβον* : Att. *λαβέ*. These are terminal accusatives, just like our English 'home,' which any dog understands to mean 'go home.' Thus *duhām* would mean 'to the milking.' The parallel group *λαβέ* || *λάβον* is on the same footing as Sk. 'injunc.' *bharata* || impv. ('mid.') *bharatām*, where *-tām* has the dithematic intention, as in 'subj.' *bharās* beside 'injunc.' *bharas*. In 3d dual *-ātām* theme and ending are both dithematic, and this dithematism characterizes the 2d and 3d dual of the entire 'middle.' We thus see that the *-m*-endings, as well as the *-dh*-endings, have come into play as inflective endings from the 'emphatic' impvs. Even thus there were not enough forms to go round, so we have in Sk. *bhavalām* not only a 3d sg. 'middle,' but a 3d dual act., and further a 3d dual 'middle' *bhāvetām*, formed by adding the self-same ending to the monothematic 1st pers. *bha-ve* (not in use as an impv., but sufficiently attested by the ending in Grk. *λῶ-σ-αι*, Part I, p. 439). It seems hardly necessary to note that in Sk. 2d plur. *-dhva-m*, Grk. 2d dual *σθo-ν*, the *-m* is due to the impv. Likewise in Grk. 1st sg. mid. *-ομην* we have the same extension of 1st sg. act. *-ομ* that we have in Sk. 3d sg. middle *-atām* to 3d sg. injunc. *-at*.

THE 2D SG. PF. *-stha*.—For this ending also an agglutinative origin is to be sought. I take this to be the 2d sg. of *√stā*² and to mean 'thou art.' Every one knows how frequently forms of Sk. *√stha* are a mere copula³ (cf. Böhtlingk, p. w., s. v. 11); the same semasy is vouched for by *ἵστημι* (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. B); in Latin *stare* is often little more than an emphatic copula (cf. Aen. II 639; III 210; VI 471, 652, 697), and is used almost like *fui* in making passives (e. g. ib. III 403 *quin ubi transmissae steterint* *trans aequora classes*), a use that is paralleled in Sk. (cf.

¹ In any case the ending *-au* is to be referred, like Gothic *-au*, Sk. *-āu*, to an Aryan *au* (Part I, p. 429).

² This, like *dhē*, is a 'demonstrative' root (supra, p. 2, f. n. 3).

³ In modern Hindu dialects this development has gone on, and just as in Fr. *étais* to Lat. *stare*, the older sense is entirely lost.

Grassmann, Wört., s. v. 8, and Delbrück, SF. V, p. 407); in O.Ir. also this root has become a copulative verb (cf. Windisch, Gram., §386).

No phonetic objection can be made to taking this ending as *-st(h)a* instead of *-tha*. Historically it appears as *-σθα* in Grk., as *-st-i* in Latin; these forms have been interpreted as analogical in Greek from roots ending in *-d/t+t(h)*, whence *-σθ-*; but to explain the Lat. form we have to resort to such forms as *diks-ti*. It were simpler to regard *-st-* as belonging to the primitive form, and this suits the conditions in Gothic better than the prevalent explanation. Thus the very important irregularities *waist*, *qast* (< **wait* + *st*, **qat-st*) are removed; forms like *skal-t* are thus explicable out of **skal-st*. In Indiranian the ending seems unquestionably *-tha*. I would suggest that this form arose out of the perf. **vaitstha*¹ (> Sk. *vet-tha*), but we must reckon with the possibility of an Aryan doublet *-ta* || *-sta* of probable demonstrative origin.

THE CONCEPTION OF VOICE in a developed stage, at least, could hardly have been present to the Aryans. An emphatic and a simple inflexion we can allow them (supra, p. 2), but the facts do not warrant us in going further than this statement, that endings in nasals just mentioned and developments from the emphatic forms in *-dh-* (supra, p. 4), along with 2d sg. *-sa* || *-sai*, 3d sg. *-ta* || *-tai*, may have begun to have a 'voice' value in the primitive period. Because both Greek and Sanskrit occasionally

¹ The question arises whether *-st-* in Indiranian did not pass through the stage *-tpt-*, whence Sk. *-tth-* in *vet-tha*. It is known that the *kh* of modern India approximates to *q* (Wh.³ 61 b), and the question must be regarded as an open one whether the 'aspirates' were not closer to the spirants than is generally supposed, for it seems possible to point the Vedic tradition in this way (Wh.³ 37 d). In Sk. *qsthā* we can explain the *th* as similarly due to the reduplication *tiqth-*, i. e. *stt = qth*. In line with this would fall Sk. *ṣaṭthā* 'sixth,' whence perhaps the Indiranian *-tha-* of ordinal formations. With the elimination of the *-qth-* cases the Sk. examples for *-th-* are much diminished. As a noun-forming suffix (Wh.³, §1163) *-tha* may have arisen thus: *ukthd* 'saying' stands for Indiranian *uxtd*, with *xt* from *kt*, a phonetic change known in primitive Germanic, in Avestan, in Oscan and Umbrian, Celtic and primitive Slavic (Brug., Gr. I, §462). The ptc. *uk-thd* would be a re-inforcement of the ptc. suffix from other sources, just as primitive Iranian *ft* falls back in Avestan to *pt* (Brug., Gr. I, §473, 1). Similarly *prqthd* 'back' would fall under the phonetics of *tiqthati* above. If we note the adv. suffix-doublet *-dā* || *-dhā* we need not look on the *th* of *-thā* as original, especially as we have the doublet *dtha* || *dāha*.

attach the passive value to 'middle' forms, we cannot infer that this was an Aryan phenomenon, for Greek aorists in $-\eta\nu$ || $-\theta\eta\nu$, as well as Lat. *fio*, show passive value with act. form, and in the Celtic passive we are only to see a development from the deponent; for the inflective characteristics develop from the same sources as the Sk. perf. act. (Part I, p. 432).¹

THE NUMERALS.—In the three first numerals I see demonstrative stems. In *oi-* of the *unus*-group we have the 1st pers. interjection *ai* (Part I, p. 424); I compare the phrase 'Number One,' so often used in slangy English for the 1st person. In many children's games the counting-out formulas naively begin with the counter. In *du* of the 2d person we have the compound demonstrative *ta-wa* (Part I, p. 430),² or *da-wa*, with *da* used as in *δευπο* (supra, p. 3). Back of *tr-* of the 3d person lies *ta-ra*, meaning 'that one yonder,' with the ordinal *ty-tó* (likewise a compound demonstrative) preceding possibly the stem *tri*.³ Hopkins's explanation of **qe-tur* (A. J. P. XIII, pp. 85-6) as '(one) and three' seems to me very plausible. For **peñ-qe* I abide by the old association with *finger*, and think that **pen* meant originally 'hand.' I compare *πῆψ* 'hand' (i. e. laborer), and, with *r(l)/n* inflexion, the syncretic Sk. form *pāñi* 'hand.' We may

¹ I am but just made aware that Zimmer (KZ. XXX 224 sq.) has also made an explanation of this passive from the standpoint of a "3. plur. act. konjunker Flexion auf *-ur* (**dicur*), von deren unpersönlichem Gebrauche die ganze Passivbildung ausgegangen sei" (Stolz², p. 361, Anm.). On the impersonal origin of the passive I refer also to my suggestion in A. J. P. XV, p. 221; and I cite here in addition from the first draft of this essay: "The middle of both Greek and Sanskrit verbs is also used as a pass. This I trace to the upgrowth of these forms from infinitives where the distinction of act. and pass. is obliterated. We find in the following Sk. sentence an explanation of the entire construction of so-called attraction with the infin. (Lat. gerundive): *ahám rudráya dhánur á tanomi brahmadvṛṣe śdrave hantavā u* (RV. X 125, 6) 'I stretch for Rudra the bow for his enemy, for the arrow and for slaying.' These are all dat. of purpose in a sense: it does not signify that we call *rudráya* a dat. of advantage, or of ind. obj., *brahmadvṛṣe* a dat. of disadvantage, *śdrave* a dat. of agent, and *hantavā* a dat. of purpose. The stretching of the bow fulfils a purpose for each of these objects. If we omit *śdrave* we may feel *brahmadvṛṣe hantavā* as a pass., 'in order that his enemy may be slain,' or as an act., 'for him to slay his enemy.' It was this double act.-pass. potentiality that the impv.-infin. forms **dhvāi* || **dhai* took into the new emphatic mood.

² I was in error in attributing this semasy for *two* to Benfey (Part I, p. 430) so far as I know, it is a new suggestion.

³ We need hardly doubt that the primitive Aryan was capable, like the Hindu (cf. Wh.² 24 a), of confusing *r* and *ri*.

also compare Eng. *fin* and *span* ('hand-stretch') : $\sqrt{s} > pen$ 'stretch' (cf. Brug., Gr. II, p. 136, Anm.), and possibly Lat. *penes*, for which a very convenient translation is 'in the hands of.' As to *six*, we have strong traces of a duodecimal system in Lat. *sescenties* 'six hundred' used as an indefinite number. If the *F* of $\sigma > Fi\xi$ (Aryan $s^*ak\dot{s}$, cf. Pedersen, I. F. V 86) is parasitic (cf. the author, Proc. A. P. A. 1894, p. ix), I suggest that we have in Lat. *sex* a congener of *sequor*, which meant 'following,' the next number to 'five.' In *septem* we have perhaps an indirect extension of *sex*.¹ For the estimation of $\delta\kappa\acute{\omega}$ we must consider $\delta\gamma\delta\omega\sigma$ 'eighth.' I would see here in general a dual, as Fick does, but back of $*oklāu$ a more primitive $*ok + dvāu$, with an actual 'two' for the suffix. In the cardinals the previous $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ has affected it, but in the ordinals $\delta\gamma\delta\omega\sigma$ represents the more primitive condition, while $\epsilon\beta\delta\omega\mu\sigma$ has been assimilated to $\delta\gamma\delta\omega\sigma$. For 'nine' and 'ten' I have nothing to add to the current view that $\epsilon\nu\eta\epsilon\alpha$ possibly means 'one new one' (as an addition to eight), and that $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ is connected with Aryan $d\check{\dot{e}}k || d\check{\dot{i}}k$ (supra, p. 5) and means 'receive with both hands.'

THE EMBRYOGENY OF ROOTS.—The agglutinative processes employed in an analysis of the inflexions bring us close to the embryogeny of the root. Thus $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$ has been explained as after all but a demonstrative, and it has been further assumed that many so-called roots in $-k$ may contain, after all, a shorter root $+k\bar{e}$. Thus Lat. *facio*, which goes back to $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$, has become in turn, to all intents and purposes, \sqrt{fac} . A demonstrative lies also, as I shall seek to prove, back of the substantive verb $\sqrt{e-s}$, which indeed is to be explained as $\sqrt{e-s}$. The Aryan 2d sg. is $*e-si$, not $*es-si$. In Latin $e-s$ we have doubtless the earliest form ($<es$), before the $-v$ -endings (Part I, p. 423) were developed. The various etymologies that have been proposed for the copulative assumed for it a weakened meaning out of something primitively more definite. In Hebrew the copulative verb is an adverb of a demonstrative value with verb-endings.²

¹ I note the English phrase 'at sixes and sevens.' Compare also the Lat. indefinite *sex septem* 'six or seven' (Hor. Ep. I 1, 58 and Ter. Eun. 332). Phonetically the relation of *sex* and *septem* cannot be bridged from our present standpoint, for we can hardly assume completed labialization of a 'velar' in the primitive period. I note, however, that Hillebrandt has made precisely this suggestion for Sanskrit phonology (BB. XIX 244-6).

² In Sanskrit the pronoun *ayam* is also used as a predicate without a verb (cf. Grassmann, Wort., s. v. *idam*).

Any negro in the South verifies this condition, for his '*dar he*' means 'there he is.' Another element in the copulative verb is $\sqrt{s}tha$, which is, after all, probably only an enlargement of the demonstrative *sta*¹ which, as I have suggested above, is represented in the 2d pers. *-shta*. In Sk. *stha-s* 'you two are' we have a pluralization of 2d sg. (subsequently 2d plural) *shta-*. Aryan 3d sg. **esti* contains the root '*e*' plus this same *-st*. There was a parallel form **eti* (Sk. *āti*, Grk. *ēti*,² Lat. *et*) which was crowded out by **e-sti*. The semasiotic connection is sufficiently indicated by the term 'copulative' applied to Lat. *est* and to *et*. In Lat. *sum* for *s-om* 'this me' we are to see an earlier form than in Sk. *a-sm-i*. From the 2d sg. **e-si* the *e* worked, doubtless, first to *st*³ (3d sg.) and thence to the 1st sg. Here it stopped in Sk., but in Grk. the *e-* was carried into the dual and plural also. Greek has forms that are entirely free from the *-s*, e. g. *εἰσί*, Dor. *ἐντί*. But Greek also preserves a form *ἐ-ν*, e. g. in λ 414 *περὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι | νωλεμέως κτείνοντο σύες δὲ ἀργιόδοιτες | οἱ ῥα τ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ ἀνδρὸς μέγα δυναμένοις*, etc. Here *ἐ-ν* means 'belong to' and is not a preposition. Autenrieth, s. v. *ἐν*, specially notes that *ἐστί*, *εἰσί*, *ἦν* are often to be 'supplied' with it. For cases of *ἐ-ν* in the sg. I refer to ι 134-6 *ἐν δ' ἄροσις λείη . . . ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμος*. Not only was the form *ἐν* in existence, but also *ἐνι*, a pair like Lat. *est* || *ἐστί*. It is well known how *ἐνι* is interpreted as *ἔνεστι* (cf. Autenrieth, s. v. fin., and L. and Sc., s. v. *ἐνι* II δ). I cite from ι 126 *οὐδ' ἄνδρες νηῶν ἐνι τέκτονες*. This use of *ἐνι* persisted in Attic. Cf. Plat. Phaed. 77 E *ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐνι τις καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν παῖς*.

When we thus conceive of *ἐ-ν* as a form of the copulative verb, an easier explanation is possible for 3d sg. impf. *ἦν* as a reduplicated *ἐ-ν*. There is no reason, in the nature of things, why the *πα*-ending (Part I, p. 432) should have been a plural rather than a sg. Still, we may explain this as a special Greek phenomenon that got its start from the idiom *πάντα ἐστί* = *πάντα εἰσὶ*.

Gothic also bears testimony to the root *e-* in its 1st sg. *i-m*, for it cannot be proved that this stands for **immi*, inasmuch as there is a question whether *-sm-*³ in Gothic gave *mm* (cf. Osthoff, Perf., p. 428, Anm.).

¹ This has been previously suggested by Steinthal, as I am informed. In English *st* means clearly 'hush, there he is.'

² Homer also uses the form *ἐτ'* beside *ἐτι*, though we know how averse he was to the elision of *-i* (cf. Kaegi, Gr. Gram.², §227, 8, Anm.).

³ For this group in pronominal inflexion I think we must recognize a doublet *-sm-* | *-m-*, on the basis of Lith. *támuī*, O.Bulg. *lomu*, beside O.Pruss. *s-tesmu*;

In the Greek 2d sg. impf. *ῥοθα* I would see a syncretism of a 2d sg. **ē-s* plus a 2d sg. *stha* (supra, p. 16). A comparable syncretism is to be seen in Sk. *āsīs*. This I take to represent the 2d sg. *ās* (<Aryan **ēs*) plus a 2d sg. **īs* (<**ēs*, supra, p. 5). There seems to occur no inj. **asīs*, but we are perhaps entitled to infer one from the Lat. fut. *erīs*.¹ The comparison of *āsīs* with Lat. *erās* has been defended at length by Bartholomae (Stud. II, p. 63 sq.), but his *āi* || *ā/i* series is not convincing (supra, p. 10). I explain *erās* as a feminine verb-form (Part I, p. 438). We may, however, start from *brāvis*, etc., injunctives, where in the termination *-īs* we may see a dithematic Aryan *-ēs* || *-īs*. To this type may belong Lat. *velīs*.

Combining this explanation of *√e-s* with the theory of the origin of the thematic vowel and vb.-endings (Part I, p. 413), we are able to take a form like Sk. *bharasi* and divide it *bhar-asi*, precisely equivalent to Eng. *thou art bearing*.

Other roots are perhaps also capable of ultimate analysis into demonstratives. Thus in Sk. *bhavasi* we may see *bhū+asi* 'sir! thou art,' which finally became a more emphatic copula 'become.' In *bho* we are to see a call, a monothematic vocative (supra, p. 421) to a stem *bhā*. It is not necessary, however, to reject a belief in an impv. *bha+wa*.

Roots of more pointed meaning may also be derived in the same way. I take for illustration the Lat. impv. *ce-do*. Its first part is infallibly a demonstrative, and we have no right² to separate this *-do* from the impv. ending *-dum* (supra, p. 2). From the mere call 'hither' the sense 'hither with it,' 'bring here,' 'give here' has developed. Now we can apply the same

and Lith. *tami*, O.Bulg. *tomī*, to Sk. *tdsmīn*, pronominal dats. and locs. If we bear in mind the frequency of 1st pers. demonstratives (Grk. *ὅδε*, Lat. *hic*, e.g.), it is not going far afield to institute a connection in Sk. between dat. sg. *asmāi* 'to this <me>' and *asmān* 'us.' Even if *asmān* go back to Aryan *ṛs+mans*, an unemphatic + an emphatic pluralization of acc. sg. *ma* (Part I, p. 419), we can assume that *ṛs-mans* was the feeling for the form beside *ṛs-s*, and that from this source the group *-sm-* got into pronominal inflexion. But *-m-* arose in the instrumental as an inflective element (Part I, p. 420). It is this we have in the O.Bulg. instrum. *īmi* and in the locs. cited for Lith. and Bulg., as well as in their dat.-abl. plural. In the fem. inflective element *-sy-* we are also to see an analogical extension: Sk. gen. sg. *ta-sy-ās* is only a feminine to masc. *ta-sy-a*, and from this source the infection spread.

¹ Cf. *eris* in Plautus (Trin. 971; cf. Brix, Einleit.⁴, p. 20).

² I have anticipated objections to this statement above, p. 2, f. n. 3; p. 16.

semasy to *bhāra*, Grk. *φί-ρε*: it was a call to a person, a vigorous 'you there!', which afterwards shifted to the sense 'bring here.' I especially note the post-Homeric adverbial *φίρε* 'come, well.' In Sanskrit, Greek and Latin the emphatic inflexion ('mid.' or 'pass.') means 'move rapidly.' While this sense is explicable from reflexive or passive collocations, it may derive along the lines of the interjection *φίρε*. I note that *δεῦρο* (supra, p. 3) in Homer connotes haste.

But *cedo* also means 'tell,' and thus vouches for the semasiac development of the Aryan call (impv.) **sekwe* 'there you!'. This means 'say' in Grk. *ἔρ-νετε*, 'follow' in *ἑπομαι*, and 'see' in Ger. *sehen*. In English, per contra, the impv. 'say,' or 'say there!', comes to about the same thing as 'you there!', being a summons to attract the attention of a second person.

The Sk. root *skṛ* || *kṛ* 'do, make,' with impv. *kara*, is made up, like *ce-do*, of two demonstratives *ka* + *ra*. Its semasy is similar to that of *√dhē* (supra, p. 2). A certain interest attaches to the form *akat* (ÇB.; cf. Wh., Vb.-Roots, s. v. *kṛ*), which seems to be without the -r.

The same elements may be reversed. Thus, beside Lat. *ce-do* 'give' we have Greek *δέ-κο-μαι* 'receive,' while Lat. *docéo* 'show' is like *cedo* 'tell' in meaning, and Ionic *δείκνυμι* 'show'¹ tells the same story.

I turn to note some roots of equivalent meaning where the final demonstratives differ. I have shown above, p. 13, how Sk. *dhū* 'run' is a by-form of *√dhē* || *dhī*. There are besides in Sanskrit *dhāva-ti*² 'run,' which may be from *dhā* + *va*, *dhava-te* 'flow,' from *dhā* + *va*, *dhanā-yan* 'run,' from *dhā* + *na*, and *dhanva-ti* 'run,' from *dhā* + *na*. Beside these we must set Grk. *θρόσσω* 'leap,' which implies a root **dher* 'run.'³ Recalling the demonstrative

¹Of extreme interest is the relation of *δείκνυμι* to this form. I note that *δεικνυμαι* 'greet' is compared with Sk. *dāgnati*, as to which Prellwitz (Etym. Wört., s. v. *δεικνυμαι*) says: "ei neben e steht für altes ē, oder e ist nur metrisch gedeht." My own explanation of the vocalism is given above, p. 6. Now *δεικνυμι* may be explained in the same way, and to meet the case of Lat. *dicō* we must write the Aryan root as *dēk* || *dīk*.

²Of interest is the second *√dhāv* 'rinse,' used in composition only with *ā*- and *ni*-. Its relation to *√dhē* is like that of Lat. *in-ficio* 'dye.' We need not interpret the -v as being any more a part of the root than the -c in the Latin word.

³Cf. Dunn in Class. Rev. VIII, p. 95. Here Sk. *dhārdyati* 'cause to run, urge on' is cited, but I cannot verify this meaning in the Petersburg dictionaries. I note, however, *dhāra* 'stream' ('run').

doublet *dha* || *da*,¹ we shall not be inclined to separate from this group the roots *dr-am* || *dr-ā* 'run' and *dru* 'run.' We may imagine that back of these lies a stem *da+ra*; *dr-am*² || *dr-ā* are formations like *gam* || *gā*, while *dravati* (: '√*dru*') stands in the same relation to √*drā* as *dha-va-ti* to √*dhā*. In the above forms, even if we limit ourselves to those in *dh*^o, we can see the ORIGIN OF THE INTERCHANGE OF *r/n* in verb-roots, which must be entirely parallel to the same phenomenon in noun-inflexion.

Interesting formations under this head are the Sk. roots *vac* and *vad* 'say.' Back of these must lie impvs. **ve-kwe* and **ve-de*, with a meaning something like 'you there!'. The developed meaning 'say' can be understood by our use of 'say' in the sense of 'you there!' (cf. also **se-kwe* above).

Sometimes it is the prior demonstrative that varies. Such a condition obtains in the Sk. roots *dhr*, *bhr*, *hr* (**ghr*), whose meanings 'hold,' 'bear,' 'take' lie very close together. For the two first we are prepared to recognize the demonstratives *dha* (supra, p. 2) and *bha* (supra, p. 21) at once. No demonstrative *gha* is known, unless we are to find it in Sk. *a-hā-m*, the particles *ha*, *hi*, Lat. *h-i-c*.

For certain reduplicating roots we may reach an even simpler origin, arising from the infant's first unconscious utterances, to which a sense is given by the parents; typical for these is 'papa' || 'appa'; cf. Grk. *πάππα* || *ἄππα*, *ἄττα* || *τάτα* (*τέττα*),³ names of the father. In Hebrew the same utterance is found as *abba*, and this consonantization we have in Lat. *aba-vus* 'grandfather.'

¹ It seems to me that these initials *dh* || *d* must have had a common origin. I suggest that in the Aryan period intervocalic *-d-* was pronounced with the previous syllable, and the following vowel was preceded by the glottal buzz as in German (cf. Vietor, *Germ. Pronunc.*, p. 57). Now *d*+the glottal buzz (*d'*) is, according to Ellis (cited by Clark, *Man. of Ling.*, p. 166), the Hindu pronunciation of the 'aspirate' *dh*. May we not assume that a primitive *da-dā-ti* became *dad'-ā-ti*? Or perhaps the aspirates were sonant spirants, and arose from sonants in intervocalic position, just as in the later Avestan and in Irish this same phenomenon took place. The extension of *d'* or *ḍ* from reduplicated syllables through the whole family of words would not then be a matter for surprise. The passing of all the 'aspirates' in Sk. sporadically into *h* is more easily explicable if their original value was that of spirants. I cite on *dh*^o || *d*^o Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §51, Anm. 1.

² I note also √*bhr-am* 'wander,' which is possibly an extension of √*bhr* 'move rapidly.'

³ This vocalization shows the change of *a* to *ε* due to the consonantal environment (cf. Part I, p. 425).

Note Lat. *ata-vus* beside Grk. *ἄττα*. The same types are found in the word for 'mother'; thus beside *mama* we have Ger. *amme* 'nurse' and Lat. *ami-ta* 'aunt,' while in Sk. *am-ba* 'mother' the -b- comes from confusion with *abba*. Now, these utterances were interpreted also as calls for food, as in Lat. *mamma* 'breast,' and *papilla* 'breast,' diminutive to *pappa*, which, according to Nonius (cited in L. and Sh., s. v.) was the infant's word for food, or rather perhaps for drink (cf. *papilla*). The latter form was of wider employment: I note Pl. Epid. 727 novo liberto opus est *quod pappet*, 'something to eat.' If we transfer the same conditions to Aryan we can see a child's *papa* || *baba*, a call for something to drink or eat, back of Lat. *bibere*, Sk. *pibāmi*, Grk. *πέπωκα*. The word was of course afterwards worked up into a system. Its non-reduplicated kin we find in Lat. *pa-scere* 'feed,' Grk. *παίσκειν* 'eat,' Sk. *√pā* 'protect.' Doubtless *πατήρ* 'father' and Sk. *pa-ti* 'lord' belong here. The whole stock sprang from the loins of Aryan '*papa*.' The earlier linguisticians connected Lat. *māter* 'mother' with *mē-tior*¹ 'measure.' I would fain connect them both with *mama* || *amma*, and *ἀμύω* and *metere* 'reap' as well, for reaping was a primitive feminine employment.

Onomatopoeic words are of too common origin in our own time for any question to be raised as to their Aryan existence. I call attention to Vedic *√kṣu*, which is a very perfect example, if we can infer from modern to ancient sneezing. Grk. *πρίω* 'spit' is also a very perfect imitation of the act, and I am much inclined to doubt its derivation from *s)pyū-* (cf. Brug., Gr. I, §131). The onomatopoeic word was sometimes the name of the action, i. e. a noun, sometimes representative of the act, i. e.

¹ For the vocalization I refer to my general theory (Part I, p. 425); but I especially remark that no theory of phonetic law keeps us from re-uniting an Ionic *η* and a Doric *ᾱ* in a primitive Greek *ā*. Now, there must have been a start in the primitive Greek period to this subsequent differentiation, for dialect is ultimately of the individual. So in the Aryan period original *a* and derived *e* may for a time have stood side by side. We may infer from the Sk. interchange of *r* and *l* (Wh.², §53 *b*) that this period was not necessarily a brief one. That adaptation of *a* to one meaning and of *e* to another resulted is a very natural supposition. The problem of individual dialect has been too much neglected. I have known more than one child that could not distinguish *pen* and *pin* in articulation. If we assign such a peculiarity to the mother of a family in a segregative population, it might in a few years affect numerous persons; and if later on a more gregarious habit brought the community closer together, we should have two contemporaneous pronunciations.

a verb.¹ I note the English *caw*, noun and verb: the same *motif* is expanded in Sk. *kāka*, Lat. *corvus*, Grk. κόραξ 'crow.'

There was another source of roots in what may be termed 'conventional onomatopoeia,' I mean especially the 'sound-roots.' These are characterized by the 'sonorous' letters *r* (*l*), *n*, *m*. I note cursorily for *r* the Sk. roots where it is initial only, *√raṭ* 'howl,' *√ran* 'ring,' *√rap* 'chatter,' *√rambh* 'roar,' *√ras* 'roar,' *√rā* 'bark,' *√rās* 'roar,' *√rī* 'flow,'² *√riph* 'snarl,' *√riḥ* 'sing,' *√ru* 'cry,' *√rud* 'weep.' Bloomfield (IF. IV, p. 76) gives a brief list of Aryan sound-roots in *-n*,³ and Persson (Lehre v. d. Wurzelweiterung u. W.-variation, p. 69) gives a list of such roots in *-m*. The adaptability of these sounds to the formation of such roots lay in their capacity for continuous sonority, with *crescendo* and *decrescendo* effects to suit the 'gustiness' of sounds, as, e. g., of waterfalls or rapids.

I turn, in conclusion, to a brief glance at the deflected grade, i. e. *o* for *e*. Its home is in the verb. I have cast doubt upon its chief noun-occurrences above (Part I, p. 425), and the same explanation by infection is applicable to the *-ter-/tor-* and *-en-/on-*variations in nominal suffixes. It was the view of Grimm that *-oi-*, say, for *-ei-* had a semasiac and not a phonetic origin. Extant accentual facts do not warrant us in explaining *-oi-* as 'post-accentual' (Part I, p. 414).⁴ Possibly some acci-

¹ I refer to Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 270, where I have found in the implosive 'click' sound of the tongue the *motif* lying back of the Aryan words for *tongue* and *lick*.

² I note RV. X 53, 8 *dṛmanvati riyate* 'Stony-brook flows <noisily>.' Dean Byrn called attention in his 'Principles of the Structure of Language' to the occurrence of *-r-* in words for water.

³ In a footnote on this passage Prof. Bloomfield notes the Sk. doublet *√suar* | *svan* 'sound,' and he suggests the parallelism of **swen* | *swer* 'sun, light.' "Sound and light! The especial adaptiveness of the sound category is therefore perhaps not far removed psychologically from that of light, times and seasons." Language testifies very clearly to this in English 'loud' of colors, and we hear from many sides that trumpet-tones are 'red.' It is curious to note the Sk. 'color-roots' with initial *r*: *√raj* 'color,' *√ru-c* 'shine,' and *rudhird* 'red.' After all, the psychology may be as simple as the transfer of strong epithets from the objects of one sense to another: I note the phrase 'a howling swell.' Involved in this semasy is *√rāj* 'rule': compare βοῆν ἀγαθόν 'good at a shout,' an epithet of a great warrior.

⁴ Compare my readjustment of the accentual conditions in A. J. P. XIII, p. 479, but, after all, it is a readjustment. I note that Streitberg, following Kretschmer, regards the *o/e*-variation as not an accentual phenomenon (cf. IF. I, p. 90, footnote).

dental association started the type. As to this I make the following suggestion: just as Sk. *diṣāte* 'he points,' Grk. *δείκνυμι* || *deiknumi* are referable to a root *dēk* || *dīk* (supra, p. 22), so we might unite Sk. *vadati* 'he speaks' with Lat. *videre*, Grk. *εἶδον* 'see' with a root *vēd* || *vīd*, back of which lies a demonstrative *ve + de* 'you there!' interpreted as 'look' or 'say.'¹ We may suppose that beside this was a *voi-da*, a still more passionate 'you there!', interpreted as 'look out'; even more acute was *voi + st'(a)*, with a last element like our English *hist!*² When this complex was definitely understood as a call to the attention, an impv. *void + dhi* came into being, subsequently developed under accentual influence to **viddhi*; cf. Sk. *viddhi*, Grk. *ἴσθι*. In Sk. *viddhi* still means 'look out,' and Homer uses *ἴδῃ* in this sense, while in tragedy *ἰδοῦ* means 'lo!' or even 'hist!'. When **viddhi* was established as impv. 2d pers., then *voi + st'(a)?* was treated as 2d indic. and *voi + da* adapted to the other persons. The passage of meaning from 'see' to 'know' lies through 'understand,' or a parenthetical 'I see,' and so *οἶδα* is used in Greek (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. **εἶδω* B. 7).³

The next step was the re-interpretation of the parenthetic 'I see,' i. e. 'perceive, understand, know,' as 'I have seen, perceived.' Thus the forms in **void°* became associated with the **vēd-* || *vīd-* forms as 'perfects,' or 'intensives.' In Greek and Sanskrit intensive reduplication fell in to share in the creation of the new type, in Latin reduplication was seized on as the most characteristic thing, and in Gothic the vowel-change alone in the large majority of verbs.

It is venturesome, I am aware, to charge the whole 'perfect'-formation to a single association, as I have done. But, after all, the Greek *-κα*-perfects, and possibly the Latin *-ui*⁴-perfects, are

¹ For this association of meaning I again bring in evidence Germ. *sehen* and Grk. *εἶναι* (supra, p. 22).

² Note Lat. *iſte*, 2d and 3d pers.

³ This use nearly comes up for *οἶδα* in Homer (cf. A 365, p 573), but typical for Homer is *Ὀ 204 οἶσθ' ὥς πρῶτον ἔπεισαν ἐπὶ νύκτας αἰὲν ἔπονται*, and very frequently 'lo! how' would render the meaning perfectly well.

⁴ This is a compromise type: Lat. *dedi* is a pf. middle = Sk. *dadē* (pr. or pf.). Latin may have had a form **dedau* = Sk. pf. *dadāu* (Part I, p. 429). The compromise would be **dedāvi*. This we have perhaps in *mandāvi* 'I have enjoined' (< **māndāvi*). We need not operate with reduplicated forms, for we have the Umbrian form *subocau* = Lat. **subvocau*. For the spelling *subocau*, Bréal's explanation (T. E. 70) as *°auw* represents precisely our English

types that must have proceeded from a like small beginning. The twelve Gothic preterit-presents never strayed far from *wait* 'I know' in meaning, being all an easy remove from 'know, know how, can.'¹

Here I bring to an end these speculations as to the origin of roots and inflexions. Prehistoric and teleological problems are perhaps alike as to their insolubility, still a degree of certainty is reached for late Aryan forms by the comparative method. The elements of noun- and verb-inflexion have been delimited and seen to partly coincide. By the assumption of primitive paratactic sentences I have sought to identify these coincident elements. This method has long been employed in the study of syntax, e. g. in the construction after verbs of fearing in Latin. From incompletely formed verbs like Grk. *δεῖπο*, plur. *δεῖρε*, '<come> hither,' Lat. *cedo*, plur. *cette*, 'hither' (>'bring here'), 'out with it' (>'say'), beside modern locutions, I have sought to lift the veil on the embryogeny of roots. The proper point of view for this task was given long ago by Lucretius:

At varios linguae sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, et utilitas expressit nomina rerum,
Non alia longe ratione atque ipsa videtur
Protrahere ad gestum pueros infantia linguae,
Cum facit ut digito quae sint praesentia monstrent.

—De Rerum Nat. V 1026–30.

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pronunciation of *-ow*. We may then explain Lat. *vocāvi* as **vocāu* affected by *dedi*. In *monui* of the 2d decl. we must see **mónē-vi*. The exceptions in *-ēvi* are all dissyllables save *delēvi*, which was probably felt as a compound, and *adolēvi*, a quadrisyllable, and so not affected by the accent.

¹It is because I look upon this verb as ultimately the starting-point of the preterit inflexion that I believe we have in 2d sg. *waist* an original and not an analogical form (supra, p. 16).

II.—ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERM Š'vā.

The term š'vā in Hebrew grammar is one of the *cruces lexicographorum* that has baffled all attempts at a satisfactory explanation. The word is spelled in four ways: יְשׁוּבָה, יְשׁוּבָה, יְשׁוּבָה and יְשׁוּבָה. Of these forms the last is the usual one.

The spelling יְשׁוּבָה or יְשׁוּבָה can be traced to the very beginning of Hebrew grammar. It is found in the works of Saadyah Gaon's contemporaries Ben Asher,³ the Karaite David Al-Fāsi¹ and Menaḥem b. Sarūq¹; in the works of the latter's pupils,⁴ in Ḥayyūj,⁵ Ibn Janāḥ,⁵ Ibn Barūn,⁶ Ibn Balaam,⁷ Judah ha-Levi,⁸ Joseph Qimḥi,⁹ Moses Qimḥi,¹⁰ Moses Naqdān,¹¹ Zohar,¹² Elijah Levita,¹³ Archevolti,¹⁴ and elsewhere.¹⁵

Before entering on the discussion of its etymology, let us examine what this term properly denotes. In Hebrew there are two kinds of š'vā, the final š'vā and the initial š'vā. The final š'vā denotes absolute vowellessness, and is identical with the Arabic *sukūn*; while the initial š'vā is, to all intents and purposes, a vowel, differing from a full vowel only in that its pronunciation is rapid and indistinct. It is what the phoneticians call "a voice

¹ Pinsker, לקוטי קרמוניות, p. קס"ה, p. 16^{ab}.

² Dunasch, Kritik, ed. Schroeter, Nos. 108, 120.

³ Massorah, ed. Ginsburg, I 656^a.

⁴ חשובות תלמידי מנחם, p. 49.

⁵ Bacher, Abr. Ibn Esra als Gramm., p. 64, n. 17.

⁶ כתאב אלמואונה, p. 12.

⁷ הוריית הקורא; cf. Porgès, Rev. d. Études Juives, XXIII 311.

⁸ Kusari, II, §80.

⁹ ה' הזכרון, p. 62; ה' הנגלי, p. 18.

¹⁰ Bacher, loc. cit.

¹¹ דרכי הנקוד והנגן, ed. Frensdorf, passim.

¹² I 24^b.

¹³ I do not recollect the place.

¹⁴ שוונת הבשם, ed. princ., p. פ"ח.

¹⁵ Massorah, ed. Ginsburg, III 23^a, 27^b, 28^b, 37^a, 38^a and elsewhere.

murmur without any definite configuration"¹; in German, *Murmelsvocal*.²

As the nature of initial *šva* is not infrequently misunderstood, it will not be out of place to cite here the testimony of ancient authorities on the subject. The old versions of the Bible render initial *šva* by a full vowel; e. g. *Σολομών*, *Σαμονήλ*, for the Hebrew שְׁלֹמֹה, שְׁמוֹנִי. To the vocalic nature of initial *šva* testify Ben Asher,³ Saadyah Gaon,⁴ Hayyūj,⁵ David Qimḥi,⁶ the anonymous works שְׁלֹה קוּדֵשׁ,⁷ and 'Manuel du Lecteur' (מחברת הליקון),⁸ Sol. Almoli,⁹ Elijah Levita,¹⁰ Emmanuel Bonevento,¹¹ and others.¹²

According to Joseph Qimḥi, *šva* with *ga'yā* is pronounced like *a*.¹³ In medieval MSS and vocalized prints *šva* is frequently found for a full vowel.¹⁴ The Lithuanian and other Jews pro-

¹Sweet, *Handbook of Phonetics*, p. 187.

² Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*⁴, §§263, 264.

⁸ דקדוקי הטעמים, ed. Baer and Strack, §14.

⁴ Bacher, Gramm. Termin., p. III9, n. 2, end; Harkavy, Leben u. Werke des Saadyah Gaon, p. I" D, n. 10.

⁶ Bacher, *ib.*

⁶ מבלול, chapt. on Švd.

ובלשונם ההמוני (ר"ל השרבי) יש להם בהבדל התנועות הקרובות: ⁷Page 5: במבטא הרגש ניכר רצוני כי הם מבדילים בין התנועה אשר היא אצלם במדרגת הצרי אצלנו ובין התנועה אשר היא במדרגת הסגול וכל שכן בין שתי אלו ובין השוא ולא כן אנחנו עושים בארצות האל... ואין לנו הרגש בהבדל אלו השלש *in Arabic they make a clear distinction between similar vowel-sounds; e.g. they distinguish between the sound corresponding to our צרי and between that corresponding to סגול, and those two are distinguished from שוא. We, however, in these countries make no distinction in the pronunciation of the three vowels צרי, סגול, שוא.*

כמו בִּי בְּרֵאשִׁית נִקְרָא הַשּׁוֹא בַּפְתָּחָה וְאִינָה ⁸Journ. Asiat. 1870, p. 372: *as in the ב of נמשכת כדי שתסבול מעם אלא מתגלגלת ודולגת למלך הסמוד לה* *the שוא is pronounced like a פתח, only that its tone is not long enough to receive the accent, but the voice rolls over it and hurries on to the following vowel.*

רוב: משפטם הלשון העברית, p. 62, cited by Gordon in his *הליכות שוא*¹
העולם קוראים כל שוא נע שבעולם כמו סנול או צרי וקצת קוראים כל שוא נע פתח
most people pronounce all vocal צ'וּד's like סנול or צרי; but some people pronounce all
vocal צ'וּד's like פתח.

¹⁰ I do not recollect the place.

וקריאתו (של השוא) בשלשה אופנים והסימן פק"ח, ר"ל פתח, יבד: p, לוי' חן¹¹
the pronunciation of פתח, adjoining vowel (?) is of three kinds חירק, חירק.

¹² Massorah, ed. Ginsburg, III 49 ff.

¹³ *ם' זכרון*, p. 8 ff.

¹⁴ Saadyah Gaon, אנרון, ed. Harkavy, in op. cit., p. נ"ז: נָהָרִי = נָהָרִי, p. נ"ז: מַה־שְׁלוֹשׁ = מַה־שְׁלוֹשׁ; de Balmes, מקנה אברים, passim, שְׁנִי = שְׁנִי, or רְבִי = רְבִי (= רְבִי).

To this pronunciation of initial *švā* is due a fact which has hitherto remained unexplained. I mean the insertion of the *mater lectionis* ' after vocal *švā* in the Talmud and in medieval writings. If the Talmudic orthography, as we have it at present, goes back to the fifth century, we obtain an important link in the chain of evidence between the old versions and the testimony of Ben Asher, showing that the vocalic nature of initial *švā* was recognized not only in Palestine, but also in Babylon. It only differed from a full vowel in that it could never receive the word-accent, but could receive *gayā*, i. e. the secondary accent. It could also influence the metre in poetry, and was taken in consideration by the accentuators of the Biblical texts.

They could have been led to give both kinds a common sign, either because they considered them identical—which supposition would contradict the historical evidence adduced above; or, while being conscious of their difference, detected a characteristic common to both kinds. Such a common characteristic could only be the rapidity of pronunciation; hence a common name must express this characteristic. They followed exactly such a course with regard to the two vowels *ɔ* and *ā*, giving them a common sign and a common name expressing their common characteristic, viz. *ꞑꞑ*.

¹ Cf. Hirschfeld, ZDMG. 48, 706.

² Jacob Saphir, *אבן ספיר*, I 55.

have both meanings). On the term רָפָה or רָפִי compare Geiger¹ and Pinsker.² שְׁחֵי נְקוּדוֹת corresponds to the Syriac term ܫܚܐ , a synonym of ܫܘܝܐ , referring to the form of the sign. š'vā is evidently a later name, and its meaning must depend upon its original orthography.³

Before discussing this last point, let us make a digression to examine the corresponding Arabic term *sukūn*.

In Arabic there is only one kind of š'vā , the final š'vā . Its name is *sukūn*, meaning *rest*. This term is intelligible only when we consider it as meant to be in contradistinction to *ḥārake* 'motion,' by which name the Arabs designate the vowel. They call the vowel *motion* because the vowel is the essential element of vocal utterance, which causes the organs of speech to move.⁴ Without reference to the motion of the vowel-sound, the term *rest* for vowellessness could never have arisen. The Hebrew name for vowel is תְּנוּנָה , which means the same as its Arabic equivalent *ḥārake* 'motion.'

Now, one of three cases is possible to explain the identity of terms in different languages. Either both were influenced by a common source, or both hit upon the same expression in consequence of a similar association of ideas, or the one borrowed from the other. We know of no common source from which both could have derived the term. That both should have hit upon so strange and fanciful a term in consequence of a similar association of ideas is not likely. We know, moreover, as a matter of fact, that the rise of grammatical studies among the Jews was due to the impulse given by the Arabs.⁵ The first grammarian to use the term תְּנוּנָה seems to have been Moses Ibn Chiquitilla.⁶ His predecessor, Menaḥem b. Sarūq, paraphrases the same idea

¹ ZDMG. XIV 318.

² Einleit. in d. babyl.-hebr. Punktationssystem, pp. 7, 176-8.

³ Freytag, in his Hebr. Gram., p. 25, n., erroneously assumes that קטף meant originally only vocal š'vā .

⁴ Brücke, in his Grundz. d. Physiol. . . . d. Sprachlaute², pp. 134-5, explains the term *ḥārake* differently: "Der erste Schritt zum Verständnisse ist, zu bemerken, dass die Vocalzeichen . . . im Sinne der Araber etwas ganz anderes sind als unsere Vocalzeichen. Die letzteren bezeichnen die Stellung, in der der Vocal tönt, die ersteren aber den Uebergang in diese Stellung, darum heisst auch der Vocal bei den Arabern Bewegung."

⁵ Cf. Harkavy, Leben u. Werke, etc., p. 17²; Bacher, Die hebr. Sprachwiss., pp. 13-15.

⁶ On the spelling of this name, cf. Jellinek, Sabbathblatt, 1844, pp. 140, 156 cited by Posnañsky, Frankel's Monatsschrift, 38, 382.

in different ways, but of the term תנועה he is ignorant.¹ The Arabs did not borrow from Ibn Chiquitilla. The only possibility, then, remains that the Jews borrowed the term from the Arabs.

From the fact that תנועה is the only name for vowel found in Hebrew,² and from the fact that this name has been proven to be a translation from the Arabic, it follows that the Massorites in pre-Arabic times, while having names for the separate vowels, had not yet risen to the general notion of vowel, and hence could not have invented a term equivalent to the Arabic *sukūn* 'vowellessness,' the correlate of vowel.

We may now proceed to review the various etymologies that have been suggested for the term *švā*.

Assuming the correct spelling to be שוא or שוה, Abraham Ibn Ezra, referring to the name for vowel meaning *motion*, explains the names of all the vowels to denote the different modes of motion of the heavenly spheres. *Švā* in his opinion would mean *evenness*, and symbolize the even motion of the upper sphere.³ Nowadays this opinion needs no refutation. Benjamin ben Judah explains it to mean *equal*, i. e. indifferent, wanting a certain, definite sound.⁴ Süsskind ben Zanwil translates it *equalizer*, its function being, in his opinion, to equalize or balance the weights of the vowels.⁵ This is not very clear. Bonevento,⁶ Hanau⁷ and

¹ Bacher, *Grammat. Terminol.*, p. 1117, n. 2.

² On the Massoretic term דגש, cf. Pinsker, *Einl.*, loc. cit.; the term נקודה is later and means only *vowel-sign*.

³ Cf. Bacher, *Ibn Ezra*, pp. 62 n. 3, 64.

⁴ השוא נגזר מלשון שוה כלומר שהאות שוה ואין בה תנועה: מבוא הרקדוק מיוחדת *švā* is derived from שוה, i. e. the consonant is indifferent, has no special vowel-sound; cf. also Bacher, *REJ.* X 133.

⁵ וצורתו שתי נקודות זה על גב זה להשוות משקלי התנועות: דרך הקודש *its form is made up of two perpendicular points, which serve to equalize the forms of the words, and its name denotes its essence, as it means 'equalizing.'*

⁶ ומכל תנועה ותנועה יבנה בית... אך בשוא שוא עמלו בוניו בו: יכר. פ. ליות הן *by means of any vowel a syllable can be formed; but this is not the case with שוא.*

⁷ והנה קבלתי מאדוני אבי ז"ל שמונה בחכמת המוזיקא: יח. פ. בנין שלמה שבעה מדרגות הקולות... והברת הקול אשר איננו הולך אחרי עקבות מדרגות האלה נקרא קול שוא ותפל... על כן נראה לי ששוא נקרא כן מפני... והנה השוא אינו הולך אחרי עקבות המש הנדולות ולא אחרי עקבות המש הקטנות בהברתו *I have it from my deceased father, of blessed memory, that there are seven tones in the musical scale... and any tone not in harmony with one of those seven tones is called a discord... Now, it seems to me that because švā does not follow in its pronunciation any of the five long or of the five short vowels, therefore it has been called שווא, i. e. שווא nothingness.*

others connect it with שְׁוִי *nothingness*. Gesenius¹ offers two explanations. The one he prefers is that it means *sistens vocem*, from a Syriac stem שׁוּי. He compares with it the Arabic *waqf*, but the latter means *pause*. The other suggestion, adopted by Luzzatto² and Nestle,³ is that it is connected with the Syriac term שְׁוִי, which has the same sign, a double point, and is equivalent to a semicolon or comma. Now, if the Massorites had adopted this Syriac term, it is difficult to see why they should not have retained the same form of word as in Syriac. The term שְׁוִי is the plural of the adjective שְׁוִי, corresponding to Hebrew שְׁוִי. The plural is used here for the dual, which is wanting in Syriac, and means *two equal dots*, i. e. two dots lying in a perpendicular line, not in a slanting position. The form שְׁוִי is not the plural; nor is it the singular to that plural.

Professor Paul Haupt thinks that שְׁוִי, if it be connected with שְׁוִי, may have the sense of *transitoriness* or *fleetness*, like its synonym הֶקֶל, and would thus be equivalent to הֶקֶל.

Against the assumption of an original form שְׁוִי there are two objections. In the first place, unless we adopt the derivation from שְׁוִי, the form is very strange. There is, to my knowledge, no parallel form of a ל'ה stem; and nobody ever attempted to explain it.

The second objection is the gratuitous assumption of the change of ו to ב. It is inconceivable that, if the original spelling be שְׁוִי, a form suggestive and full of meaning, the earliest authorities should have misspelled it שְׁבִי, a form which has been meaningless to us for over a thousand years. This would be even stranger, since there is hardly a parallel for the change of ו to ב, although the opposite does occur.⁴

Assuming the spelling שְׁבִי to be original, the following etymologies have been suggested.

Süsskind b. Zanwil⁵ connects it with the verb יָשַׁב; but the meaning he attaches to the word נְחִישְׁבָה is not quite clear to me.

¹ Lehrs., p. 64.

² אגרות ש"ל, p. 331.

³ Syriac Grammar (1889), p. 17.

⁴ פרוור, Arab. שריבין, Aram. שורבינא for Assyr. *šurmenu*, *šurvenu* (ZA. II 268), have no bearing on the question. They are various attempts to render a foreign word, and to speak in such cases of a change of *w* to *b* is not quite correct.

⁵ ואשר קוראים לו שבא בבית הוא גם כן מן המעם שעליה: יג. דרך הקודש נתישבה התנועה שלפניה או שלאחריה ויהיה... מנביל כל תנועה השייך לו כמו כל סוף פסוק שיש לו שתי נקודות זה על גב זה כמוהו להורות נבול הפסוק ההוא

He compares the function of the *švā* with regard to the vowels to the function of *šp̄h pasūq* with regard to the verse. This had already suggested itself to earlier grammarians on account of the similarity of the signs. Thus, de Balmes defines *švā* to be *נבול תנועה*.¹ Ewald² explained the word to be an apocopated form of *שָׁקַט rest*. Stade³ adopted Ewald's opinion, and cites as an example of the unusual apocope of a radical *h* the Aramaic forms *שָׁבָא, שָׁבָא*, which are shortened from original *שָׁבַחַת, שָׁבַחַת* (primarily *שָׁבַחַת*). But those forms are due to erroneous analogy. The Syrians, with whom *שבחא* was a borrowed word, took the last syllable *חא* to be the feminine ending of the emphatic state, which in part it probably is, and thus derived from it an absolute *שָׁבָא*. A similar process is seen in *בִּיתָא* for *בֵּיתָא*.

Sol. Deutsch⁴ sees in it the Aramaic *שִׁיבָא fissure, gap*, i. e. bare of vowel. Professor Haupt would explain the word as *chip* or *fragment* (of a vowel), i. e. reduced vowel.⁵

It seems that Gesenius and Ewald, seeking in the word the meaning of *sukūn*, are right, although we cannot agree with their etymologies. I should derive the term from *ישב* *to sit, dwell, rest*. The form as it has been handed down to us may be explained as the imperative singular masculine *שָׁבָה*, and would mean *stop! hold!* This is probable on the basis of Derenbourg's theory that the names of the vowels come from the directing words or motions of the school-teacher while instructing children.

A somewhat similar use of the imperative as a noun we find in the Talmud. The imperative *עֲשֵׂה do* is used in the sense of a positive precept. This expression is shortened from *מַצְוֵת עֲשֵׂה*, and later writers form a plural *עֲשִׂין*. The opposite of *עֲשֵׂה* is *שֵׁב sit*, in the phrase *שֵׁב וְאַל תַּעֲשֵׂה*. We find here *שֵׁב*, the imperative of *ישב*, used in almost a nominal sense.

It is, however, more probable that it was originally an infinitive

the reason why people call it שָׁבָא with ב is because the vowel preceding or following it has settled (?) on it . . . and it limits the adjoining vowel, just as šp̄h pasūq, which has the same form, limits the verse.

¹ מִקְנָה אֲבָרִים, pp. 33, 36.

² Lehrb. d. hebr. Sprache, 5th ed., p. 122, n. 1.

³ Hebr. Gram., p. 40.

⁴ Hebr. Gram., p. 7.

⁵ Cf. *שָׁבָבִים*, Hos. 8, 6 (Nöld., Mand. Gramm., p. 140, §119); Mand. *שבבניא* *splinter, sliver, chip*; Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*², p. 118. Arab. *sabba* is a synonym of *qḏṭa'a*.

form *שִׁבָּה* or **שְׁבָה*. The first occurs in the Bible, the other is formed by analogy of such forms as *לָכָה*, *לָצֵה*, *לָרָה*. This would be a direct translation of *sukân*. The form *שְׁבָה* or *שִׁבָּה* was then simplified to *שָׁבָה*, in order that the term might begin with the sign it denotes, just as *לָכָה*, *לָצֵה*, etc., were changed to *לָכֹל*, *לָצֹל*, etc.¹ Popular etymology then connected it with *שָׁוָה* and changed its name to *שָׁוָה*, which took the popular fancy and became the dominant spelling.

Professor Haupt, to whom I am indebted for part of my references in this paper, has called my attention to a statement of König,² that the spelling *שבא* occurs neither in the Massorah, nor in any grammarian previous to Elijah Levita, whose date is 1469–1549. I find that Gross, in his work on Menaḥem b. Sarūq, makes the somewhat similar statement that the spelling *שבא* is found nowhere except in Sarūq. I have proved above that this spelling can be traced to Ben Asher and David Al-Fāsi, contemporaries of the first Hebrew grammarian Saadyah Gaon. From the fact that the earliest authorities spell promiscuously *שבא*, *שְׁבָה*, *שָׁבָה*, *שָׁוָה*, we see that the term is an old and familiar one. In the 'Massorah,' ed. Ginsburg, I have found *שבא* as well as *שָׁוָה*. To be sure, the notes in which *שבא* occurs are evidently of a late date, but so are those having *שָׁוָה*.

But even if the statement of Gross and of König should turn out to be correct, that only *שָׁוָה* occurs in the Massorah, this would only show that the Massorites preferred the popular etymology. They may not have understood the form *שבא*. It must be borne in mind that the Massorites were either copyists of the Bible or Hebrew school-teachers by occupation. Their mother-tongue was not Arabic, but Aramaic. From the nature of their occupation they came but little in contact with Arabic life, and even less with their literature. Hāya Gaon speaks of Aramaic as a living tongue in the eleventh century.³ The term may have been

¹ Of course *שִׁבָּתוּ* (2 S. 19. 33) must be a transcriptional error (for *שְׁבָתוּ*); but this could not have influenced the Massorites.

² Cf. Stade, §35^a, note.

³ *Lehrgeb.*, p. 44.

⁴ *תשובות הנאונים*, ed. Harkavy, §§205, 405. Dalman, in his *Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aram.*, p. 33, states that the Arabic supplanted the Aramaic about 800. He concludes this from the fact that since that time Jewish works began to appear written in Arabic, and from the expression *lughe abā'inā* used by Saadya Gaon with reference to the Aramaic. In the face of Hāya Gaon's

introduced by one familiar with Arabic literature, but was not understood by the majority of the Massorites, and therefore changed to שוא.

It may, however, be urged that a word from the stem שכן, שבת or נוה would have been more appropriate as a translation of *sukūn*. Admitting this, we can only regret the lack of skill in the translator.¹ Besides, those familiar with early Hebrew literature well know how freely the writers of that period handled the Hebrew, especially as regards the use of synonyms. Thus, e. g., the Arabic term *sākin* is rendered by שָׁכֵן, חֹקֶה, שֹׁכֵן, יָהֵן. Dunaš uses הִנָּקָה for הִנָּקָה.² The Karaite Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia³ uses the expression שֹׁכֵן נָפֶשׁ for the standing Rabbinic phrase מְיוֹשֵׁב בְּרָעַת of a settled mind.

But the strongest support of my theory I find in a passage from Sarūq. He says: כל האותיות מעונות דגש ורפה לצחצה הלשון: *to give proper elegance to the language, the consonants must be either hard or soft, accordingly as they are vocalized or not vocalized by the organs of speech*, lit. *according as they are moved by the mouth or left at rest by the tongue*. It is clear that מושב is the opposite of הנעה, just as רפה is the opposite of דגש. In other words, מושב means the pronunciation without a vowel—with שבא. The term מושב is related to תנועה as הנעה is to שבא.

Summing up what has been said above, we come to the following conclusions:

- (1) The original indigenous name for both kinds of שָׁכֵן was in Aramaic קִטְטָה, in Hebrew קִטְטָה.
- (2) Massoretic notes employing this term, or the earlier expression רָקֶה, antedate the Arabic period.
- (3) The term שָׁכֵן was originally spelled שִׁכָּה or שָׁכָה; it is a translation of the Arabic *sukūn*, and meant only final שָׁכָה.
- (4) The vocalization of the word was changed to שִׁכָּה in order that the first syllable might contain the vowel which it denotes.

statement, we would say that Arabic became the literary language without forcing the Aramaic out of every-day use. Saadya's expression may, moreover, have reference to his native country, Egypt, not to Babylon.

¹ A modern writer translates *literae liquidae* by אֹתוֹת לְחֹת (!) in Hebrew (Tedeschi, Thesaurus Synon., p. 6).

² Kritik, ed. Schroeter, p. 48.

³ וְצָרִיךְ לְהִיטֵי שׁוֹכֵן נֶפֶשׁ: יצר, p. ע"ד and the student must be clear-minded.

⁴ מחברת מנהם, p. 6.

- (5) The form שְׂכָא is the Aramaicized spelling for שְׂכָה.
- (6) After its meaning had become obscure, popular etymology connected it with שְׂוִי, and the spelling שְׂוָ came in vogue.
- (7) In consequence of that popular etymology, שְׂוָ came to be applied to both kinds of שְׂוָ.
- (8) The first grammarians, wishing to be more correct, restored the original spelling שְׂבָה, but had to submit to the current use of the term for both kinds of שְׂוָ.

C. LEVIAS.

III.—ΚΙΣΣΟΣ AND *HEDERA*.

"Warum stellt man diese beiden Wörter nicht zusammen," asked Windisch (in Curtius Stud. VII, p. 184), deriving *κισσός* from **κισος*, just as *μίσσος* from **μεθος*, Idg. **medh-ǵo-*, and comparing, for the *r*-suffix in *hedera*, the form *κίσσαρος* (= *κισσός*) used by Hippokrates ap. Erot., p. 208.

κισσός and *hedera* are both probably to be derived from the Idg. *√ghedh-* (beside which there is a parallel form *√ghed-*)¹ 'to cling,' from which come many other derivatives, e. g.

Aryan. Skr. *pari-gadhita* 'clasped, embraced,' from *√ghedh-*.

Greek. *χανδάνω*, fut. *χείσομαι* (from **χεντομαι* from **χενδ-σομαι*), aor. *χαδεῖν* (from **χḡd*), from *√ghed-*.

Italic. Lat. *pre-hendō*, *praeda* (from **prae-hedā*), from either *√ghedh-* or *√ghed-*.

Germanic. Goth. *bi-git-an* 'to find, get'; AS. *gitan*, Engl. *get*, from *√ghed-*.

Before passing on to the main object of the present paper—namely, the explanation of the difficult *ι* in *κισσός*—it may be well to examine the suffix or suffixes contained in *κισσός* and *hedera*, a question which hitherto has received but little attention from the comparative point of view.

On phonetic grounds there is nothing to hinder the derivation of *κισσός* from **κισ-σο-s* from **κεθ-σο-s* from Idg. **ghedh-so-s*, and indeed this is what Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.* (1890), p. 415, would seem to imply, when he derives *κίσσα* (*sic*) 'ivy' from **χισ-σα* from **ghedh-sā*²; similarly we may derive *hedera* from **hed-esā* from

¹ Compare Grassmann in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XII 128, who holds that *-dh-* and *-d-* in this root are merely parallel root-determinatives; Vaniček, *Etymologisches Wörterb.* (1877), p. 239; Whitney, *Sanskrit Roots* (1885), p. 34; Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, §425; II, §§627, 628, 631; Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.* (1890), pp. 39, 195, 414, 415.

² Surely Fick is making a mistake in writing *κίσσα* here instead of *κισσός*. *κισσός* is the Greek word for 'ivy,' whereas *κίσσα* means (i) a chattering, greedy bird, perhaps the jay, and (ii) the longing of pregnant women, a false appetite, a craving for strange food; and from *κίσσα* (ii) comes *κισσάω*. The older form of *κίσσα* 'jay' is *κείσσα*, as is clear from the Hesychian gloss *κείσσα· κίσσα. Λάκωνες*. The *ει* is contracted to *ι* before the double consonant, as in *τρικαί-*

Idg. **ghedh-esā*. We should thus have two ablaut-forms of the same suffix. But there is, in so far as I am aware, no evidence for an Idg. formative suffix *-so- -eso-* (v. Brugmann, *Grundr.*, Index, pp. 190 sqq.); hence this derivation can hardly stand.

It is best, with Windisch, to derive *κισσός* from **κισ-ιο-ς* from **κεθ-ιο-ς* from Idg. **ghedh-jo-s*¹; Windisch is herein followed by Walter in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XII, p. 386, note²; King and Cookson,

δεκα for *τρεῖς-και-δεκα* (Fick in Bezz. Beitr. I (1877), p. 173; but v. also Brugmann, Gr. II, §175, 1, on the form *τρεσκαῖδεκα*). Fick (Bezz. Beitr., l. c.) derives *κείσσα* from **κεθ-ια* from **χελ-ια*, which last, he says, agrees perfectly with Lith. *gėidžiū* (*gėis-ti*) 'to desire, wish for,' so that we might even set up a European **ghaidhja* 'to desire.' In his *Vergl. Wörterb.* (1890), p. 414, he still adheres to his derivation of *κισσα* from **ghaidh-* (in which he is followed by J. Strachan in Bezz. Beitr. XIV (1889), p. 315), but he no longer makes **χελ-ια* the original form, but (**χελ-σα*, i. e.) **χελ-σα*, Idg. **ghaidh-sā*.

Brugmann, Gr. II (1888), §110, p. 339 (Eng. ed.), gives a different explanation of *κισσα*, deriving it from **κικ-ια* beside Skr. *kiki-*; Schrader, *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*, Part II, Ch. IV ad fin., p. 137 (Eng. ed.), and Part IV, Ch. II, p. 251, and Per Persson, *Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, in *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1891), p. 194, 2, agree with Brugmann.

So far as *κισσα* alone is concerned, it might originally contain the same root as *κισσός* (viz. **ghedh-*), both containing the same meaning 'to take hold of, cling, grasp after'; but the Laconian form *κείσσα* is against this; moreover, the *ι* in *κισσα* would be very difficult, as it could only be explained as having arisen on analogy of *κισσός*; but I do not know that there is any close connexion, either in literature or in nature, between the 'jay' and 'ivy' to warrant such an explanation.

¹ Cf. *κορίσσω* from **κοριθ-ιω* beside *κόρυς -ιθ-ος* (Brugm. Gr. II, §768), *βυσσός* 'the depth of the sea, the bottom' beside *βυθός* 'the depth, esp. of the sea,' *βάσσων* Dor. Compar. of *βαθύς*; etc.; v. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.², §282, p. 272.

² Walter (l. c.) compares also *Κιθαῖρων*, which he translates 'ivy-hill.' But the *ι* in *Κιθαῖρων*, if indeed this word is also to be derived from **ghedh-*, is very much more difficult to explain than the *ι* in *κισσός*. It seems to me that, if the meaning of *Κιθαῖρων* were 'ivy-hill,' we should expect **Κισσαῖρων* rather than *Κιθαῖρων* (cf. *κισσαρός*), for the mere **ghedh-* by itself means simply 'to cling,' and it is only in conjunction with the suffix *-ιο-* (**ghedh-jo-*, whence **κεσσο-*, whence *κισσο-*) that it has acquired in Greek the meaning 'ivy.' Hence *κισσο-*, not *κισθ-* (or rather *κεθ-*), would have to form the basis of the mountain's name. I would therefore entirely separate *κισσός* and *Κιθαῖρων*, and rather connect the latter with *κιθαρίς*, *κιθάρα*. The word **κιθαρα*, which the derivation of *Κιθαῖρων* from **Κιθαριων* presupposes, cannot be identified with Latin *hedera*. The difficulty of the *ι*: *ε* is too great; nor will Mr. J. H. Moulton's excellent explanation of the *ι*: *ε* in *σκιόνημι*: *σκεδάω*—namely, that they are to be traced to different roots, the first to **sqhaii(d)-*, the second to **sqhed-* (v. Mr. J. H. Moulton in A. J. P., X, p. 285)—help us much here:

Sounds and Inflexions in Greek and Latin (1888), p. 194; Paul Kretschmer in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI (1892), p. 376; and Whitley Stokes in Idg. Forsch., vol. II (1893), p. 170.

hedera I prefer to regard as from Idg. **ghedh-erā*; and we thus have the word for 'ivy' in Greek and Latin formed from one and the same root, but with different formative suffixes.

We may now pass on to discuss the *ι*: *ε* of *κισσός* and *hedera*; all writers seem to agree in assigning these two words to the above-mentioned *√ghedh*¹ 'to cling, take hold of'; but the only explanation that has yet been offered for the very difficult *ι* of *κισσός* is the proportion *κισσός*: *hedera* = *ἵππος*: *equos* (Windisch in Curtius Stud., l. c.), which seems like explaining *ignotum per ignotius*, or, at any rate, *per ignotum*.⁴

Another explanation must, I think, be sought for the *ι* of *κισσός*, and it is to be taken from mythology.

Otto Gruppe, *Die griechischen Culte und Mythen* (1887), a work designed, according to Schrader (*Prehist. Antiq.*, p. 410,

there is no evidence, in so far as I am aware, for a *√gha²idh-* beside *√ghedh-*, nor do I think that we can explain the *ι* of *Κισσαίων* as due to the analogy of *σκιδνῆμι*: *σκεδάω*.

¹ **κεθ-ιο-ς* must have become **κεθ-ιο-ς* (cf. Brugmann, *Gr. I*, §496) before the *θ₁* became *σσ*, as we should otherwise have had **χισσος* and not **κεσσος* (whence *κισσός*).

² We may possibly derive *χέδροψ* or *χέδρωψ* (which is generally found in the plural *χέδροπά* 'leguminous fruits,' v. Liddell and Scott, 7th edition), as *χέδ-ροψ* *χέδ-ρωψ*, from the *√ghedh-*, which, as we mentioned above, was a prim. Idg. doublet of *√ghedh-* from which comes **κεσσος* (from **κεθ-ιο-ς* from **κεθ-ιο-ς* from Idg. **ghedh-ιο-*). From this *√ghedh-* we have Gk. *χανθάνω χεισσομαι* (v. supra). *χέδ-ροψ* *χέδ-ρωψ* has not been subjected to the same influences as *κισσός* (v. infra), and hence has kept its original *ε*. If *χέδ-ροψ* *χέδ-ρωψ* be rightly thus analysed, *-ροψ* may bear the same relation to *ρέπω* that *καλα-ῦροψ* 'a shepherd's staff, crook' (cf. *Φρόπαλον* 'club,' G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*², §239) bears to the same *ρέπω* (cf. Brugm., *Gr. I*, §168), *-ρωψ* may be to *ρέπ-ω* as *κλώψ* to *κλέπ-τω* (cf. Brugm., *Gr. II*, §161; Eng. ed., p. 488). The analysis *χέδ-ρ-οψ* *χέδ-ρ-ωψ* is of course possible, but does not seem to me so probable, even though at first sight *χέδ-ρ-* would seem to remind us of Latin *hed-era* from **ghedh-erā* (or, of course, equally well **ghed-erā*).

³ For this *ι* compare Bechtel, *Die Hauptprobl. der Idg. Lautlehre* (1892), pp. 112 f.

⁴ The Pamphylian coin-legend *Εοτφέ(ν)διυς* (= 'Ἀσπενδιός) is very interesting as still preserving to us the original *ε* (Pr. Idg. **ek-μo-*: Skr. *dva-*, Avest. and Old Pers. *aspa-*, Lat. *equo-*, Gall. *epo-*); *-στ-* is an attempt to represent *ε*: (Skr. *dva*); the form 'Ἀσπενδιός is due to Iranianising ('Ἀσπ-: Avestic and Old Pers. *asp-*); v. G. Meyer in Idg. Forsch. I 329.

Eng. ed.), 'to deal the death-blow to the notion that the primeval period had any belief of any sort or description in the gods, and to demonstrate that the Indo-Europeans were totally without religion,' says that everything belonging to Idg. religion was borrowed; and in many cases he is certainly right—the Greek deity names, for instance, are very largely borrowed from the Semites and from Egypt.¹ 'The key to the Greek mythology,' writes Isaac Taylor (*The Origin of the Aryans*, 1892, pp. 300 sqq.), 'has indeed been found, but it has been discovered, not, as was anticipated, on the banks of the Ganges, but on those of the Tigris. Much of the mythology of ancient Greece, instead of having a common origin with that of India, proves to be essentially non-Aryan, and must have been obtained from Babylonia through Phoenician channels.' This we might have expected, inasmuch as the first elements of Greek culture were derived from the Phoenicians. *Kadmos* was held by the Greeks to have been a Phoenician who settled in Boeotia, and the Greeks themselves agreed with Herodotus (V 58, 59) that most of their letters (not less than 16) were introduced by him. It has been conjectured that the name of Kadmos himself is simply the Hebrew *Qadmi* or *Qadmon* 'an Eastern man,' although, as Otto Gruppe (*Die griech. Culte und Mythen*, p. 162) remarks, "Wenigstens pflegt, wo ein wanderndes Volk nach der Himmelsrichtung benannt wird, die Bezeichnung nicht von ihm selbst, sondern von einem der Völker auszugehen, zu denen es gelangt; man würde demnach das griechische nicht das phoinikische Wort erwarten, wenn Kadmos wirklich die Herkunft bezeichnen sollte." However, on p. 169 Gruppe includes Kadmos in a list of names which he agrees that we may recognise as undoubtedly Phoenician, e. g. *Iapetos*, *Kabeiros*, *Adonis*,² *Typhon*,³ *Acheron*, and others.

Again, it is well known that from Phoenician merchants the Greeks obtained their knowledge and names of some of the metals, e. g. χρῦσός⁴ 'gold,' κασσίτερος⁵ 'tin'; μέταλλον⁶ 'mine' is

¹ But he can hardly say the same for other Idg. peoples; and indeed there are one or two prim. Greek cults which cannot be disproved as Indogermanic.

² *Adonis* is merely the Semitic *Adonai*, the 'lord' of heaven; v. Isaac Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, ch. VI, p. 302.

³ *Typhon* in Egyptian mythology was one of the children of *Seb* (whom the Greeks identified with *Kronos*).

⁴ Hebr. *chdrás*, Assyr. *huráqu*. Schrader, *ib.*, part III, ch. IV, p. 174.

⁵ Assyr. *kāsazatirra*, Accad. *id-kasdurnu*. Schrader, *ib.*, part III, ch. IX, p. 215 f.

⁶ Hebr. *mātal* 'to smithy,' *m(ē)šl*. Schrader, *ib.*, part III, ch. II, p. 155 f.

itself a Semitic word (introduced through the Phoenicians). The name of the coin *μνᾶ*,¹ again, comes through Hebraic-Assyrian *maneh*, *mana*, from the *mana* of the Sumerian or pre-Semitic language of the district round Babylon.²

Thus, then, we are not surprised to find that the Greeks obtained a considerable portion of their mythologic tales, and many of their deities, from the more cultured Semites; e. g.

Apollo.—The oldest epigraphic form of the Greek name Apollo³ is *Aplu*,⁴ which corresponds to the Semitic *Ablu*, the 'son' of heaven, which was one of the titles of Tammuz, the Syrian sun-god. Compare the form on Thessalian inscriptions; e. g. ἐν τῷ ἱερῶν τοῖ Ἀπλουνοῦς⁵ τοῖ Κερδοίοις 'into the temple of Apollo

¹ v. Schrader, *ib.*, part II, ch. VI, p. 145.

² That Troy itself was in connexion with Babylon, by the time of the third city, is held to have been proved by the finding of a Babylonian silver mina there.

³ Some scholars have endeavoured to find an Indogermanic origin of the name. Max Müller equated Ἀέλλων and Skr. *apṛṇamudā* 'removing, opening.' L. v. Schroeder in Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX (1888) 193 ff. identified Gk. Ἀπόλλων, Cyp. Ἀπειλῶν with Skr. *saparyénya* 'he who should be revered,' which occurs once in the RV. (442, 6) as an epithet of Agni. Schrader, *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples* (2d edition, 1890), part II, ch. III (Eng. ed., p. 130), holds the same view, but doubtfully, and later on in the same book, part IV, ch. XIII, II (p. 412), he admits that the identity is questionable because of the *e* of Latin *sepelio* (= *sapary*); cf. also Froehde on Ἀπόλλων, in *Bezz. Beitr.* XIX (1893), pp. 230 ff., who rejects Schroeder's identification not only on phonetic grounds, but also because the designation of a god as 'the one who should be revered' is not sufficiently descriptive, and does not bring out any characteristic excellence of the god in question. Contrast Ἡριγένεια, Ἐκάργος, Ἐννοσίγαιος; Froehde (*ib.*, p. 240) holds that Ἀέλλων was the earliest form of the god's name, and gives three possible analyses of the word: (1) Ἀπ- is the root and ελλων a 'suffixverbindung,' comparable to that in ἀελλα 'Aeλλώ κύπελλον. (2) Ἀπ- is preposition and ελλων the word. This is the view of Welcker and others, who derive the name from ἀπειλῶ, Aeol. ἀπέλλω (cf. Hesych. ἀπέλλειν · ἀπειργεῖν), explaining it as the averter of evil and adversity (ἀλεξίκακος). (3) Ἀ- is 'prothetic' and πέλλων the word. This Froehde considers to be the correct analysis. He finds in the 'prothetic' *a* the Latin *ad* = Goth. *at*, Phryg. *ad* in *adδακετ* (= ἀνέθηκε). -πέλλων he compares to Germ. *spellan*: Goth. *spilla* 'announcer, proclaimer' (aivaggeljons), OHG. *wār-spello* 'prophet,' etc. In the pre-Germanic time the Germanic root *spel-* had beside it a form *pel-*; cf. Latin **pellāre* in compounds, e. g. *appellāre*, *compellāre*, etc.

⁴ Isaac Taylor, *ib.*, p. 304.

⁵ Thessalian *ou* corresponds to ordinary Greek *ω*; in other words, while the rest of Greece pronounced the original long sound (as in *ἔδω-κε*) open, the Thessalians pronounced it close (*ἔδουκε*); v. Blass, *Ausspr. des Griech.*,³ §§9, 12, and Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, §88.

Kerdoios' (Cauer, *Delect. Inscr. Graec.*, No. 409, ll. 22 and 44), date 214 B. C.; 'Ἀπλοῦνι Κερδ[ο]ίου Σουσίπατρος . . . ὀνέθεικε 'To Apollo Kerdoios Sosipater . . . dedicated' (Cauer, *ib.*, No. 417; C. I. G. 1766); 'Ἀπλοῦνι Τεμπείτα Αἰσχυλῆς Σατύρου ἐλευθέρια 'To (i. e. in honour of) Apollo of Tempe Aischulis daughter of Saturos celebrates the feast of Liberty' (Cauer, *ib.*, No. 420).

Again, in Homer we find, it is true, the cults of Dionysos and Aphrodite, but their position in Homer is such as to make us suspect that they are rather a late importation, and hence we are not surprised when we find that they are certainly borrowed.

Aphrodite.—Aphrodite is really the great Semitic goddess *Istar*, brought by the Phoenicians under the name *Astarte* or *Ashteroth* to Cyprus, whence, with her name changed by popular etymology to 'Ἀφροδίτη 'the foam-born,' her worship spread among the Greeks.

Dionysos.—The theory of the Indian origin of the great Dionysiac myth was shaken by Lenormant's comparison of Dionysos with *Dianisu*, the Assyrian sun-god (found, e. g., at Babylon); and this was confirmed by Dr. Neubauer's identification of his mother *Semele*, daughter of the Phoenician Kadmos, with the Phoenician goddess *Semlath*, and with the Edomite '*Semlah of the vine-land*' (v. Isaac Taylor, *ib.*, p. 304);—we should remember that Dionysos or Bacchos was the special god of Thebes (cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1109 or 1121 Βακχεῦ, Βακχᾶν μητρόπολιν Θήβαν ἐνναίων), and that Kadmos the Phoenician, 'the Eastern man,' is said to have built Thebes, with its acropolis, the Kadmeia—and in connexion with this close intimacy between Thebes and the Phoenicians, we may mention that Dionysos is represented in the legend as having, on his way to India, travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and thence through all *Asia* (cf. *Strab.* XV, p. 687; *Eurip.* *Bacch.* 13), as having crossed the *Euphrates*, on which stood *Babylon*, and then the *Tigris*, on the left bank of which was the district called *Kissia*.

We have just seen that Dianisu was the sun-god of the Assyrians. Now, the Assyrian Empire, the earliest and most extensive of the empires of the East, extended, at the time of its greatest prosperity, over the south of Asia from the Indus on the east to the Mediterranean Sea on the west, including among its subjects the Babylonians. Such being the extent of their empire, it is not unnatural to suppose that the Assyrians enforced their religion in great measure on their subjects, and to suppose further that many

local cults may have arisen in connexion with the great Assyrian gods. One such cult may have arisen in *Kissia*, a district of Susiana, in honour of Dianisu, so that there was a '*Kissian Dianisu*' just as there was a *Νυσίμος Διώνυσος* (Aristoph., *Frogs* 215; cf. Hom. *Il.* VI 132, 133), and again a *Δάλιος Ἀπόλλων* (Soph., *Ai.* 689 or 704), etc.

Kissia is not without mention in Greek literature:—

Hdt. III 91, 6 says that 300 talents was the tribute ἀπὸ Σούσων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρας, which together constituted the νομός γδοός, or 'eighth satrapy.'

Hdt. V 49. Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletos, went to Kleomenes, King of Sparta, to invoke his aid on behalf of the Ionians against Darius, King of Persia. He brought with him a bronze map, in which had been cut γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος, καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα, καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες, —Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Καππαδόκαι (τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν), Κίλικες, Ἀρμένιοι, Ματιηνοί are mentioned one after another in this order, ἔχεται δὲ τούτων (sc. τῶν Ματιηνῶν) γῇ ἦδε Κισσίῃ· ἐν τῇ δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σούσα ταῦτα, ἐνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαitan ποιεῖται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαυτὰ εἰσι· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, θαρσύνοντες ἤδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε.

Hdt. V 52, 9 ἡ Κισσίη χώρα is again mentioned.

Hdt. VI 119, 2. Datis and Artaphernes brought the conquered Eretrians to Darius at Susa, and he settled them at one of his own stations in *Kissia*.

Aesch. Cho. 423 ἔκοψα κομμὸν *Ἄριον ἐν τε Κισσίας *νόμοις ἡλεμιστρίας 'I strike a Persian blow (upon my breast) and like a Kissian mourner,' meaning generally 'I wail in Eastern fashion' (A. Sidgwick).

Aeschylus in Strabo, XV, p. 728: Λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κίσσιοι οἱ Σούσιοι. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὴν μητέρα Μέμνονος Κισσίαν [Aesch. Fr. 264, in Dindorf, Poet. Scen. Graec., p. 609; Butler thinks the reference is to Aeschylus' *Ψυχαστασία*].

We have seen above that *Διώνυσος* is borrowed from the Assyrian *Dianisu*, and that there very probably may have been a special '*Kissian Dianisu*,' which may have been likewise borrowed and incorporated into Greek mythology; and indeed this theory receives considerable support from the fact that *Κισσός* was actually one of the two names under which Dionysos was worshipped in the Attic deme Acharnae, according to Pausanias, I 31, 6 Ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι . . . τὴν Ἰππίαν Ἀθηναίων ὀνομάζουσι καὶ

Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν¹ τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτόν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆναι λέγοντες. (The last eight words are in all probability merely an 'aetiological myth' to account for the name Κισσός as applied to the god Dionysos.)²

Then at a later date the ivy *κεσσος (Lat. *hedera*) came to be a favourite symbol in the religious rites of Dionysos (cf. Soph. Ant. 1130; Eur. Phoen. 651; Bacch. 25, 81, 105 and passim; Aristoph. Thesm. 999; Homeric Hymns, XXVI 9; etc., etc.). Thus when *κεσσος 'ivy' became associated with the worship of Κίσσιος Διόνυσος, or Κισσός Διόνυσος as at Acharnae (v. supra), *κεσσος became κισσός on analogy of the epithet κίσσιος or Κισσός of the god, with whose worship it was so intimately bound up; whence also the name Κισσεύς,³ etc.; and then, in the popular consciousness, any epithet of the god such as Κίσσιος and κισσός, its oriental origin having been completely forgotten, would be connected no longer with anything save κισσός 'ivy.'

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¹ Liddell and Scott (7th edition) read, I suppose, Κισσέα, as they quote this passage under Κισσεύς; but Dindorf reads Κισσόν, and he is herein followed by Dr. Sandys on Eurip. Bacch. 81, and by Preller-Robert, Gr. Mythologie, vol. I, part II, pp. 661 and 676.

² We also find Κισσός used as the name of a satyr in C. I. G. 7461. Perhaps this was merely due to a desire to hand on one of the names of the god of revelry to one of his satyr-attendants.

³ It should be mentioned that Κισσεύς, a surname of Dionysos in Paus. i, 31, 6, Suid. [according to the reading of Liddell and Scott (v. supra)], is used also of Apollo in Aeschylus, Fr. 394 or 383: "Ὁ κισσεύς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Καβαῖος, ὁ μάντις." Σαβαῖος Barnesius ad Eurip. Bacchar., v. 408 (Dindorf, Poet. Scen. Graec., p. 613). Preller-Roberts, Gr. Mythol., vol. I, part II, p. 713, read ὁ Βακχεύς for ὁ Καβαῖος. Compare also Macrobius, Saturnal. i 18, 6: "Euripides in Licymnio Apollinem Liberumque unum eundemque deum esse significans scribit Δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, Παιῶν Ἀπόλλων ἐβλυρε." For the close association of Dionysos and Apollo at Delphi, see Dr. Sandys, Eurip. Bacch., p. xiv, and be it remembered that both these gods were borrowed from the East (see above).

IV.—KRATINOS AND ARISTOPHANES ON THE CRY OF THE SHEEP.

It is universally held that Kratinos and Aristophanes, each separately and independently, represent the sound of the sheep-cry (*baa*) by βῆ βῆ or simple βῆ, in the following two fragments:

‘Ο δ’ ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.—Krat. Frg. 43, ed. Kock.

Θύειν με μέλλει καὶ κελεύει βῆ λέγειν.—Arist. Frg. 642, *ibid.*

Compare Suidas βῆβῆν· πρόβατον.

The object of this paper is an attempt to show that the original form of this famous βῆ βῆ was, as written by Kratinos, not BH BH but BEBE (if not BEBEE); that this BEBE does not represent the sheep-cry, but means the *sheep* itself; and that the words ὥσπερ πρόβατον are an interpolation originally intended as an explanation of the mistaken βῆ βῆ. My reasons for this contention are founded on historical, grammatical and rational grounds.

And first of all let it be noted that both the above fragments have come down to us through Byzantine commentators (Suidas, Zonaras, Eustathios) of the 10th–13th century, and that the MSS of these authorities are of a still later date (13th–15th century).¹ It will be further remembered that both Kratinos and Aristophanes were Athenians, and that they wrote before the introduction

¹ The sources referred to are the following:

I. Eustathios 1721, 27 (μ 265): ὅτι κυριολεκτῶν λέγει μυκηθμὸν ἀκοῦσαι βοῶν αὐλιζομενῶν οἶων τε βληχὴν. μυκῶνται γὰρ αἱ βόες, βληχᾶται δὲ δις. εἰ δὲ πον ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐπὶ προβάτου (-των?) καὶ αἰῶν κείται κοινῶς ὁμοῦ τὸ μηκάσθαι, συλληπτικός ὁ τρόπος ἐκεῖ. αἶγες γὰρ κυρίως μυκῶνται, προβάτων δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ἡ βληχή. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ βῆ φωνῆς προβάτων ἐστὶ σημαντικόν. καὶ φέρεται καὶ παρὰ Αἰλίου Διονυσίου καὶ χρῆσις Κρατίνου τοιαύτη· ὁ δ’ ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.—Then again 768, 14 οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ φασιν ὁμοίως μιμητικῶς καὶ βῆ, οὐ μὴν βαί, μίμησιν προβάτων φωνῆς. Κρατίνος· ὁ δ’ ἡλίθιος κτλ.

II. Et. M. 196, 7 βῆ τὸ μιμητικὸν τῆς τῶν προβάτων φωνῆς οὐχὶ βαί λέγεται Ἀττικῶς. Κρατίνος Διονυσιαλεξάνδρῳ· ὁ δ’ ἡλίθιος κτλ. ῥητορικὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις.

III. Suid. βῆ· τὸ μιμητικὸν τῆς τῶν προβάτων φωνῆς, οὐχὶ βαί λέγουσιν Ἀττικοί. Κρατίνος Διονυσιαλεξάνδρῳ· ὁ δ’ ἡλίθιος κτλ.

That all these references point to a common source (apparently to Aelios Dionysios) need not be emphasized here.

of the vowel H into the alphabet of their country, since this took place not earlier than the latter part or rather the close of the fifth century B. C.¹ We also know that by that time Kratinos was already dead and Aristophanes an elderly man, conservative by nature and hardly capable of overcoming the force of his early orthographic habits. In these circumstances, even if we admit that the above two verses, such as they have come down to us, go back to Kratinos and Aristophanes, there remains the incontrovertible fact that the vowel H cannot, in any circumstance, belong to Kratinos and hardly to Aristophanes. In its place there must have originally stood a long E, if not a double EE, for this phonetic representation of the sheep-cry is not only rational and natural, but is also supported by ancient authorities. Varro, R. R. 2, 1 non enim mee sed *bee* sonare videntur oves vocem efferentes. But whether we assume a long E or a double EE, at any rate we have the clue to the present spelling βῆ βῆ: the transcribers knowing as they did that in Attic Greek the old (pre-Eukleidian) long E was at their time represented generally by H, and that in case of an original EE the new Attic orthography admitted of no double vowels (as aa, ee, ηη, oo, etc.), but substituted generally η for ee, changed BE (or BEE) to BH. That this is a fact which led to many other misrepresentations need not be dwelt upon here, since it is a common experience not only with modern but also with ancient critics.² For the confusion of o and ω in

¹ A few sporadic instances of H between 445 and 430 B. C. are cited by K. Meisterhans in his Gram.³, p. 3.

² Gal. t. 17, II, p. 111: Γραψάντων γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν τε τοῦ ἥ δὴ φθόγγον (ubi male δῖφθογγον) καὶ τὸν τοῦ ε̄ δι' ἐνδὸς χαρακτήρος θς νῦν μόνον (ubi male μόνος) σημαίνει τὸν ἕτερον φθόγγον, τὸν ε̄ (ubi male η), πολλὰ γέγονεν ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἐγγραφομένων, οὐ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν γραψάντων τὴν μετάθεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων ποιησαμένων. διδὲ καὶ προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς χρῆται ταῖς τοιαύταις γραφαῖς ἐν αἷς δυνατόν ἐστι τὸν τοῦ ἥ φθόγγον εἰς τὸν τοῦ ε̄ μεταθέντας ἢ τοῦ παλιν γράψαντας ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν γραφήν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὦ καὶ ὦ ποιητέον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων οἱ φθόγγοι δι' ἐνδὸς χαρακτήρος ἐγράφοντο. This comment refers on the σκῆψις or σκέψις of Hippocrates.

Schol. Eur. (ed. E. Schwartz) Phoen. 682 σοὶ νιν ἐγγονοί: γράφεται καὶ: σῶ νιν ἐκγόνῳ κτίσαν, ἵν' ἥ· τῷ ἐκγόνῳ σου, Ἐπαφε, τῷ Κάδμῳ αἱ θεαὶ κατέκτισαν τὰς Θήβας. γέγονε δὲ περὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀμαρτήματα. ἀρχοντας γὰρ Ἀθῆνῃσιν Εὐκλείδου μήπως τῶν μακρῶν εὐρημένων τοῖς βραχέσιν ἀντὶ τῶν μακρῶν ἐχρῶντο, τῷ ε̄ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἥ καὶ τῷ ὦ ἀντὶ τοῦ ε̄. Ἐγραφον οὖν τὸ δῆμῳ μετὰ τοῦ τ· δῆμοι. μὴ νοήσαντες δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφὴν ἐστὶ καὶ <δτι> δεῖ μεταθεῖναι τὸ ὦ εἰς τὸ ὦ ἐτάραξαν τὸ νοητόν.

The veracity of these testimonies is disputed by Prof. F. Blass in his Gr. Palaeogr.² (I. Müller's Handbuch, vol. I²), §3, who argues that the Ionic

Homer compare Aristonikos, A 104; Schol. Townl. H 238; Porphy. quaest. 8 (p. 287, Schrader on Φ 127); α 52. For ϵ and η , Schol. Ξ 241; α 275. For ϵ and η , α 252.

Thus far, then, we see that Kratinos must have written, not BHBH, but BEBE(E). Now the next question naturally suggesting itself is, What does this BEBE(E) mean? The assumption universally held is that it represents the *sound* of the sheep-cry; this interpretation is also very natural after the parenthetical explanation *ὡσπερ πρόβατον*. But when we come to a closer examination of the line, we are confronted with many difficulties. In the first place, it is hardly conceivable that a person, however stupid or silly (*ῥηθιος*), could walk about and say (*λέγειν*) *baa baa*. Then we cannot admit that sheep bleat in the double cry *baa baa*. The dog barks, it is true, *baw wow* (and so it is rendered in ancient as well as modern Greek, viz. *aḗ aḗ*, and *γαῦ γαῦ* or *γάου γάου* respectively), but in the case of sheep, a repeated BE BE is too unnatural

alphabet must have been in both private and literary use long before it made its appearance in the inscriptions, and that consequently the Attic tragedians must have written their plays in that alphabet. But neither he nor his authority (U. Köhler in Mitth. d. arch. Inst. Athen. 10 (1885), pp. 359-79) adduces any dated voucher. The latter archaeologist rests his hypothesis merely on the 'external form of the letters,' particularly on the 'triangular shape of sigma,' a certainly not safe criterion when the issue turns on the narrow period of a couple of decades (cp. W. Larfeld, Gr. Epigr., in I. Müller's Handbuch, vol. I², p. 527 sq.). If writers and private scribes had been leading the way towards the spelling reform, how is it that a whole century later Plato and his contemporaries still clung to the old Attic fashion of writing O for both o and ou, and E for both ϵ and $\epsilon\iota$? This is also expressly admitted by Prof. Blass himself in more than one place, and is inserted by him in his recent revision of Kühner's Ausf. Gram. (vol. I², 318 A. 4), where he says: "Plato (Crat. 416 B) setzt den Unterschied zwischen *καλὸν* und *καλοῖν*, beides damals KAAON geschrieben, ausser in die Quantität, auch in die *ἀρμονία*, d. i. den Accent."

Another argument of Prof. Blass is that Kallias, as reported by Klearchos the peripatetic (cited by Athen. 7, 276 a. 10, 453 sq.), had composed his reputed *γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία*, a sort of ABC play, in the Ionic alphabet, and that Euripides had used the vowel H in his *Θροεὶς*. This statement, however, is of questionable value, seeing that Kallias' personality and time are, as Prof. Blass himself owns, wrapped in obscurity. Kallias' *γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία*, we are told by Klearchos, was pirated by Sophocles in his Oedipus and wholly copied by Euripides in his Medea. The charge against Euripides is particularly grave, since he is represented to have pirated also the music. But this is not all: Euripides, we are further told, copied again in his *Θροεὶς* Kallias' ABC play, now styled *γραμματικὴ θεωρία*. The improbability of such a story is too glaring and palpable to claim any serious consideration.

to be admitted and unworthy of such a shrewd observer as Kratinos. The difficulty is further increased by the circumstance that both BE BE's—two certainly very long syllables—coincide in *one* foot, and that without caesura, whereas the nature of the case would require a long interval between the two BE's (*baa! baa!*). Add to these inconveniences the equally strong objection that the preceding parenthetical explanation *ὥσπερ πρόβατον* militates against the metre, since it forms an anapest unwonted in the fourth foot.¹ Finally, it militates also against grammar, considering that the term *πρόβατον* meant at Kratinos' time simply *cattle, herd*, and stood mostly in the plural.

In face of so many anomalies, let us see whether we may find elsewhere some analogous instances tending to throw light on the subject. We find that Aristophanes himself, in another well-known place (Nub. 1380 sq.), puts in the mouth of Strepsiades the following coarse reproach:

καὶ πῶς δικαίως; ὅστις, ὦ 'ναίσχυντε, σ' ἐξέθρεψα
αἰσθανόμενός σου πάντα τραυλίζοντος ὃ, τι νοοίης.
εἰ μὲν γε βρῦν (?) εἴποις, ἐγὼ γνοῦς ἂν πιεῖν ἐπέσχον·
μαμμᾶν δ' ἂν αἰτήσαντος ἡκόν σοι φέρων ἂν ἄρτον,
κακκᾶν δ' ἂν οὐκ ἔφθης φράσας κἀγὼ λαβὼν θύραζε
ἐξέφερον ἂν καὶ προυσχόμεν σε. σὺ δέ με νῦν ἀπαγῶν
βοῶντα καὶ κεκραγόντ' ὅτι
χεζήτιφην, οὐκ ἔτλης
ἔξω 'ξενεγκὼν, ὦ μιανέ,
θύραζε μ', ἀλλὰ πνιγόμενος
αὐτοῦ 'ποίησα κακκᾶν.

It is unnecessary to remind here that the above scene alludes to the childhood of Pheidippides and that the words *βρῦν* (?),² *μαμμᾶν* and *κακκᾶν* are taken from the language of little children. This is also corroborated by the fact that these words are still surviving unchanged in the vocabulary of little children in the Greece of to-day.

Another parallel instance is found in the Anth. Pal. 11, 67, 4:

βάπτε δὲ τὰς λευκὰς καὶ λέγε πᾶσι ταττᾶ.

¹ "Propter anapaestum in quarto pede inusitatum Porson. Hec. praef. XLV ὡς πρόβατον; Reisig. Coniect. 99 [?] ὥσπερ πρόβατα; Elmslei. Cens. Hec. Pors. ed. Lips. 268 ὃ δ' ἡλίθιος βῆ βῆ λέγων ὥσπερ πρόβατον βαδίζει."—Kock.

² See following footnote.

This satire of Myrinos is directed against a prudish κορωνεκάβη who, wishing to appear youthful, dyes her hair and calls ταττᾶ (cf. τέττα), a term for πατήρ still very common among infants in Greece.

The above striking coincidence between ancient and modern Greek terms in the language of little children is certainly very suggestive, and the parallel is worth following a step further. In addition to μαμμᾶ for *bread*, ταττᾶ for *dada*, *papa*, and κακκᾶ for *stool*, modern Greek infants say μπεμπέ, i. e. *bebé*, for *ba-lamb*, *sheep*,¹ a word manifestly identical with the βηβῆν of Suidas and the βῆ βῆ

¹ It may be in place here to add some more specimens out of the vocabulary used at present by little children in Greece. It generally consists of dissyllables formed by repetition of the characteristic syllable. Thus, besides *bebé*, μαμμᾶ, ταττᾶ, κακκᾶ, quoted above, Cretan infants say νινί for *baby*, *doll*, λιλί for *toy*, νανᾶ for *sleep* (*byby*), μμί for *a sore place*, *pain*, πωπῶ (or ποπό) for *lap*, βουβού for *beating* (punishment), νεντέ or dedé for *horse* (*jeejee*), πιπί for *garment*, (τᾶ) νιανιά (disyllabic) for *dress*, (τᾶ) νναμνά or, as it is generally pronounced by infants, μαμιά (disyllabic) for *food*, *dish*, μπουμπού or δουβού for *water*, *drink*. In the earlier stage of infancy children make themselves, or are taught to make themselves, understood by uttering only one syllable. Thus they say μᾶ for μαμμᾶ *bread*, δέ for dedé *horse*, and μπού or βού for δουβού *water*. This βού, pronounced by the parents δούν, points to a connection with the above-mentioned βρύν of Aristophanes. That such a keen observer as the great comedian could not put a ρ into the mouth of babies is in itself sufficiently clear, and has already been duly discussed by eminent critics.

"Anecd. Bekk. 31, 9 βρύν· τὸ ὑποκόρισμα, ὃ ἐστὶ λεγόμενον τοῖς παιδίοις σύμβολον τοῦ πιεῖν· ὅπερ ἔνιοι σὺν τῷ ὀ γράφουσι: βροῦ. Et Antiatticista ibidem p. 85, 28 βρύν ἐπὶ τοῦ πιεῖν. Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις δευτέραις. Eustathius, p. 1106, 12 (1142, 18) βρύν ex Aristophane affert. H. Stephanus in Thes. T. III, p. 33, 34 [s. v. βρύλλω] litteram ρ in ore balbutientium puerorum miratus, βύν legendum censebat, Varronis *duas* apud Nonium comparans. Eadem etiam Scaligeri sententia fuit qui in ed. Aristophanis a. 1624 adnotavit: βύν vel etiam πίν· non autem βρύν."—G. Hermann in Ar. Nub. 1340.

The conjecture proposed by H. Stephanus and Scaliger is certainly based on rational grounds, but the presence of δούν (μπούν) in modern Greek points more probably to a palaeographic mistake: BPTN for BOTN. That the copiers may have taken exception to βούν, because of its coincidence with the accusative of βούς, is also highly probable. At all events, the sound of ρ is unutterable to infants, and very often difficult even for youngsters. Thus the latter now in Greece frequently say μικός (also μικιός disyllabic) for μικρός, a form current also among grown-up people in the sense of *tiny*. That this neo-Hellenic μικός is a direct survival of the ancient μικός (Ar. Ach. 909; Theocr., Call., Choerob.), found also in the Attic inscriptions (I. A. II χρωσία μικά, κανᾶ μικά, οἰνοχόη μικά, τράπεζαι μικαί, K. Meisterhans, Gram.², p. 63. 6), is almost certain.

of Kratinos, thus misspelt for the genuine BEBE(E) or βεβέ(ε). As to the final ν in the above words μαμμάν, κακκάν, βηβῆν, βρῦν, it is nothing else than a movable ν added for metric or euphonic considerations. No man certainly will maintain that little children are wont or even able to close their vocables with a final consonant (cf. pussy, dolly, doggy, birdy, etc.).

And now the explanation of the difficulty about Kratinos' βῆ βῆ suggests itself: The great satirist, like Aristophanes and Myrinos, lashes some silly man or lad who, like the old woman in the Anth. Pal., is craving to pass for a youth, and in his natural exaggeration represents him as toddling (βαδίζει) and saying *ba-lamb*. The spelling, therefore, βῆ βῆ is untenable and should be corrected to BEBE, if not BEBEE, for it is an indeclinable substantive meaning *ba-lamb*, *sheep*.

It further becomes evident that the remark ὥσπερ πρόβατον, standing as it does as a parenthetic explanation, is an interpolation chargeable to some scribe who, having mistaken the double BEBE for the sheep-cry, remarked on the margin or between the lines the explanation ὥσπερ πρόβατον, a note which soon found its way into the text and led to the present condition of the verse. That this is actually the case appears sufficiently also from the metrical and grammatical inconveniences mentioned above: the words ὥσπερ πρόβατον are inadmissible in themselves, because of the position of πρόβατον as an anapest in the fourth foot; because of its usage in the singular; and because of its different meaning at Kratinos' time.

It is needless to add here that the insertion of ὥσπερ πρόβατον into the tetrameter has naturally led to the sacrifice of the last dipody:

ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος BEBE(E) λέγων βαδίζει — υ ι ε —.

'the silly fellow toddles about, saying *ba-lamb*.'

If the results thus obtained be correct, they acquire additional significance in another sense, inasmuch as they destroy the force of the argument generally based on this *locus classicus* as to the pronunciation of η like Latin or Italian long ē.

A. N. JANNARIS.

V.—A CONTRIBUTION TO LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.¹

In a paper printed in this Journal (vol. XIV, pp. 216-25) I called attention to the fact that the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon was, for Gellius at least, an unsatisfactory guide. The present paper, which is concerned chiefly, though not wholly, with Gellius, is a continuation of the work there begun. In its preparation I have had before me constantly four books: the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon, Nettleship's Contributions to Latin Lexicography, Georges' Ausführliches lateinisches-deutsches Handwörterbuch (7th edition), and the same author's Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen. Nothing has been included in the present paper which has been adequately treated in any of these works. Several words here treated have never before been recorded. Since, however, the bulk of the notes consists of new references for words already known, I desire to point out that of the whole body of such material gathered in the course of my reading I have here given such references only as seemed to me, after full deliberation, to add materially to our knowledge of the particular word's history.

1. ABORTIO = *miscarriage* occurs Gell. 3. 16. 21 cum abortio quibusdam, non partus, videretur mensis octavi intempestivitas.

ADAGIUM. Add Gell. 1. 8. 4 frequens apud Graecos adagium.

ADMINISTRATOR. Add Tertull. Spect. 22 auctores et administratores spectaculorum.

ADUNCUS. Add Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 5 naso suspendis adunco, with reference to Persius 1. 40 nimis uncis naribus indulges.

ADUSQUE is cited by L. and S. as Horace, Sat. "1, 5, 96; 97." Correct to Sat. 1. 5. 96 and 1. 1. 97, and add Gell. 2. 24. 15 a trecentis sestertiis adusque duo sestertia.

ADVERSITOR. Some reference should be made by L. and S. to the phrases *adversum venire*, or *ire*, cited by them under 2 *adversus* A. To the passages there given add Plaut. Most. 1. 4. 1, and see Lorenz ad loc.

¹In its original form this paper was presented at the meeting of the American Philological Association held at Philadelphia in December, 1894.

AEQUABILITER. Add Gell. 1. 20. 5 In numeris etiam similiter *κύβος* dicitur, cum omne latus eiusdem numeri aequabiliter in sese solvitur, sicuti fit cum ter terna ducuntur atque ipse numerus triplicatur.

AERARIUS is cited by L. and S. (s. v. II, 2) from Gell. "4, 12 and 29." Correct to Gell. 4. 12. 1 and 4. 20. 6; Masur. Sab. ap. Gell. 4. 20. 11.

AES. L. and S. (s. v. C) cite a few instances in which the genitive *aeris* depending on *milia* is used in expressions of money as = *assium*. The passages quoted are all, save one, from Livy. Add first of all Livy 1. 43. §§1 and 10; Varro, L. L. IX 83. If we read *octonos . . . aeris* in Horace, Sat. 1. 6. 75 we may say that *aeris* depends on *asses* understood, or better, that the gender of *octonos* is derived by a constructio ad sensum from the thought of *assium* to which *aeris* is equivalent. Palmer, in his note on Horace, l. 1., cites three parallels to *octonos aeris*, and in his 'Additional Notes,' p. 383⁴, refers to Gell. 2. 24. The following is a complete list of the examples of this use in Gellius: (a) with *milia* or *summa*, 6. 13. 1 qui centum et viginti quinque *milia aeris* ampliusve censi erant; 6. 13. 2 qui minore *summa aeris* . . . censebantur; 10. 6. 3 *aeris gravis* viginti quinque *milia*; (b) 2. 24. 2 centenos videnosque *aeris*; §3 lex Fannia lata est, quae . . . *centenos aeris* insumi concessit decemque alijs diebus . . . *tricenos*, ceteris autem diebus omnibus *denos*; §5 centenos *aeris*; §6 *aeris* alias *tricenos*, alias *denos*; §7 centenos, ducenos, *tricenos* with *aeris*; 11. 1. 2 idcirco postea lege Aternia constituti sunt in oves singulas *aeris deni*, in boves *aeris centeni*. It will be worth while to quote 20. 1. 12 in full (Favorinus is the speaker): Quod vero dixi videri quaedam (sc. in legibus XII Tab.) esse impendio molliora, nonne tibi quoque videtur nimis esse dilutum, quod ita de iniuria poenienda scriptum est: "Si iniuriam alteri faxsit, *viginti quinque aeris* poenae sunt." Quis enim erit tam inops, quem ab iniuriae faciendae libidine *viginti quinque asses* deterreant?

AGON. Add Gell. 10. 18. 5 Artemisia . . . agona, id est, certamen laudibus eius (= Mausoli) dicundis facit.

ALCEDO. The form *alcyon* is written by Gell. 3. 10. 5 dies quibus alcyones . . . nidulantur. The source of this whole chapter is the *Hebdomades* of Varro: see the lemma, also §1.

ALEA. "The tesserae had six sides, which were marked with I. II. III. IV. V. VI." So L. and S., s. v. I, and Prof. Peck on

Suet. Aug. 71. Rich, however, s. v. *tessera*, gives an example marked with spots precisely as dice are marked to-day. This is said to be a copy "of an original of ivory found at Herculeum." Compare Marquardt, *Privatleben*², p. 847: "Diese Würfel, bei den Griechen κύβοι, bei den Römern *tesserae* genannt, sind, wie die unsrigen, auf jeder der sechs Seiten mit einer Zahlbezeichnung, und zwar mit einem, zwei, drei, vier, fünf, und sechs Punkten versehen." See also Seyffert (as translated by Nettleship and Sandys), s. v. *Dice*. In fact, the whole account of dice-playing, as given in L. and S., requires revision in the light of Marquardt's treatment, pp. 847-54. For example, L. and S. imply that both with the *tesserae* and the *tali* the throws were valued according to the number of points turned up. Marquardt, p. 852, says of the *tali*: "Man ersieht hieraus dass nicht die Summe der geworfenen Einheiten entscheidend war . . ." His opinion is that the throws of the *tali* were valued according to the faces *turned down*, i. e. on which the dice rested, a view the very opposite of that generally given, e. g. by Hallidie on Plaut. Capt. 73, and Professor Smith on Hor. Odes, ii. 7. 25.

ALTILIS. Add Petron. 65 *gallinae altiles*, and compare id. 40 *qui altilia laceravit*.

AMBITIOSE is defined by L. and S. simply as "ambitiously, ostentatiously," a meaning which will not fit Livy 1. 35. 2 *isque primus . . . petisse ambitiose regnum dicitur*. There it signifies rather *by a regular, personal canvass*, and so = *per ambitum*. Cf. Weissenborn: "Livius denkt an den *ambitus* der späteren Zeit." For a good commentary on *ambitiose* in this passage see Plaut. Amphitr. Prol. 64-74.

AMICULA. Add Tert. De Cor. Mil. 12 *Veneris . . . matris Aeneadarum, etiam amicalae Martis*.

APIROCALUS is not registered at all by L. and S. Georges defines it simply as "im Schönen unerfahren, geschmacklos." It occurs but once, Gell. 11. 7. 7 *Alter quoque a lectionibus id genus paucis apirocalus . . .* Some MSS and the older editions read ἀπειρόκαλος (see Liddell and Scott, s. v.). Weiss translates by "Einfaltspinsel." For a commentary on the word compare Gell. 1. 5. 3 *tum voce molli atque demissa Hortensius "Dionysia" inquit "Dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod tu, Torquate, ἄμυνσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνισος,"* a passage, by the way, not cited by Liddell and Scott on any of the three Greek words contained therein. Elsewhere Gellius employs several Latin words to

convey the meaning expressed by *apirocalus* in our passage; cf. *nugator* 15. 2. 2; *insubidus* 12. 2. 11, 19. 9. 9; *nebulo* 15. 2. 4, 16. 12. 6. Cf. also *insulse* dicere 16. 12. 6.

APPRIME. Add the following passages from Gellius: 5. 21. 1, 13. 12. 1, 17. 7. 3 a. doctus; 9. 13. 1 a. nobilis; 18. 5. 10 Lucilius, vir a. linguae Latinae sciens. See Neue-Wagener 2, 628.

ARCTOS. Add Sen. Med. 407 dum siccus polus versabit arctos, where *siccus* = Ovid's *immunis aequoris, aequoris experts*.

ASTUS. Add Gell. 15. 22. in lemm. de Sertorio deque astu eius; 17. 9. 18 barbarico astu excogitata; Fronto, p. 215, 6, Naber.

AUGURIUS, A, UM (rare). Add Cic. Cato Maior, §38 ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto.

2. CALCEATUS is cited only from Pliny the Elder and Suetonius. Add Gell. 13. 22. in lemm. In §7 of this chapter G. twice uses the classical form *calciamentum*.

CALCITROSUS. Add Petron. 39 deinde totus caelus taurulus fit. Itaque tunc calcitrosi nascuntur.

CALLUM. For the masc. form *callus* cf. Tert. Spect. 23 Tales enim cicatrices et *callos pugnorum* . . . a deo . . . accepit? In Suet. Aug. 80 *callis* quibusdam, cited both by L. and S. and Georges as affording an example of the masculine, I see no reason why we should not regard the word as in the neuter.

CAPTATRIX is cited once only, and then from Apuleius. Add Tert. De Cor. Mil. 13 Est enim omnis publicae laetitiae luxuria captatrix.

CAUSIDICALIS, E is cited only from a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto (= Naber 68, 22). But it is read by Hertz (following a conjecture of Vogel) in Gell. 12. 2. 1, where, speaking of Seneca the philosopher, G. condemns his *res atque sententiae* as aut inepto inanique impetu aut levi et causidicali argutia. Gronovius read *quasi dicaci*.

CLAUSTRITUMUS. Correct reference in L. and S. from Laev. ap. Gell. 12, 105 to Laev. ap. Gell. 12. 10. 5. Georges wrongly ascribes the word to Livius Andronicus.

COMPECCARE is cited only from Caelius Aurelianus, but was used long before by Tert. De Idol. 14.

CONDECORE is to be added to our lexicons from Gell. 14. 4. 1 Condigne et condecere Chrysippus . . . depinxit.

CONSIDERATE is not cited later than Suet. Add Gell. 9. 9. 3 scite et considerate. Cf. 2. 23. 3 considerate atque apte.

CORNU. For the by-form *cornum* add Gell. 1. 8. 2, where *cornum copiae* is a translation of *κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*.

CORREPTE in L. and S. is out of place, since, in accordance with the system elsewhere followed, it should come at the close of the article on *corripio*. Further, the reference to Gell. 6, 9 should be corrected to 9. 6. 3. Add also Gell. 2. 17. §§1, 5, 11. In the first of these passages it is coupled with *pronuntiare*, in the others with *dicere*, and is used of the enunciation of short vowels. It is the opposite of *producte*. For the verb *corripere* cf. Gell. 1. 1., §§3, 6; for the opposites *producere* and *protendere* see §§1, 4.

CREPIDO. The meaning *sidewalk, footpath* is not recognized by L. and S., and no exact reference is given by Georges. Compare Petron. 9 vidi Gitona in crepidine semitae stantem; Iuv. 5. 8 with Mayor's note; Rich's Dictionary, s. v.; Overbeck-Mau, Pompeii, pp. 58-60.

CUIAS, ATIS. Add Gell. 15. 30. in lemm. and §3.

CUIUS, A, UM (rel.) occurs in Gell. 1. 13. 7, 1. 22. 6, 2. 29. 15.

CUIUSCEMODI is cited but once, and then from Apuleius. Add Gell. 11. 6. 8 rerum c. plurimarum.

CUIUSMODICUMQUE is read by Hertz on good authority in Gell. 11. 18. 3 In illis legibus furem c. furti supplicio capitis poeniendum esse . . . censuit.

CUMPRIMIS. Correct the single reference given by L. and S. (s. v. I cum II D) from Gell. 1. 12. 7 to 1. 13. 7, and add Gell. 1. 15. 8, 11. 3. 1, 13. 17. 2, 13. 21. 25, 18. 4. 8, 19. 5. 3. In 17. 2. 14 G. characterizes the word as obsolete. Cf. Wölfflin, Archiv, 1, 97.

CURRICULUM. The abl. *curriculo* is a mere adverb in Gell. 17. 8. 8 Nonne is curriculo atque oleum petis? See Lorenz on Plaut. Most. 362; Brix on Mil. 523 f.

DEPECISCOR is rare except in Cicero, but may be found at Gell. 20. 1. 38 reus, qui depecisci noluerat.

DEPINGO = *to picture by language* occurs Gell. 9. 13. in lemm. verba . . . quibus . . . pugnam depinxit; §6 verba . . . quibus pugna ista depicta est; 14. 4. in lemm.; 14. 4. 1 Condigne et condecere Chrysippus . . . severis atque venerandis verborum coloribus depinxit.

DESTILLATIO is rare. Add, therefore, Suet. Aug. 81 destillationibus iocinere vitiato.

DISPALOR is not cited from any author between Nepos and Ammianus. Add Gell. 1. 11. 4 vis et impetus militum ne sparsi dispalatique prouerent cohibebatur.

ENARRATIO = *interpretation* in Gell. 2. 16. in lemm. Caesellius Vindex . . . reprehensus est in sensus Vergiliani enarratione.

ENTHYMEMA occurs Gell. 1. 4. 2 super eo enthyememate . . . ita existimavit.

EPILOGUS is cited only from Cicero and Quintilian, but compare Gell. 14. 2. 1 adulescens a poetarum fabulis (i. e. from grammatical studies) et a rhetorum epilogis (i. e. from rhetorical studies) ad iudicandas lites vocatus.

EXPUTO = *to clean, to purify* occurs in Gell. 7. 5. 9 Argentum ergo in Carthaginiensi foedere "putum" dictum est quasi exputatum excoctumque omnique aliena materia carens omnibusque ex eo vitiis detractis emaculatum et candefactum. Gellius has thus amply defined the word himself.

EXSERTO. Add Sen. Med. 690 serpens . . . trifidam linguam exertat.

EXSPES. Add Persius 2. 50 deceptus et exspes.

EXSUCTUS (exsugo) is used of lean oysters Gell. 20. 8. 3. See below on *macriusculus*.

FACIES. Gellius discusses the early forms of the genitive of this and other words of the fifth declension in 9. 14 passim, not, as L. and S. have it, in 8. 14. 1.

FAMULATUS. A passage well worth recording is Tac. Agric. 31 sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur.

FASTIDIO. A deponent form occurs Petron. 48 ne me putes studia fastiditum, II bybliotheas habeo.

FERIOR. For the phrase *dies feriatus* see Gell. 13. 22. 1 and Mayor on Plin. Epp. 3. 14. 6.

FESTINATIO is not cited later than Quint., but compare Gell. 15. 22. 6 cerva . . . festinatione ac tumultu consternata.

FIDICINA. Add Gell. 1. 11. in lemm. Herodotus Alyattem regem *fidicinas* in procinctu habuisse tradit. For a commentary on this sentence cf. §7 of the chapter: Alyattes . . . ut Herodotus in historia tradit, concinentes habuit fistulatores et fidicines, atque *feminas* etiam *tibicinas* in exercitu atque in procinctu habuit. Gellius has apparently misunderstood Herod. 1. 17 (Ἀλυάττης) ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρίου. *Fidicina* may be found also in the Periocha to Ter. Adel., vs. 7.¹

¹ It might be maintained that in Gell., 1. 1., we have rather a Greek accusative plural from *fidicen*. For such a view some authority might be produced. Cf. *agona* 10. 18. 5; *aera* 5. 15. 7; *pancratiasten* 3. 15. 3; *problemata* 1. 11. 17; *pyramidas* 1. 20. 3; *planetes* 14. 1. 12; *climacteras* 3. 10. 9. However, I think the view stated above is the true one. The sentence quoted from §7 is decisive.

FIDICULA = a musical instrument in Gell. 1. 11. 8.

FILUM. In L. and S., s. v. B 3, we read: "Gell. 1, 9, 2; Amm. 14, 11, 28; forma atque filo virginali, id. 14, 4, 2." Correct last reference to Gell. 14. 4. 2.

FINIS is feminine several times in Gellius: see for full discussion the Drisler Studies,¹ p. 150. Postgate (Select Elegies of Propertius, p. xci) remarks that *finis* is often feminine in that author.

FLAVESCO is not cited from any prose-writer save the elder Pliny. Add Gell. 2. 29. 5 frumentis flavescentibus.

FULIGO is wrongly defined by L. and S. as *paint* in Gell. 1. 2. 7 qui se Stoicos nuncuparent atraque verborum et argutiarum fuligine ob oculos audientium iacta sanctissimum disciplinae nomen ementirentur. The meaning is plainly *soot*. A somewhat similar passage is Gell. 5. 21. 4 eas (inauditunculas) quasi pulverem ob oculos . . . adaspergebat.

GENEALOGIA. Add Tert. De Idol. 10.

GESTICULATIO. Add Tert. Spect. 21 qui filiae virginis ab omni spurco verbo aures tuetur, ipse eam in theatrum ad illas voces gesticulationesque deducat.

GLOSSARIUM. L. and S. cite Gell. 18. 7. 3 thus: vos philosophi meri estis, ut M. Cato ait, mortualia glossaria; namque colligitis lexicidia . . . Hertz's reading is much better: vos philosophi . . . mera estis mortualia; glosaria namque colligitis et lexicidia . . . Cf. just above in same section: nulla prorsus bonae salutis spes reliqua est, cum vos quoque, philosophorum inlustri-simi, nihil iam aliud quam verba auctoritatesque verborum cordi habetis. *Namque* frequently stands in the second place in Gell.; cf. 2. 22. 20, 5. 10. 4, 6. 3. 18, 7. 5. 7, 9. 5. 3, 10. 6. 2, 11. 2. 2, 13. 8. 2, 13. 31. 5, 16. 2. 3, 17. 20. 9, et al.; once (10. 3. 17) it occupies the third place. See Schmalz in Müller's Handbuch, 2², p. 466, §198.

HEPAR = *liver* is cited only from Marcellus Empiricus, but may be found Petron. 66 habuimus . . . cordae frusta et *hepatia* in catillis.

HOROLOGIUM. Add Petron. 26. A reference to Marquardt, *Privatleben*², pp. 256, 789, or some similar discussion, would be helpful.

IGNITABULUM or INCITABULUM? L. and S., as well as Georges, cite the latter of these words as *ἀν. ἐλρ.* in Gell. 15. 2. 3 crebris et

¹This and similar references are to the 'Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler' (Macmillan, 1894).

ingentibus poculis ingenium omne ingurgitabat, fomitem esse quendam dicens et incitabulum (?) ingenii virtutisque, si mens et corpus hominis vino flagraret. Hertz's reading, *ignitabulum*, seems to me preferable. The combination *fomitem et ignitabulum . . . flagraret* is thoroughly in accord with Gellius' habit of coupling words of closely allied meaning, and harmonizes well with his predilection for strong metaphors. Further in Macrob. Sat. 2. 8. 4 (a passage evidently based on the one under discussion) Eyssenhardt reads qui aestimavit fomitem esse quendam et ignitabulum ingenii virtutisque . . . This point was noticed by Gronovius, who himself read *incitabulum*. Finally, for the existence of a word *ignitabulum* we have independent testimony (see lexx.), whereas no authority exists for *incitabulum* apart from the present passage. I would therefore expunge *incitabulum* from the lexicons, and s. v. *ignitabulum* add reference to Gell. l. l., and s. v. *fomes* (L. and S.) correct the wording of this passage as cited there.

IMPERITE is cited only from Cic. and Quint. Add Gell. 2. 8. 8, 5. 17. 1.

INDISERTUS is cited only from Cicero, but occurs Gell. 15. 8. 1 Favoni, non indiserti viri.

INERUDITUS is cited only from Cic. and Quint. Add Gell. 18. 11. 1 Caesellio Vindice, grammatico . . . hautquaquam inerudito. For the adverb *inerudite* add Tullius Tiro ap. Gell. 6. 3. 12, an earlier instance of its use than the single example cited by L. and S. (Georges wrongly ascribes the passage to Gellius.)

INIUSSUS is not cited before Cicero, but occurs in Ter. Phorm. 231 Itane tandem uxorem duxit Antipho iniussu meo? See also Hec. 562 and 704; Cato, De Agri Cultura, V 3. It is strange that even Wölfflin (Archiv, IV 402) says that this word is not found before Cicero.

INQUINAMENTUM. Add Tert. De Idol. 10 (bis).

INTEMPESTIVE is not cited from any author later than Tacitus, but see Gell. 1. 2. 4, 4. 20. 6.

INTERNOSCO is not cited later than Cicero, but occurs in Tac. Agric. 12 finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas.

INTERQUIESCO (rare) bears a highly figurative sense in Gell. 2. 2. 9 in publicis locis . . . patrum iura cum filiorum, qui in magistratu sunt, potestatibus collata *interquiescere paululum et conivere*.

INTOLERANTER, cited only from Cicero and Caesar, may be found in Gell. 15. 4. 3.

INVOLUCRUM. Add Gell. 9. 15. 9 incipit . . . involucra sensuum (= expressions of unknown import) verborumque volumina vocumque turbas fundere. *

ISOPSEPHUS, A, UM is to be added to the lexicons from Gell. 14. 6. 4 (which Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ισόψηφος*, wrongly cite as 14. 4). In §1 G. relates that one of his friends, volunteering to help him in the compilation of the *Noctes Atticae*, had loaned him a *liber doctrinae omnigenus praescatens*. In addition to many other wonderful things contained in this volume, there was a question as to what verses in Homer are *isopsephi*. Each letter of the Greek alphabet had, as is well known, a definite numerical value (cf. Hadley-Allen, §289). Hence *versus isopsephi* are verses in which the combined numerical value of all the letters is the same. Examples are *Iliad* 7, 264, 265, in which the sum of all the letters in each line is 3498, and *Iliad* 19, 306, 307, in which the sum of the numerical values of the several letters is 2848. Words too may be *isopsephi*. Thus in *Νεῖλος* and *μῖνος* the sum of the letter-values is 365. See further Muretus, *Var. Lect.* 14, 13, and Plutarch, *Symposiaca* 9. 3. 3.¹

ITO, ARE. Add Gell. 2. 24. 13, 7. 6. 12.

I. JUGO = *to marry* is cited only from Catull. and Vergil. Add Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 18 *Diva*, . . . *patrum prosperes decreta super iugandis feminis*.

JUVENTA is cited from no author later than Tac., but see Gell. 10. 28. in lemm. Add also Livy 1. 57. 7, and cf. Weissenborn on Livy 26. 2. 15.

LAC. L. and S. wrongly say that Hertz reads *lacte* in Gell. 12, 1. 17, for there he reads *praesertim si ista quam ad praebendum lactem* adhibetis aut serva aut servilis est. For a full discussion of this masculine form see Drisler *Studies*, p. 151. *Lacte* as an archaic form of the nominative occurs in Gell. 19. 8. 13, a passage which has escaped even Lorenz (on Plaut. *Mil.* 240) and Georges.

LASANUM. A masculine form occurs in Petron. 47.

LAXAMENTUM is not cited between Seneca the philosopher and Macrob. Add Gell. 5. 1. 2 *animus audientis philosophum* . . . *laxamentum atque otium prolixè profuseque laudandi non habet*.

LECTITO is used much more frequently than the citations would indicate: see Mayor on Pliny, *Epp.* 3. 5. 1, and add Gell. 1. 4. 8, 1. 7. 16, 2. 23. 1, 3. 3. 1, 5. 15. 9, 9. 4. 5, 11. 13. 5.

¹For the substance of this note I am indebted to Weiss, the translator of Gellius.

2. LENUNCULUS. Gell. 10. 25. 2 vouches for this word as one of a number of navium vocabula quae scripta in veterum libris reperiuntur.

LEVAMENTUM is not cited later than Tacitus, but occurs Gell. 12. 4. 1.

LUSCITOSUS. There should be a reference to Gell. 4. 2. 11 De myope quoque, qui luscitosus Latine appellatur, dissensum est.

LUX. L. and S. say that in Plautus *lux* is always masculine, supporting this statement by a reference to Brix on Capt. 5. 4. 11 (1008). In Brix's fourth edition, however, nothing is said in the note on that verse concerning the gender of this word, while in the Register, p. 115, it is merely suggested that it may be masculine. Georges, following the common view, holds that in *cum primo luci* and like phrases, *luci* is masculine. See, however, Drisler Studies, p. 144.

MACRIUSCULUS, A, UM = *lean* is not recorded by the lexicons, though it may be found in Gell. 20. 8. 3 Quae (ostreae) cum adpositae fuissent et multae quidem, sed *inuberes macriusculae* que essent, "luna" inquit "nunc videlicet senescit; ea re ostrea . . . tenuis exsuctaque est." Contrast Pliny's *ostrea multo lacte praegnata*.

MALACIA is cited but thrice; add Gell. 19. 1. 12 malacia venti ac maris. Cf. Archiv, 6. 259, 7. 270 and 445.

MEMBRANULA II. Add Gell. 19. 10. 2 fabri aedium . . . ostendebant depictas in membranulis varias species balnearum.

MINUSCULUS. Add Gell. 4. 11. 6 minusculi porculi.

MIRE. For *mire quam* see Gell. 9. 9. 4 mire quam suave. So he writes nimis quam ineptum absurdumque 14. 1. 4.

MISCELLUS. Add Gell. Praef. 5 variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiverant.

MONSTRUOSUS. Add Gell. 3. 16. 9 monstruosae raritates; 17. 10. 19. Macrob. 3. 17. 17.

MOROSITAS = *niceness*, *over-refinement*, is cited once only, from Suet. Add Gell. 1. 3. 12 anxietate et quasi morositate disputationis praetermissa.

MULTIMODUS. Add Tert. De Idol. 10 multimodae idololatriae; De Anima 52.

MUNIFICUS = *duty-doing*. Add Tert. De Cor. Mil. 12, where Tertullian, speaking of various kinds of crowns, says: Nam et castrenses appellantur, munificae et ipsae sollemnium Caesarianorum. Since crowns are so necessary to all festivals, he calls

them *office-bearers, officials*, so to speak, of the court. Oehler quotes Cod. Theod. 12. 1. 192 *spontanei hypomnetographi muniti*; Isid. Orig. 10. 166 *munificus dictus, vel quia alicui munera dat multa vel quia munus suum, id est officium quod debet, adimplet*; Tert. De Oratione 22.

MYOPS is cited only from Ulp. Dig. Add Gell. 4. 2. 11, quoted on *luscitiosus* above.

NECESSE. For the by-forms *necessum, necessus* in Gell., see Drisler Studies, p. 159.

NEGATIO is cited only from Cic. and Apul., but see Tert. De Idol. 22 *omnis negatio idololatria est, sicut omnis idololatria negatio est sive in factis sive in verbis*.

OBIURGATIO is not cited later than Quint., but compare Gell. 1. 2. 6 *obiurgatione iusta incessuit*.

OBSELETUS = *obsolete* occurs Gell. 11. 7. 1 *verba obsoleta exculcataque*. Cf. *verba antiquissima relictataque iam et desita* of the lemma, and *sermo desitus* 1. 10. 2.

OLEAGINEUS. For the corona oleaginea, worn by the procurators triumphii, see Gell. 5. 6. 4 c. o. *qua uti solent, qui in proelio non fuerunt, sed triumphum procurant*.

ONERO = *to put on board ship as cargo* in Petron. 76 *quinque naves aedificavi, oneravi vinum*; *ibid. oneravi rursus vinum, lardum, fabam, sepladium, mancipia*. See Nettleship on Verg. Aen. 1, 195.

OPILIO. Add Gell. 16. 6. 1 *de ovium dentibus opiliones percontantur* (= passive).

PARVITAS. The lexicons refer to Gell. 7 (6). 17. 2 as affording an instance of the use of this word. Hertz, however, reads *pravitas*.

PENUS. L. and S. write: "gen. *peneris, peniteris*, only according to Gell. 4. 1, 2." So Gronovius read, but Hertz does not give *peniteris* at all, and for *peneris* reads *penoris*.

PERENDIE is cited only from Plaut. and Cicero. Add Gell. 6. 1. 10, Fronto, page 84, lines 13 and 25, Naber.

PERPOTO is not cited from any author later than Quintus Curtius, but occurs in Gell. 6. 11. 4.

PLEBS. A nominative *plebes* occurs in Gell. 10. 20. §§5, 6, and 17. 21. 11; a genitive *plebei* 3. 2. 11, 10. 6. in lemm. and §3; a gen. *plebi* 13. 12. 3, 15. 4. 3, 17. 21. 11.

PLERIQUE. For the archaistic phrase *plerique omnes* in Gell. see Drisler Studies, p. 160, and to the examples there given add

p. omnia 14. 3. 1; p. omnibus 15. 7. 1; compare also Wölfflin, Lat. u. Rom. Compar., p. 41. Especially noteworthy is Gell. 10. 24. 4 *pleraque omnis vetustas sic locuta est*.

PLUSCULUS is cited but twice from Apuleius, though the index to the Delphin edition gives nine passages in which it occurs. No reference is made to Gellius, who uses it at 4. 17. in lemm., 9. 14. 6, 10. 29. in lemm., 13. 2. 2, 19. 9. 7. Macrobian 2. 2. 17.

POSITUS is thrice used by Gellius. Cf. 1. 2. 2 *propulsabamus incommoda caloris lucorum ingentium umbra . . . aedium positu refrigeranti*; 4. 17. 8 *sed reddit eam (syllabam) positu longam*; 10. 4. 1 *Nomina verbaque non positu fortuito . . . facta esse . . . P. Nigidius docet*. With *fortuito positu facta verba* we may compare *nomina positiva* of the lemma, *verba arbitraria* of §2, and *θίσει* as used in such discussions.

PRAELEGO I = *to read a thing to others as teacher to scholars*, twice in Martial; 1. 35. 2 *Versus . . . parum severos Nec quos praelegat in schola magister*; 8. 3. 15 *Praeleget ut timidus rauca te voce magister Oderit et grandis virgo bonusque puer*. Compare also Macrobian Sat. 1. 24. 5 *videris enim mihi ita adhuc Vergilianos habere versus qualiter eos pueri magistris praelegentibus canebarum*.

PRAESCATENS. L. and S. cite Gell. 14. 6. 1 as *liber doctrinis omnigenis praescatens*. Hertz, however, writes *omnigenae doctrinae* (which reading is actually followed by L. and S., s. v. *omnigenus*).

PRAESTANTIA is cited only from Cic. and the elder Pliny. Add Gell. 1. 1. 1.

PROMONEO occurs in Gell. 2. 29. 2.

PROPEMODUM is cited only from Cic. and Plautus. Add Ter. Phorm. 211; Gell. 2. 21. 11, 2. 22. 22, 4. 1. 8, 7. 8. 5, 9. 7. 2, 10. 27. in lemm., 12. 5. 5, 13. 17. 1. We may compare Gellius' fondness for *admodum*, which he uses about 40 times. Hertz reads *fermemodum* in 18. 12. 9 (10), for which see Drisler Studies, p. 169.

PUDEO is used with personal subject in Gell. 5. 1. 3 *inter ipsam philosophi orationem et perhorrescat necesse est et pudeat tacitus et paeniteat et gaudeatur et admiretur*. For this archaism see Lorenz on Plaut. Most. 1165, and correct West on Ter. Andr. 637 *nil pudens, who says: "The personal use of this verb occurs only in the older Latin."*

QUALITER = *quo modo, quem ad modum*, occurs in Tert. Spect. 2 *Sed quia non penitus Deum norunt . . . necesse est ignorent*

qualiter administrari aut iubeat aut prohibeat quae instituit; Macro. Sat. 1. 24. 5 (quoted above on *praelego*), 3. 4. 1, 5. 1. 18, 6. 8. 1.

QUEO. Gellius' fondness for this verb has been noticed in the Drisler Studies, p. 146. To the passages there cited add the following: *queunt* 14. 1. 30, 16. 8. 14, 16. 13. 9, 19. 8. 14; *queat* 2. 6. 9, 12. 12. 1; *queant* 14. 1. 26 bis; *quire* 11. 9. 1; *quiret* 14. 1. 12; *quivi* 14. 2. 25; *quiverit* (subj.) 14. 1. 17.

ROBIGUS. L. and S. write: "Acc. to Ov. F. 4, 907; Tert. Spect. 15 *fin.* . . . this was a female deity and was called Robigo." Correct to Tert. Spect. 5.

RUFO, ARE is cited only from the elder Pliny, but is used by Tertull. also in a striking passage of the De Cor. Mil., chapter 1. He is speaking of the soldier who refused to wear a crown while a largess from the reigning emperors was being distributed. Part of his punishment was the loss of his military rank. Tert. proceeds: *Ibidem gravissimas paenulas posuit . . . speculatoriam (caligam) . . . de pedibus absolvit . . . gladium nec dominicae defensionis necessariam reddidit . . . Et nunc rufatus sanguinis sui spe*, calceatus de Evangelii paratura, succinctus acutiore verbo Dei . . . In *rufatus* there is an allusion to the usual color of military cloaks.

SCELERUS, A, UM. As examples of such an adjective L. and S. cite Plaut. Pseud. iii. 2. 28 (= 795 Lorenz, 817 Ritschl) *sinapis scelera*; *ibid.* v. 1. 3 (= 1037 L., 1054 R.) *scelerum caput*. Reference is also made by them to Serv. on Aen. 9, 486, where the existence of such an adjective is predicated. Georges speaks with a somewhat uncertain voice. In his Lex. d. lat. Wortformen, s. v. *scelerus*, he cites additional examples of *scelerum caput*, and compares *sceleratum caput* Plaut. Epid. 368. In his Handwörterbuch, however, he speaks of *scelerus* as "von Serv. Verg. Aen. 9, 486 fälschlich angenommene Wortform, da die von ihm angeführten Stellen aus Plaut. zu *scelus* gehören . . ." This latter view is certainly the correct one: see Lorenz on Plaut. Mil. 494, Brix on Mil. 495; Morris on Pseud. 817, Lorenz on Pseud. 795; Plaut. Rud. 1098, where *scelerum caput* and *periuri caput* are used together. Sonnenschein ad loc. cites Shakespeare's "head and front of offending." Note also the phrase *scelus viri*, for which see Plaut. Truc. ii. 7. 60, and Mil. 1434, Lorenz, with his note. *Scelerus*, therefore, should be expunged from our lexicons.

SELIBRA. Add Gell. 6. 18. 2 *argenti pondo libram et selibram*.

SENECTUS, A, UM. For *senecta aetas* add Gell. 2. 15. in lemm. and 3. 4. in lemm.

SIGNIFICANTER. Add Tert. Spect. 3 se in incertum constituit quod non s. neque nominatim denuntietur servis Dei abstinencia eiusmodi.

STERICULA and STERILICULA are both cited by L. and S. from one passage only, Petron. 35, where Buecheler reads *sterilicula*. *Stericula* should therefore be expunged.

STERILIS, E. The by-form *sterilus*, a, um occurs also in Gell. 17. 21. 44 Carvilius . . . divortium cum uxore fecit quod sterila esset.

SUMME. Add Gell. Praef. 12 vir summe nobilis; 11. 11. 1 quem M. Cicero . . . summe reveritus est.

SUPERSTITIOSE = *too scrupulously, too nicely, too exactly*, occurs in Gell. 1. 25. 10 non id Varronis negotium fuit ut indutias s. definiret; 3. 19. 3 s. et nimis moleste atque odiose confabricatus . . . est originem vocabuli.

TEMPESTAS often = *time, point of time, period of time* in Gellius. See Drisler Studies, p. 154.

TRANSLATIO = *a figure, trope* in Gell. 16. 5. 11 Meminisse debemus id vocabulum non semper a veteribus scriptoribus proprie, sed per quasdam translationes dictum esse.

TRIGON. In all the passages cited by L. and S. and Georges, this word is said to have reference to the game of ball. In Gell. 2. 21. 10 it is a term of mathematics and denotes the triangle: Varro addit dubitare sese an propterea magis hae septem stellae triones appellatae sint quia ita sunt sitae, ut ternae stellae proximae quaeque inter sese faciant trigona, id est, triquetras figuras.

UNANIMITAS (very rare). Add Tert. De Idol. 13.

VENTITO. Add Gell. 3. 13. 1, 6. 1. 6, 12. 11. 1.

2. VERBERO is cited by L. and S. only from Plaut. and Terence, but occurs in Gell. 1. 26. 8.

VERSUTE (rare). Add Gell. 5. 10. 16 captio v. excogitata.

VOMITIO is cited only from Cicero and the elder Pliny, but may be found in Gell. 17. 15. 4 stomachum et ventrem superiorem vomitionibus purgari.

NOTES.

Totus IN OLD FRENCH AND PROVENÇAL.

It is intended to present here a brief historical review of the development of the Modern French word *tout*.

Its declension in the oldest stage of the language is as follows :

<i>toz</i>	<i>tuit</i>
<i>tot</i>	<i>toz.</i>

The history of these forms has been thus far looked upon as very dark : the final *t* points back to a Latin form with a double *t* ; a single *t* should have fallen. Indeed, in his *Italienische Grammatik* (§263), M. Meyer-Lübke states as a fact that "already in Vulgar Latin *tottus* appears by the side of *totus*," and his opinion is also that of many scholars.

tottus, however, is still considered as a doubtful form, and various attempts have been made to explain it. Gröber, in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, vol. VI, p. 129, suggests that it may be due to a tautological use of the word, as in Modern Italian *pian-piano*. **tottotus*, therefore, would be our starting-point. Several objections have been raised against this form, the most weighty of all being that the fall of the tonic vowel in *tutto*, French *tout*, is wholly inadmissible. Moreover, even if *tottus* was accepted, all the difficulties would not disappear.

Another explanation for the Italian form *tutto*, and one that is more plausible, is briefly indicated in Körting's *Wörterbuch*, viz. the double *t* can be accounted for from the proclitic use of the word before a vowel-sound. We would have, for instance, *tot(o) anno* > *tott'anno*, as we have *tot(a) hora* > *tutt'ora*, *e(t) bene* > *ebbene*. *tutto* would be thus far explained ; but no satisfactory reason has yet been offered in regard to the change of vowel. The Latin *ō* cannot regularly give a *u* in Italian or in any of the Romance languages.

It is rather surprising that an immediate cause for that phonetic disturbance should not have been thought of in connection with one of the phonetic phenomena that are everywhere of frequent

occurrence. I am alluding here to dissimilation. The final Latin *z* becoming regularly *q* in Italian, it is quite easy to understand why the tonic *q* changed to *u* when followed by a sound of the same nature, particularly if we lend attention to the fact that a closed *q* is frequently pronounced with a *u* glide. English *so*, for instance. The change of *q* > *u* must of course have taken place before the doubling of the consonant, and the different steps through which the word passed would be thus: *totum* > *toq* > *tuto* + voc. > *tutto*.

Since *tutto* is a special Italian form, it may not be amiss to suggest that, Italy being the last stronghold of the Latin language, the country where the Latin tongue held its own for the longest time, this dissimilation may have been further helped by the fact that the popular language endeavored also to establish a distinction between its own oblique case and the Latin dative.

I have thus far disposed of the objections that may be based on the Italian word and cleared the ground for the consideration of the French forms. I venture to express the opinion that they are all derived from the regular Latin forms, and that the apparent irregularities they offer are entirely due to phonetic causes.

And first of all, one thing is already certain, viz. that the Spanish and Portuguese forms are regularly derived from the Latin. If from this territory we go over to the Provençal districts, we are confronted with a marked phonetic tendency that up to this day is one of the most conspicuous traits of Southern dialects: it is that of using very frequently voiceless dental stops as endings and the presence of a *t* often where it does not etymologically belong. This peculiarity is the subject of a note by M. Paul Meyer in the VIIth vol. of the *Romania*, p. 107, under the title 'D'un emploi non étymologique du *t* final en Provençal,' and it is sufficient to look over some old Provençal texts to ascertain that a *t* may frequently be found where it does not etymologically belong. Bearing this in mind, we may easily admit that *totus* did not give in Provençal **tos*, as it should have given, but *toz*, owing to this fondness for voiceless dental stops, which I believe asserts itself particularly in monosyllables; and of course the explanation would hold the same in the case of *totum* > *tot*.¹

In regard to M. Gaston Paris's remark in *Romania*, X, p. 42, that **totlum* must have existed, since we have *ou* instead of *eu* in

¹ *antius* > *ans* presents a development exactly similar.

the Modern French word, I think that M. Gaston Paris himself would cheerfully concede that the same development occurs in quite a number of words, owing to their unaccented position in the stress-group; cf. *nos* and *vos*, that have given in French *nous*, *vous*.

We may also add that in French likewise, under certain conditions, the final *t* does remain. In *soit* < *sit*, for instance, because the word is often used alone and frequently with great emphasis. Ex.: *Soit!* = Let it be so! May I be allowed to allude here to the familiar 'C'est clair et *net* comme clarinette'?

Now, I hold that the French forms were directly influenced by the Provençal, and this becomes clearer as we come to look at the plural form: Latin *toti*, French *tuit*, Provençal *tuit*, *tuih*, *tuih*, *tuich*. In the first place, we have here again the change of *ō* > *u*; but this has been satisfactorily explained by Förster (Zeit. für rom. Phil. III, p. 498). Latin *ō* was unlauted by the final *i*. The only thing left to be explained is the presence of the *i* before the *t*; and the solution of what has been thus far considered as a riddle is given by the study of certain Provençal sounds.

In an article contained in Romania, XIV, p. 289, in which he reviews the work of Mr. F. Armitage, 'Sermons du XIIe siècle en vieux Provençal publiés d'après le mss 3548 de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' M. Paul Meyer calls our attention to some purely linguistic questions that are raised by the text published. One of them is the peculiarity of ending with the letter *h* a certain number of past participles in the nominative plural; for instance,

<i>amatus</i> > <i>amatz</i>	<i>amati</i> > <i>amah</i>
<i>amatum</i> > <i>amat</i>	<i>amatos</i> > <i>amatz</i> ;

and he points out the fact that there is but one ending for the singular subject and plural object, while the singular object and the plural subject have each an ending of their own; and also that the ending *ati* of the Latin plural nominative gives in Romance a different result than the ending *atum* of the accusative singular. He goes on and states that in certain texts (Hte. Garonne, Aude, Tarn, Aveyron) the *i* of the nominative plural is preserved, and gives numerous examples to bear out his statement.

A little further he adds: "In other territories, particularly in Quercy, the *i*, instead of forming an atonic syllable at the end of the word, was joined to the tonic syllable . . .; the result for the

Latin ending was either *aih* or *aig* . . . *The same fact is observed in the Provençal tuih, tug, French tuit.*" Here M. Paul Meyer refers to an article by M. Jules Cornu contained in Romania, vol. VII, p. 360, under the title 'De l'influence régressive de l'*i* atone sur les voyelles toniques,' from which we may quote the following: "In *tuit* the attraction exactly similar to that which we know in a good many other words is plainly evident, and it is not the less so in *oi*, one of the forms of the imperative of *oir*; for *audi* could give *oi* only through *odii* > *odji* > *ojdji*. One might be tempted to think that the doubling of the *i* that is admitted in order to explain *tuit* and *oi* is a pure hypothesis that does not rest upon any documentary evidence; but in the translation of the Gospel of St. John we find *tramesii*, *diissii*, *dissii*, *fezii*, that give to it a solid foundation."

I take the liberty of somewhat altering the formula given above, since in the case of *toti* M. Cornu accepts the double *t*, for which we have no use, and we have then *tutii* > *tutji* > *tutjji*.

Since it is quite superfluous to repeat for *tuit* what has already been said in connection with the final *t* for *tot*, we may conclude in saying that the last difficulty has now vanished away; and I hope to have fully established what I set out to prove, viz. that the Old French declension of modern *tout* in all its forms derives entirely from the regular Latin forms, and that the peculiarities they offer are partly due to phonetic causes and largely to Provençal influence.

The oldest French text in which *tuit* occurs is the Cantilena of St. Eulalia, in the 25th line:

Tuit oram que por nos degnet preier.

The form *oram*, as Diez says, "ist eins der willkommensten." It shows, first, that at the date of the poem the 1st pers. plur. in French still agreed with the Latin ending, and that the sweeping analogy to *sumus* was not yet a general one. On the other hand, it proves also that the French imperative goes back to the present of indicative and not to the subjunctive; but what is of more immediate interest to us for the subject we are dealing with, *oram* is also a Provençal form!

Indeed, Provençal is the background towards which we have to turn our eyes in order to see many words in their true light. As an organic whole, it is the oldest in date of the neo-Latin languages. The Strassburg oaths are decidedly Southern in

their linguistic coloring, and another of our oldest monuments, 'La Passion du Christ,' is a mixture of French and Provençal.

It is therefore legitimate, in the present instance, to admit this influence, and it is gratifying to note that in this case old texts do support an argument that is based upon a dialectic fact.

CHICAGO, Oct. 22, 1894.

RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE.

NOTES ON THUCYDIDES, I 8. 1; I 9. 3; I 28. 3.

Thucydides, in speaking of the purification of Delos by the Athenians, says (I 8. 1) that over half of the dead buried in the island were found to be Carians, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἐτι θάπτουσιν. This Jowett renders: "They were known by the fashion of their arms which were buried with them, and by their mode of burial, the same which is still practised among them." If this were what Thucydides intended to say, he would naturally have written, if the word σκευή could mean fashion in the sense attributed to it by Jowett, τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν ξυντεθαμμένων κτέ., for it is the arms, not the fashion of the arms, that were buried. The note in Morris's edition reads: "ξυντεθαμμένη: attrib. to σκευῇ," referring to c. 7, §1, where an attributive participle is placed after its noun without repetition of the article, and to a note on c. 11, §3, which reads: "Thuc. often places an attrib. partic. after a noun which is attended by other modifiers. Cf. c. 90. 7; 96. 8; III 54. 18; 56. 5; 67. 11. So Dem. XX 76, ταῦτα ἐλάττω φανῆναι τῆς ἐν ἐκάστῳ νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπαρχούσης. XVIII 126." This note implies the same interpretation as Jowett's translation.

The correct interpretation is given in Stahl's note: "agniti habitu armorum, seu armatura quippe quae cum iis sepulta esset." Stahl cites some instances of the use of σκευή in a sense similar to that which he assigns to it here, but he does not go far enough. In fact, I have not found any instance of σκευή in the sense of *fashion*. It means everywhere in Thucydides, and, so far as I have been able to discover, in every other author, *equipment*, *costume*, *outfit*, and the like, i. e. not merely the *fashion* of arms, garments, ornaments, etc., but the objects themselves, so that σκευή τῶν ὅπλων means *outfit of arms* or *military outfit*. This statement is sufficiently confirmed by looking up the references

in L. and S.'s Lexicon, or those in Stephanus' Thesaurus. Stahl at the end of his note cites the opinion of Campe, obs. crit., p. 10 sq., "that the Carians were recognized by the mere fact that their arms were found in the graves; for the Greeks were not accustomed to bury arms with their dead." This opinion of Campe is correct if applied to the Greeks of the time of Thucydides; at least, it is supported by modern excavations. In the Mitth. d. k. deut. arch. Inst., Athens, 1893, pp. 73-191, Brueckner and Pernice describe in detail the cemetery just outside the walls of Athens. In graves of the 'Dipylon period,' which cannot reach down lower than the end of the seventh century B. C., some blades of swords and daggers and some spearheads were found, but the later graves are without weapons. As these investigators say (p. 147), "wir wüssten kein späteres attisches Grab, in welchem Waffen gefunden worden wären." They cautiously limit their statement to Attic graves, though this limitation is hardly necessary, as scientific investigation of graves of the classical period is almost confined to Attica. In the Mitth., 1886, pp. 15-46, F. Dümmler describes and discusses remains of pre-Hellenic population in the Cyclades, taking his data from graves at Amorgos and Melos. In these graves a few isolated daggers and spearheads were found, and, according to report, a silver helmet was found in a grave at Amorgos some thirty years before. Dümmler very properly says that if the population of these islands was Carian, we should expect, according to Thucydides, "eine reiche regelmässige Beilage von Waffen," and partly, as it appears, because such a rich deposit of weapons is lacking, he is inclined to assign these graves to Leleges. At any rate, Dümmler seems to understand Thucydides to mean what an unprejudiced reader would naturally gather from his words, that the Carians were recognized by the fact that their military outfit was buried with them. It is perhaps worth while to mention that Blümner's statement in Baumeister's Denkmäler, article 'Bestattung,' p. 305, to the effect that weapons were buried in the graves of the Greeks, needs correction.

Thucydides, I 9. 3, after having told how the Pelopidae gained their power, proceeds: *ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἄμα ἐπὶ πλεόντων ἄλλων ἰσχύσας τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεόν ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι*. The difficulty lies in *καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἄμα*. Here Classen regarded *τε* as the conjunction, taking *καὶ*—*ἄμα* not as a copula, but as an adverb emphasizing the new element of power.

Krüger, v. Herwerden and Böhme omit $\tau\epsilon$. Stahl reads $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\tau\epsilon$, as does also Herbst, Philol. XXIV, p. 720. Shilleto renders $\tau\epsilon$ 'too,' and Jowett, in a long note on this passage, pronounces in favor of the same rendering. As the clearest examples of $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ — $\tau\epsilon$ occurring in the same clause, Jowett quotes VI 44. 3 and VIII 68. 2. In the first instance Jowett himself, in his note on the passage, suggests that the $\tau\epsilon$ may be a correlative of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, at the beginning of the next sentence. The same explanation is possible in the second case, where, however, Haacke, followed by Krüger and others, changes $\tau\epsilon$ to $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Jowett does not make the use of $\tau\epsilon$ in the sense of 'too' very probable for Thucydides, and it seems to me that Herbst's objections to Classen's interpretation are well founded. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\epsilon\zeta\omega$ or the like has fallen out, or possibly was originally intended and never written. This is a desperate solution of the difficulty, but perhaps as easy as any.

The Corcyraeans, in their speech at Corinth, offered to leave their differences to the decision of the god at Delphi, and protested against war, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\phi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$ (Thuc. I 28. 3), $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ $\beta\iota\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$, $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$ $\delta\omicron\tau\omega\nu$ $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\grave{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\alpha$. No doubt, so far as I know, has ever been expressed as to the text. But interpretations are various. If $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ were omitted, all would be easy, but $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ can hardly have got into the text by mistake, and must therefore be explained. Arnold's note reads: "'to gain friends of a very different nature from their present associates,' that is, from the exiles of Epidamnus, with whom they were then acting in concert." He seems to regard $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ as an intensive adding force to $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, a use for which there appears to be no precedent. Krüger explains $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ as the Athenians and $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$ $\delta\omicron\tau\omega\nu$ as the Peloponnesians. On $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ he quotes Gottleber, translating $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ *vielmehr* and adding "mit Stephanus auf $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ zu beziehen." But $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is incomprehensible unless $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ be included. Stahl says: " $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$ $\delta\omicron\tau\omega\nu$ $\mu\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, alios potius quam qui tunc essent." He mentions the opinion of Arnold and Goeller that the present friends are the Epidamnians and others in the neighborhood of Corcyra, but adds that perhaps the Peloponnesians are intended, because, although the Corcyraeans were not enrolled in the Peloponnesian alliance, the memory of their common origin was not lost, and they preserved some friendship with them as Dorians, for which reason the Lacedae-

monians and Sicyonians had accompanied them to Corinth. He then concludes: "ceterum μάλλον, *potius*, ad φίλους ποιείσθαι ἐτέρους pertinet; futurum enim esse aiunt ut cogantur alios potius amicos sibi conciliare." The only trouble with this is, that μάλλον is really not accounted for. ἐτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων (parallels for ἐτέρους with genitive are given by Stahl, Krüger and others) without μάλλον means 'alios potius quam qui tunc essent.' Morris's note says nothing about μάλλον, but gives references for the genitive depending on ἐτέρους, and explains that τῶν νῦν ὄντων "refers rather to the Lacedaemonians and Sicyonians, who were with them, than to the Illyrians, whom they would hardly call φίλοι." This last, which is also Stahl's opinion, is certainly correct, though not because they would object to calling the Illyrians φίλοι, but because the Corcyraeans wish to imply a threat that they will turn from their natural allies, the Peloponnesians, to the Athenians. And it seems to me that μάλλον helps this meaning and is otherwise useless. "We," they say, "shall be forced to make friends other than (i. e. different from) those who are now more (μάλλον) our friends," i. e. other than the Peloponnesians, who are more our friends by race and nature than are the Athenians, although we are not (31, §2) members of any alliance. The word μάλλον governs φίλων (supplied from the preceding φίλους) ὄντων.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' CLOUDS.

ΜΑΘ. ἐχθές δέ γ' ἡμῖν δεῖπνον οὐκ ἦν ἐσπέρας.

ΣΤΡ. εἰεν· τί οὖν πρὸς τᾷλφιτ' ἐπαλαμῆσατο;

ΜΑΘ. κατὰ τῆς τραπέζης καταπάσας λεπτὴν τέφραν,
κάμψας ὀβελίσκον, εἴτα διαβήτην λαβὼν—
ἐκ τῆς παλαιστρας θυμάτιον ὑφέιλετο.

ΣΤΡ. τί δὴτ' ἐκείνον τὸν Θαλῆν θανμάζομεν;

—vv. 175–180.

G. Hermann first brought a measure of sense into this passage by his happy conjecture of θυμάτιον in line 179 for θοῖμάτιον of the MSS, noting the sacrifice alluded to in Plato, *Lysis* 206 E. With θυμάτιον we have actual meat, and so we may put aside the scholia and the numberless interpretations founded on the MSS reading. Blaydes, indeed, reverts to θοῖμάτιον (1890, *θυμ.* 1886), but with

no fresh light or persuasiveness. Teuffel-Kähler (1887), after Thiersch, exchanges *τραπέζης*, 177, and *παλαίστρας*, 179: which is plausible enough from his point of view, but fatally perverse, if the explanation to be given is correct. Kock (4th ed., 1894) suspects a lacuna after 178, and views the passage as still far from clear.

From the general character of the scene, 143 on, we are led to expect here a climax of wit—on the one hand a broad caricature of the scientist, on the other some absurd imposition on the simplicity of Strepsiades. Socrates standing near the altar in the palaestra and mesmerizing his pupils, and of course any altar attendant and all loiterers, over a mathematical demonstration, while he slips aside and secures some meat, is an explanation tolerable only in case no better can be found. As a humorous invention it does not strike our imagination as either brilliant or practicable.

A proper understanding of this passage has been obscured, I think, by two misconceptions—first, of the scene, and, secondly, of the *modus operandi*. The scene is the *school* itself,¹ to which the stage Socrates and his pupils are narrowly confined. They do not take walks abroad (198–9). The audience must assume the school as the scene, for the palaestra is not mentioned till the end. The method is *sorcery*. Socrates of the play stands for every sort of sophist and theosophist, physicist, charlatan and wizard.² See the list, lines 331–3. Belief in witchcraft was universal. Strepsiades goes to the school strong in the belief that the Black Art is practised and taught there. At 189 he bids the absorbed pupils not to expend psychic force on locating truffles, for he as a countryman has practical knowledge where to dig for them; but at 215 in terror he bids them conjure Sparta further away on the map. *φροντίζειν* he takes for the technical term. Power to move things through space is the familiar mark of the sorcerer. Strepsiades is constantly, though vainly, seeking a sign. In despair at 749 he proposes to buy a Thessalian witch, whose power was proverbial.

¹ Reisig emphasizes this, Nub. praef., p. 24, and Fritzsche approves, *Adversaria*, I, p. 7. Stüvern conceives Socrates as suddenly (l. 178) leaving the school and his absorbed pupils to 'filch the cloak'—Ueber Aristoph. *Wolken*, p. 22, Eng. tr.

² "Comme le Démon de l'Écriture, le Socrate des Nuées s'appelle Légion." Saint Victor, *Les Deux Masques*.

Turning to the passage, 133-80, we see that the underlying motive of the whole is a lampoon upon the scientists. In form, however, we have an older pupil playing upon the verdancy of the newcomer, telling him big stories, lies, not necessarily to be taken as true or possible by the audience, but suited to the credulity and the mental attitude of Strepsiades. To fix attention and facilitate ready apprehension, the comedian introduces each jest by a statement of topic, then an eager question from Strepsiades, and follows it by some comment iterating and emphasizing the point of the jest, e. g. lines 169-70, 174. The bucolic flavor of this last sally puts Strepsiades in great good humor. He catches eagerly at the new problem. *ἐπαλαμῆσατο* becomes a cue word, suggesting legerdemain. The recourse is to magic, mathematical magic, practical geodesy, the distance-taking of the famous geometer Thales extended to taking things from a distance. The skewer is used, doubtless, on account of its strong natural affinity for meat. For 'occult sympathies' and magic generally, Lucian's Philopseudes has much in point. In art Urania holds the compasses. *ὑφαίρειν* was a mathematical term, with good punning possibilities, 'subtract,' 'abstract.'

To translate :

- PUPIL. 'Last night at supper-time we had no food.
STREPS. I see. Now tell me quick his trick for bread.
P. Upon the table some fine dust he spread,
Next bent a skewer, made dividers neat—

[No lacuna, but a solemn pause; a few silent gestures, twirling the imaginary compasses, drawing lines, taking directions, and finally pointing off through the air—triumphantly.]

- From the *Palaestra* he deduced our meat.
S. 'Tis wonderful! Old Thales is outdone.'

The allusion to Thales now gets a better point. He is apostrophized not as the wise man, but as the geometer who calculated eclipses and in the popular belief taught the Egyptians how to take the height of their pyramids (Plutarch, Conv. S. Sap. 2). It is as if an American should appeal to Ben Franklin not as Poor Richard, but in his great act, *eripuit fulmen caelo*.

Readers have always lacked the significant gestures which made this scene plain to the spectators, and then the early itacistic corruption of *θυμάτιον* turned all astray. Surely we now get for the passage a better sense; that is, a funnier, more intelligible nonsense.

Line 73. Felton alone among editors makes the wife subject of *ἐπιθετο*. This view deserves fuller consideration.

The son is dropped at line 40. The passage following runs upon the mother's ways and influence. There is no syntactical reason for returning to the son before line 77, where the deictic pronoun is used to re-introduce him. It becomes, then, a question of humorous intent.

The son imbibes a passion for horses with his mother's milk. She inserts 'horse' in the name; teaches the baby to 'ride a cock-horse,' and prattles of future horses and chariots and parades. She treats with silent contempt Strepsiades' counter-prophecy with its indirect rebuke, sample of many another (cf. 54-5),

'To this and all I said she gave no heed,
But with horse-fever infected all I own.'

The taint was congenital. The mother is responsible.

Line 1474. Dindorf, Meineke, Kock, Blaydes, reject this line, as the insertion of some one who imagined from *τὸυτοῦ* the presence of an earthen jar (*δῖνος*). Kock is very positive, and further, with Meineke, reads *τὸυτοῦ*, i. e. Socrates, which is metrically undesirable; and in the absence of Socrates 'that man's Dinos' is no improvement on 'that Dinos.' Teuffel-Kähler retains the line, but denies the *presence* of the jar.

If there be no jar, the punning allusion is certainly hard to defend. Yet *τὸυτοῦ* seems hardly to furnish an adequate motive for composing a line and inserting it in the text. Moreover, there are no further difficulties, if the presence of a jar can be justified.

The scholiast misleads us by suggesting a jar, as a figure of Dinos, in the school of Socrates. This is properly recognized as every way improbable. Besides, Strepsiades at 1473 is still before his own door. Now, Strepsiades has statues in his own house—one of Poseidon (83), one of Hermes at his house-gate (1478; cf. Thucyd. VI 27), and perhaps also one of Zeus (1234). We are by no means to suppose with the scholiast on 381 that Strepsiades really confounds the new divinity with a jar. But no commentator seems to have discerned what 'a very excellent, good-conceited thing' it is to make STREPSIADES, thoroughly disabused of his faith in the old gods, in the final act (1131 on) show pedestaled at his house-gate no longer a Zeus or a Hermes, but a big earthen *δῖνος*—as his best attempt to figure forth the new cosmic deity 'Volution' 'in the marble undecaying,' not his

god, but a statue of his god. Fancy the spectators' delight at this pun in statuary. The invention is Strepsiades' own: Socrates has nothing to do with it.

At 1472 Strepsiades undergoes a revulsion of feeling; catching sight of his *Δίος* statue, he smashes it into bits (1473-4), re-erects his prostrate Hermes, and before it bends the knee in prayer (1478 ff.).

Such a piece of scenic cartooning is quite in Aristophanes' manner. Is it not what the spectator saw?

PRINCETON.

S. R. WINANS.

SOME PLACES IN THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY.

I.

Ac dum forum suffertur a laico, a librorum alumno clerico mors differtur.—
Cap. IV.

Forum suffertur is the reading supplied by the best manuscript of Philobiblon (Royal 8. F. XIV in the British Museum), against *forum transfertur* in the other copies. The correctness of *suffertur* is so evident as to need no special argument, inasmuch as the whole point of the sentence and context is the contrast between the scholar, or 'clerk,' who could prove 'his clergy' by reading some verse from the Psalter, thus saving his neck, and the layman who endured sentence of the civil court. I have had trouble, however, in finding expressions illustrating the phrase *forum suffertur*. Still, here is one which serves admirably to explain it by a converse form, *forum declinare*. It occurs in a sentence of Odofred of Bologna (died 1265), who antedates Richard de Bury by nearly a century. The passage is preserved in Sarti (*De claris Archigymnasii Professoribus, Bononiae*, 1769, I 94, note *b*), and reads:

Vidi hoc in civitate ista (= Bononia) tempore domini Azonis, quod scholares poterant declinare forum in causa criminali, et erant hic tunc temporis X milia scholares.

II.

Omnis artifex manualis hyperduliam propriam suis exhibet instrumentis.—
Cap. IV.

De Bury, arguing from the reverence a true artisan feels for the tools of his craft, concludes the clergy should feel likewise toward

books. But he uses a strong term (*hyperdulia*), which means more than *dulia*, the reverence due to saints, and falls short of *latria* alone, the worship due to God. *Hyperdulia*, or the highest reverence, is explained by Thomas Aquinas: *Speciali nomine hyperdulia nominatur, quasi superdulia (super duliā?) ad latriam accedens* (Comm. in Lib. IV Sententiarum, Lib. III, dist. 9, art. 2). It is suitably exercised toward the human nature of Christ, as the context of the citation states, or toward the Virgin (Summa Theol., Secunda secundae, Q. 103, art. 4). So exalted is the reverence de Bury exacts of the clergy toward 'holy books.'

III.

O beate Deus Deorum in Syon, quantus impetus fluminis voluptatis laetificavit cor nostrum, quotiens paradisum mundi Parisius visitare vacavimus moraturi.—Cap. VIII.

The word-play between *Parisius* and *paradisus* is an easy one, and De Bury, with his fondness for such tricks of sound, might readily be guessed to be its inventor. But the expression is found in earlier writers. Budinszky has preserved two instances in his 'Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter.' One is in a verse by Alexander Neckham (died 1217):

Parisius quidam, paradisus deliciarum.

—Budinszky, p. 5, note 10.

The other is in a letter of Lanfranc of Milan, who came to Paris about 1294:

O Parisius, propter regiae majestatis sedem, propter curialis speciei excellentiam, propter honoris habundantiam, propter philosophorum intelligentiam merito paradisus nuncupari potes.—Budinszky, p. 7, note 21.

PRINCETON, September, 1894.

ANDREW F. WEST.

HORACE, EP. I vi, 49-52.

Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
Mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum
Qui fodicet latus et cogat *trans pondera* dextram
Porrigere.

The meaning of TRANS PONDERA has always been in doubt. The scholiast speaks of PONDERA as the stepping-stones across

the streets (such as are to be seen in Pompeii). The older commentators suggested the shop-counters, on which the weights stood; the equilibrium of the body (*VLTRA AEQVILIBRIVM CORPORIS CVM PERICVLO CADENDI*, Gesner); obstacles in general; and even carts loaded with merchandise!

Modern editors lean to the old view, that the *PONDERA* were stepping-stones; but Wickham gives expression to the sentiment of all, I think, when he says: "There is no other ground [than the statement of the scholiast] for thinking that *PONDERA* was a technical name for these stepping-stones, and it may be a guess as baseless as others."

Important additional evidence, overlooked, as it seems, by all, is, however, to be found in a fragmentary inscription of the year 656 A. V. C. from Capua (C. I. L. I 570 and X 3789), where, after a list of names followed by a break, we have: . . . *HAEC · PONDERA · ET · PAVIMENTVM · FACIENDVM · ET . . . (COERAVERE)*. The juxtaposition of *PONDERA* and *PAVIMENTVM* affords strong additional evidence of the correctness of the scholiast's view.

GEORGE N. OLCOTT.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

P. Cornelii Taciti *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, edited with *Prolegomena*, Critical Apparatus, Exegetical and Critical Notes, Bibliography and Indexes, by ALFRED GUDEMAN. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894. Pp. cxxxviii + 447.

It never rains but it pours, in philology it would seem as well as in proverb! After years of lament that the *Dialogus* has not been accessible to our students except in German editions, with the result, of course, that by the great majority the work has been practically unread and unappreciated, of a sudden we are overwhelmed with a wealth of material for its study scarcely afforded to any other work of Tacitus, or indeed to any other literary monument of antiquity. Peterson's edition, summarizing with much soberness of judgment the most important results of German studies, was followed in less than a year by the book which engages our attention here, while almost simultaneously the work was made accessible for college instruction in the concise and admirable edition of Bennett. It was high time that something should be done to rescue from neglect in England and America this lovely child of Roman genius, which seems to have suffered in attention and regard from the wholly unwarrantable suspicion which rested for so long upon its parentage. It is hardly conceivable now, and it will be still less so when these new editions have brought the work to the appreciation which it deserves, that only a few years ago Messrs. Church and Brodribb should feel called on to make a quasi-apology for associating the *Dialogus* with the *Germania* and *Agricola* in their translation of the minor works, assuring their readers "that it has a certain amount of interest, as it touches on the Roman education of the period," and that it is, moreover, "thoroughly worth reading." However, all that is a thing of the past, and with the thorough and inviting guidance which is now afforded, the *Dialogus* will gain new friends and cause old ones to think still better of it.

Of the editions named, Professor Gudeman's is by far the most ambitious and complete. He has made a more exhaustive use of the labors of his predecessors, and has contributed more from his own resources. The editor has evidently striven to satisfy every reasonable demand that can be made of an edition of an ancient literary work, and has neglected neither the questions of a more general introductory nature, which naturally confront the reader or which (like the question of authorship) have grown up about the work as critical accretions, nor the more specific requirements of the *recensio*, *emendatio* and *interpretatio*. In all of these sections of the book there is much that is new and stimulating: some old problems have been solved, others have been advanced toward a solution, if not actually disposed of, while not a few entirely new points of view have been disclosed and contribute to a deeper understanding of the work. In so large a mass of matter and where so

decisive a stand is taken toward almost every question involved, criticism will inevitably be provoked. Indeed, I fear that the editor's manner of presentation is sometimes calculated to awaken a feeling of opposition in his readers, and I suspect that occasionally he has defeated his own purpose or the interests of a good argument by himself assuming too vigorously the character of an advocate and by summoning evidence for cumulative effect which were better let alone.

The first sixty-three pages of the *Prolegomena* are devoted to the question of authorship. Some will doubtless criticise as needless such fullness of treatment of a subject which has been looked upon for the past fifty years as practically settled in favor of Tacitus; and yet the question of date, about which the controversy has more recently raged, is so inextricably interwoven with the whole matter, and the stylistic argument has been placed on so new and different a foundation by the *Lexicon Taciteum*, that it is easy to comprehend the difficulty of combining brevity with thoroughness. There is much here that tempts the reviewer's pen, both to praise and to criticise. But to confine myself to more important points, and especially those where the editor has presented new views, it is interesting to observe his treatment of the point which was formerly believed (and is still by Teuffel-Schwabe, Schanz, Blass and others) to be the decisive evidence of Tacitean authorship—I mean the supposed reference to the *Dialogus* by Pliny in the words *itaque poemata quiescunt (crescunt Mommsen) quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas* (IX 10; cf. *Dial.* 9, 29 and 12, 1). Now, the genuineness of the *Dialogus* is defended with a spirit and vigor almost incredible in the case of a question which has practically ceased to be discussed, and one might therefore have imagined that this argument would have been made to yield all there is in it. Not so, however. The editor's impartiality here becomes belligerent, and so far from granting to it decisive force, he holds that the inference commonly drawn from the parallelism is 'wholly fallacious and to be rejected peremptorily.' I do not think, however, that many will agree with most of the reasons adduced (p. xviii, note) for denying any significance to Lange's observation. The second of them, viz. the fact that the thought is a literary commonplace which Tacitus may have given utterance to in other places and at other times, is the important one, and the only consideration of any weight that has been advanced for denying to this parallelism the character of a literary allusion. We must say, therefore, that there is no reason why Pliny may not have had the *Dialogus* in mind in the words above quoted, but that they must be referred to it no one will now maintain, nor, on the other hand, should it be argued that they cannot refer to it. Clearly this is a place where certainty on either side is unattainable. As often Gudeman goes further than is wise in the interest of his argument, when he says that 'the identical collocation *memora ac lucos*' is found in other Tacitean passages (*Germania* 9, 10 (not 11), 45). Suppose the author of the *Dialogus* had said that poets are fond of cheese and beer, and Pliny had repeated this statement, attributing it to Tacitus—should we believe any the less that he had reference to the words of the *Dialogus* because perhaps in the *Germania* cheese and beer were found in a familiar Teutonic collocation?

Evidently the *pièce de résistance* of this chapter of the Prolegomena is the endeavor to fix finally and within narrow limits the date of the Dialogue's publication. The discussion is opened by a consideration of the time when the conversation reported in the treatise was held, and, by an original and convincing interpretation of the words *centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur* (ch. 17; more fully developed in the note ad loc.), the soundness of the text is vindicated and the date is shown to be fixed entirely by the words *sextam huius principatus stationem* (74/75). Starting, then, with the position laid down by Steiner, that the Dialogus, if Tacitean, must have been written before Domitian's reign, he refutes with much vigor, and successfully too, the objections derived from the phrase *iuvenis admodum* to assigning the publication to a period within six or seven years of the dramatic date. But his refutation, as he says, "only justifies the inference that the Dialogus *may* have been written in the reign of Titus. Happily, it can also be proved (1) that it *must* have been composed at that time and (2) that a later date, while quite incompatible with Tacitean authorship, is at the same time irreconcilable with the authorship of any one else" (p. xxx). The first of these points is the vital one, and yet, in spite of the very positive manner of its statement, I have been unable to discover that any evidence is produced which would restrict the date of publication to the years 79-81. His arguments are as follows: 1) The dramatic setting requires that not too great a time shall have elapsed between the conversation and publication. 2) The Dialogus, if written after Domitian, would involve a literary anachronism, since the subject with which it deals was no longer a theme of discussion in the time of Nerva and Trajan. This is a new point of view, developed with much ingenuity by the editor, and as a fact it is very noteworthy. But as a means of determining a date within the limits of a little more than a decade, it would seem to me of very doubtful value. For, as all the parallel instances adduced by Gudeman show, such literary discussions are never cut off with a square end, and there would be little difficulty in believing that straggling contributions were made for a considerable time to a subject which Quintilian had treated (in his *de causis corruptae eloquentiae*) toward the end of the eighties. But for both of these arguments it is only claimed that they show publication after Domitian's reign to be impossible. The reign of Domitian itself is treated in a peculiar manner. The editor has already given his approval to the sharp alternative formulated by Steiner, that Tacitus must have written the Dialogus before Domitian or he did not write it at all, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the only rejoinder made to the suggestion of assuming some date within the reign of Domitian. Of course, no one would think of assuming a date in the latter half or even two-thirds of that tyrant's reign, but really the first five years of it demanded some consideration in a discussion which aims to be exhaustive and to fix a definite limit on each side. I say that Steiner's alternative seems to be the only rejoinder to this suggestion, for what the editor has said on p. xxxii on this point he surely did not mean as a serious argument. "This hypothesis," he says, referring to the assumption of a date as late as 85, "is so clearly a mere subterfuge resorted to for the purpose of escaping the alleged difficulties found in the use of *iuvenis admodum* that we dismiss it without further comment, especially as Vibius

Crispus had by that time been doubtless restored to imperial favor, if not to his former power." Obviously, the reasons for rejecting this date are not given by calling the assumption of it a subterfuge, and the remaining force of the argument depends on the value we attach to the word 'doubtless.' So far, then, as the editor helps us we must fall back on Steiner's alternative. Gudeman does not, I believe, tell us why Steiner excludes so rigorously the reign of Domitian, but students familiar with their Tacitus will suspect, even if they do not know Steiner's treatise, that it is on the basis of the well-known words at the beginning of the *Agricola*, *per XV annos . . . per silentium venimus*. And such, in fact, is the case: "also unter Domitian hat Tacitus den Dialog nicht herausgegeben und auch nicht geschrieben, wie er ja unter Domitian überhaupt nichts geschrieben hat" (p. 17). This was the only ground on which Steiner denied that the *Dialogus* could have been written between the years 81 and 96, and Gudeman has advanced no other. I think it will be with some surprise, therefore, that the reader learns in a note to the next chapter of the *Prolegomena* (p. xxxvi ⁴⁹) that the editor does not believe that the inference which Steiner and others have drawn from this passage of the *Agricola* is sound, and that "it does not necessarily exclude a rhetorical treatise like the *Dialogus*, any more than some of Tacitus' speeches which were certainly published in the reign of Domitian, as we must infer from Pliny's letters." Now let us see where we stand concerning the date of publication. The genetic development of the style of Tacitus, as well as the other arguments adduced by Gudeman, we will grant, make publication after Domitian impossible. We will also grant that it could not have been written in the darker days of Domitian's reign. But what have we left to show that it might not have been published in the first lustrum of his principate, accepting, as we must, the editor's interpretation of the passage from the proemium of the *Agricola*? I can find nothing, for we have voluntarily sacrificed the evidence which would restrict us to the years 79-81 by a juster interpretation of *per silentium*. Now, I do not wish to be misunderstood as an advocate of the later date (84-85) assumed by Wolf, Peterson and others. The point that I would make is, not that the early part of the reign of Domitian possesses any more probability than the reign of Titus (for I believe that the editor has dispelled all doubt which the words *iuvenis admodum* might cause), but that so sharply defined a limit as is here attempted cannot be fixed, and that we must content ourselves with saying that the *Dialogus* was written under Titus or in the earlier part of Domitian's reign.

Probably the most successful and striking portion of the editor's argument for the genuineness of the treatise is the section headed 'The Stylistic Character of the *Dialogus*.' Here, making thorough use of the studies of his predecessors and adding much new matter from his own observations, he shows in most admirable and thorough manner the points of identity between the style of the *Dialogus* and the later works, and how the elements of radical difference (the growth of which can still be seen in not a few instances) are all capable of an entirely reasonable and satisfactory explanation by the psychological change through which the author had passed and by the difference in subject-matter between this, his earliest work, and his later productions. After showing so clearly that there is no good reason for denying the author-

ship of Tacitus, it would seem almost useless to refute the claims of Quintilian and Pliny. And yet, for completeness' sake, and because these ancient spectres have even of late years dared to stalk abroad, it will not perhaps seem a work of superfluous zeal to have finally laid them. It is devoutly to be hoped that in these pages we have at length the concluding chapter of a controversy, the survival of which well into the nineteenth century is emphatically an anachronism. We can pardon the suspicions of a Rhenanus and the doubts of a Lipsius, for they were but children of their generation and could not take an historical point of view. In their time, and long after too, conjectures to Cicero might be supported by parallels from Plautus or St. Jerome, and Vigerus could teach the idioms of the Greek language by examples chosen indiscriminately from Demosthenes and St. Chrysostom. But it is unpleasant and not to the credit of our studies to reflect that down to the present century quite universally, and for fifty years longer only to a less extent, the authenticity of a perfectly well-attested work of antiquity was denied on grounds that have most affinity with the oracular judgments of the higher criticism of antiquity—*hic versus Plauti non est, hic est*.

The second chapter of the Prolegomena deals with the dramatic structure of the Dialogus and the interlocutors. It is opened with a brief summary of the contents of the work and then passes to a discussion of its real purpose. This question, if it deserves the rank of such a designation and is not rather a hothouse product of German *Stubenhockerei*, arises from the fact that the discussion does not at once proceed to the question of the decline of oratory, but is preluded by a passage at arms on the relative merits of poetry and oratory. The view of Gilbert, that the real purpose of the work is a defence of poetry, is dismissed very properly, not without much graphic amazement of exclamation points and question marks. But the editor's own explanation of the relevancy of this introductory episode seems to me, in spite of its ingenuity and suggestiveness, to read more into the setting than is really there. The interlocutors are then treated with admirable fullness and completeness.

Perhaps the most important point in this part of the Prolegomena is the endeavor to demonstrate that Secundus is the speaker of chs. 36-40, 8, and that hence a lacuna must be assumed before the words *non de otiosa, etc.* The argument is pressed with great vigor, but not without some sophistries, nor does it seem to me convincing. In the first place, it should be remembered that the burden of proof rests with those who assume the lacuna, and that the attitude of criticism must be sceptical until a conclusive demonstration is made. That the MSS do not give any indication of lacuna here is not of course an insurmountable obstacle to its assumption, as is very well shown, though I think it will generally be felt that the MSS of the Dialogus have given us better ground than is commonly the case for trust in their faithful reproduction of the archetype, by the care with which they have noted the lacuna in ch. 34. But next to MS evidence, which here is lacking, we may ask whether there is any immediate violation of the sequence of thought, the usual ground for the assumption of a lacuna not otherwise indicated. The editor believes that there is, for he characterizes the transition as 'intolerably abrupt and sudden.' Apparently, then, there is room here for a difference of opinion, since, for myself, I cannot really see how a closer connection in

thought could have been desired by the most rigorously logical critic than between the initial sentence of ch. 40 and the one beginning *non de otiosa etc.* (40, 8). The speaker has just referred to the enormous stimulus that was given to eloquence by the *contiones assidue et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi, cum plurimi disertorum . . . ad incessendos principes viros . . . populi, ut histriones, auribus uterentur*. The speaker has already repeatedly remarked, incidentally to his description of the conditions that made ancient eloquence great, that such conditions were not desirable, though they produced great orators,¹ and what could be more natural than for the speaker, reminding his listeners of this thought, to characterize the excessive freedom of speech and of personal attack, which he has just described (in the words quoted) and which was always repugnant to Roman conceptions of personal and civic dignity, in the words that follow: *non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa . . . eloquentia alumna licentiae, . . . contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur*. Indeed, nothing but a consideration of eloquence as a form of Greek *παρρησία* (*datum ius* (= *ἀδεία*) *vexandi*) could have suggested more naturally all of the opprobrious epithets that are attached to it here, and the passage therefore finds a fitting culmination in the admonition that not Sparta nor Crete (*quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur*), but Athens was the mother of the greatest orators, Athens where *non modo libertas* (sc. *dicendi*), *etiam libido impunita* (Ann. IV 35). I have considered this point somewhat in detail, because it seemed to me, from the standpoint of philological method, the most vital. If, therefore, my argument for the unity of the thought on both sides of the assumed lacuna has carried conviction, it will be seen that neither of the primary conditions for its assumption is present. But the editor lays apparently more stress on the fact that the thought of the words in ch. 40, 8 (*non de otiosa et quieta re*) is here repeated in almost the same words for the third time. But leaving aside the fact that the consideration is a purely subjective one and something which might have appealed differently to an ancient reader and a modern critic, it should be observed, as the editor himself points out, that we have the assurance of the speaker that the idea is one which requires repetition (*ut subinde admoneo* 37, 29). If repetition is ever tolerable and ever occurs without arousing a suspicion of text-corruption, it would seem to furnish least occasion for so doing where it is expressly apologized for and justified by the speaker. Indeed, this thought is most essential to the argument of Maternus, for it required the clearest presentation of the fact that great eloquence *is* an inevitable concomitant of disorder to lead up to his last contention that it is not worth the price. It is to the clear enunciation of this last idea that the sentence in question affords a transition, although it is foreshadowed and intimated from the beginning. Concerning the last and most important argument made by the editor for assigning only the portion from 40, 8 on to Maternus, viz. that it contains sentiments at variance with those expressed in 36-40, 7, I have already implied my criticism. But let us first note briefly the character of these so-called contradictions. The important ones will be found of this

¹Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt, similis eloquentiae condicio (37, 31).

nature: *cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere* (36, 26) and *quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis* (41, 14). Now, as I have intimated above, the speaker passes in the sentence before which the lacuna is assumed from a consideration of the fact that eloquence is a concomitant of disorder to a judgment on that fact (viz. that the price of such eloquence is too great). The same relation holds between the two passages here quoted. The first describes the fact, the second accepts it and admits its influence on oratory, but passes condemnatory judgment upon it. But while practically all the utterances from 40, 9 on are judgments of facts already presented, the part before 40, 8, in which the facts or conditions which produced ancient eloquence are set forth, contains also judgments of the same general character as those given more directly and emphatically when the speaker has passed over to criticism. One such example may suffice (omitted by Gudeman from his parallel columns of 'contradictions and repetitions'): *cum tantum orator saperet, quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat* (36, 8). With this compare ch. 40, 20, in which, after observing that Athens, where *omnia populus . . . poterat*, had produced great orators, the speaker continues: *nostra quoque civitas donec erravit etc.* The judgment is uttered incidentally where the aim was to present the actual conditions, and is repeated directly where the speaker has passed from facts to criticism. The number of incidental judgments thus pronounced by the speaker of chs. 36-40, 8 is so large that it is hard to see on what ground Gudeman bases his assertion that the speaker (i. e. of 36-40, 8) "leaves us to infer that he would rejoice in a superior oratorical development at any cost." Finally Gudeman urges that Maternus, having resolved to quit the forum, cannot well have maintained the *indispensability* of eloquence, and cites in evidence of this statement ch. 36, 23: *quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant* (sc. *antiqui*) *neminem sine eloquentia . . . adsequi posse . . . eminentem locum*, but for what purpose others, I fancy, will wonder, as I do. That Secundus had no share in the debate I do not of course argue. That is a point which only additional and older MS material or ancient allusion, hitherto unobserved, can determine.

Chapter III of the Prolegomena discusses the literary sources of the Dialogus and opens with a proof that the dialogue, "barring a certain historical background, must be regarded as a work of the creative imagination," basing the necessity of such a proof on the statement that the majority of editors and critics have tacitly assumed that the author's explanation of the origin of the treatise, as a faithful reproduction from memory of an actual conversation, is given in good faith. While accepting gratefully the demonstration which follows of the essentially fictitious character of the dialogue, and which illustrates the point with more fullness and detail than I have seen done elsewhere, I cannot but feel that the editor does injustice to the discernment of his predecessors in affirming so strongly that they have failed to recognize the real nature of the dramatic setting. But this is a trifling matter compared with the discussion of the sources of the Dialogus which follows, and which must be reckoned among the most brilliant parts of the book. Here, after calling attention to some of the more striking resemblances to Ciceronian passages which have been noted by others also, the editor presents us with some entirely new and very striking evidence of the author's use of

the Hortensius. This proof is a most ingenious specimen of philological combination, and affords testimony enough to the wideness and thoroughness of the author's reading. The consideration of the Acta of Mucianus, which are mentioned only in the Dialogus, as a possible source is new and interesting, but of course purely conjectural for any part except 37, 8, where reference is made to them. With more confidence Gudeman says of the Epistulae of the same author (ib.) that he "feels convinced that what we learn of the epistolary war waged between the adherents of the Attic school and Cicero, is directly based upon this identical compilation." As a surmise or conjecture, affording a definite starting-point from which investigation might proceed, that is very good, but to be convinced (though I fancy I am taking the author's words too seriously) on the basis of the possibility here advanced would reflect, I fear, on the character of philological proof. Very different from this is the admirable and brilliant demonstration which follows, that many of the ideas on education expressed by Quintilian and Tacitus (in the Dialogus) are ultimately traceable to the famous work of Chrysippus, *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*.

The fourth chapter of the Prolegomena deals with the 'Style and Language' of the Dialogus. The matter is presented in a very convenient tabular form, with well-nigh exhaustive fullness of illustration. Its value is greatly heightened by references to the more detailed discussion of certain usages in the notes. I believe it may fairly claim to be the first adequate treatment of the subject that has been presented, and it is hard to see how it will ever be superseded.

The fifth and concluding chapter is devoted to the MSS, and contains, besides a description of each of the important codices, a full discussion of the questions of interrelationship and classification, chiefly following Scheuer. With the latter's conclusion concerning the superiority of the Y class Gudeman agrees, and by the correction of some of Scheuer's errors he is able to give to this result a more conclusive character. In this connection may be mentioned the interesting confirmation of the correctness of this view, derived from a consideration of Tacitean usage, in two passages (22, 4 and 22, 8) where the X and Y classes are at variance concerning the position of *eiusdem* and *iam*.

The text is beautifully printed in widely leaded lines and is accompanied by very convenient marginal summaries. The editor has adopted the rule that every deviation from MS authority shall be indicated by italics, but the method chosen has not been carried out consistently, so that one is often at a loss to know, without consulting the *apparatus criticus*, the extent and nature of the change. When one reads *excepi* (accepi MSS) or *orationis* (oratoris MSS) it is of course clear that a slight variation from the MS tradition is indicated; but why should this simple and convenient device have been abandoned in such cases as *famam* (40 ext., formam MSS), where *famam* would have made it clear, without reference to the ap. crit., that the word was neither an addition of the editor nor an emendation for a word of totally different graphic value? The same thing is true in a good many other instances, e. g. 33, 24 *paratiorem* (parate MSS) instead of *paratiorem* (but 8, 10 correctly *minores*, minus MSS). In 41, 9 *enim* is carelessly printed, instead of *enim*, as if a reading based on MS evidence. It is to be regretted that the editor chose no

means of making clear at a glance the difference between words which are due to the emendation of MS readings and editorial additions or supplements. Why should not the customary pointed brackets <> have been employed? Probably no feature of the book will render it so indispensable an aid to students as the very full and clear apparatus criticus, in which, in addition to the variants of the MSS and the record of conjectural readings adopted, the editor has given, with almost unnecessary fullness, the principal conjectures to the text, especially of recent scholars. I have observed but few omissions of any consequence. In 30, 7 *statim dicturus* is given as Gronov's conjecture, instead of *dicturus* simply, as if *statim* were not afforded by the MSS.

The constitution of the text itself challenges especial attention from the fact that the edition is dedicated to Vahlen, perhaps the leading living Latinist in the realm of pure textual criticism, by a pupil of that distinguished master of the *ars critica*. The independence and originality of the editor in this regard are in striking contrast to the reserve and self-distrust which has hitherto characterized the work of our foremost American scholars in this field. The editor has been trained in the best school of textual criticism, and his book is full of excellent precepts on method and sharp rebuffs of the *libido coniciendi* which has harassed the innocent Dialogus to an uncommon degree. But, alas for good intentions, I can but fear that it will be the general verdict of criticism that he himself must be included in the goodly company of sinners against sound texts. Gudeman has contributed above thirty conjectures (emendations from his point of view¹) to the text of the Dialogus, a considerable number of which had already been made public and discussed in this Journal. Of this number the following seem to me to deserve the title of emendations: 5, 28 *sive . . . vel . . . sive*; 6, ext. *quae diu . . . grata, gratiora* (an improvement on Nissen's similar suggestion, in which the observation that *alia* is a dittography of *diu* deserves special notice); 11, 16 *tutur* (*tueor* MSS); 13, ext. (involving only the bracketing of *enim* and *-que*, and based on a correct interpretation of *quandoque*); 32, 15 *ius* <*suae*> *civilatis* (supported by Cic. de or. I 40, 184—which is, by the way, cited in a misleading manner); 38, 5 *modum* <*in*> *dicendo* (based on the fact that Andresen's re-collation of A does away with the variant *dicendi*). Not quite so certain, but attractive and probable, is the reading adopted in 7, 13 *apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes*. One or two suggestions are rather colorless, obviating some difficulties, but not carrying conviction of their correctness. E. g. 8, 3 *non min* <*ores*> (anticipated by Haase).

Over against this credit side, however, is to be placed a much longer list of changes, in good part more important than those just mentioned, where it is my own conviction that the editor has inflicted positive corruptions on the text of Tacitus, or by the assumption of interpolation has deprived him of his due. It would be obviously out of the question for me to review the score

¹ Is it customary or right to make no distinction between the words *emendation* and *conjecture*? I do not of course refer to the fact that G. designates his own conjectures as emendations (that is his duty if he has convinced himself that he has restored the author's words), but to such expressions as these, where the MS reading is defended: p. 133 (10, 18), "it is needless to discuss the *emendation* of Ribbeck"; p. 266 (26, 10), "debat is the reading of our MSS, which we have no right to *emend*, unless," etc.; p. 276 (28, 5), "the many *emendations* of the MS reading," etc.; and elsewhere frequently.

and more of conjectures that belong to this category. Some of the most important, however, I shall select for comment.

7, 10 *tum habere quod si non in ALVO oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit.*] in *alio* MSS. G. enumerates thirteen conjectures here and is himself the author of the reading in the text, which Pithoeus also had arrived at before him. All editors seem to agree that the MS reading is untenable, and they have conspired to prevent Tacitus from saying what he meant. A defence of the MS reading will be a sufficient refutation of this conjecture as well as others. A writer on Christian apologetics says: "If a defence of our belief rest not on other foundation (i. e. *nisi in alio oritur*) it cannot gain support from miracles and wonders," and we understand him well enough, nor do we require to be told that he refers to the deeper spiritual things of the faith. And so here, when Tacitus says, "Then I seemed to possess that which if it take not its rise in another source (*nisi in alio oritur*), is not given by letters patent nor comes with favor," why should we not understand just as clearly that reference is made to natural endowment or talent? The Latinity of *in alio* is quite unexceptionable, nor does the usage *in alio* = *in* (or *ex*) *alia re* call for any comment or defence in Tacitus. This same indefiniteness of statement where no obscurity arises we find in 8, 24 in the same connection: *Vespasianus . . . intellegit . . . Marcellum et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit.*

10, 20 <*mox*> *summa adeptus*] *summa adeptus* MSS. Gudeman rejects Vahlen's defence of the MS tradition because *adeptus* never has the meaning of *praeditus aliqua re* in Tacitus. This is certainly no good reason for deserting a reading in harmony with Ciceronian usage, when *all other* examples of *adipisci* are from the later works. In our author, whose style confessedly suffered a radical transformation, we should least of all attempt to restore consistency of usage between works separated by a dozen years and more. This is a complaint one has to make repeatedly.

18, 6 *antiquos . . . quos utinam nulla parte MIRATUS esset Calvus aut Caelius aut . . . Cicero*] *imitatus* MSS, which seems to G. absurd and impossible. The conjecture is defended at length in this Journal, vol. XII, pp. 339-42. That *imitatus* is tolerable for Caelius G. admits (cf. 21, 17). That Aper could have easily applied it to Cicero is shown by 22, 10: *priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis*. But "when we come to Calvus the *imitatus* of our text is simply ludicrous" (A. J. P., l. c.), says G., and cites Cicero's judgment of the over-refined style of Calvus. But we have to do here not with Cicero, but with Aper, who, as G. reminds us (ad 21, 33), "does not shrink from exaggeration and misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose." That he did not share Cicero's, and indeed the prevalent, estimate of Calvus we may learn from 21, 13 *quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret . . . ingenium et vires defuisse*. *Imitatus* is therefore entirely appropriate in the mouth of Aper, however it might be in fact. On the other hand, *miratus* would be distinctly out of place here, for it is not clear why Aper should wish so ardently that they had not *admired* the ancients if, as G. maintains, he could not affirm that this admiration had had any effect on their style.

20, 7 (*iudex*), *nisi . . . nitore et cultu descriptionum VITIATUS et corruptus est, aversatur*] *invitatus* MSS. This conjecture seems to me so obviously to 'vitiate

and corrupt' the text of Tacitus that I should not discuss it, had it not been adopted by Bennett. The general considerations advanced against *invitatus* are trivial, and seem to depend on an exaggerated interpretation of the turpitude implied in *corruptus*. To say that a judge is *bribed* is doubtless very bad, but when you have already said *nitore et cultu descriptionum*, you have taken away the suggestion of baseness beforehand. And what allurements could be more harmless than charm of eloquence by which the judge is made to listen to a long speech, against his will and intention? The second difficulty concerning the use of *invitare* only of 'harmless allurements' does not therefore exist.¹ Concerning the stylistic principle which G. claims is here violated for the only time in the Dialogus by the use of *et* to connect two verbs standing in some causal relation to each other (instead of *ac*); cf. 9, 7 *defensus et tibi obligatus*; 17, 20 *arcere litoribus et pellere aggressi sunt* ('attempted to keep from landing and (that failing) to drive out'); and perhaps also 39, 23 *excitare et incendere*. Finally, what possible significance can there be in the fact that Cicero, in an entirely different connection (viz. election bribery), has used these two words in juxtaposition? We have had occasion already to complain of the abuse of this form of argument, which only has significance, as a rule, in defence of uncertain Latinity.

36, 2 *eloquentia, sicut flamma, . . . motibus excitatur et urendo CALESCIT*] (anticipated by Maehly) *clarescit* MSS. The climax of the simile is rudely destroyed, G. believes, by the reading *clarescit*, which is an 'otiose repetition' of *motibus excitatur*. Accepting the editor's standpoint, let us observe the use of *excitare*. The word is almost a terminus technicus of an early stage in the production of fire, and hence is naturally antecedent to *urendo clarescit*. This usage G. admits in his critical note ad loc. ("the brightness of the fire is the immediate effect of *motibus excitatur*"), but he still holds to his view (A. J. P. XII, p. 346) that *clarescit* is an otiose repetition and hence false. But is it not a rather loose use of language to characterize the statement of an effect from a cause as a repetition? Or again, why is light (*clarescit*) as an effect of *motibus excitatur* more of a repetition than heat (*calescit*)? But defending the MS reading positively, we may observe that the author does not lose sight of the figure in *clarescit* in the rest of his speech, e. g. 37, 21 *crescit cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et illustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit*.

Finally, one or two instances where the suggestion of text-corruption has come from a 'transposition variant.'

6, 8 *plerumque venire*] following Codex D. This order is accepted against all the other MSS because "*plerumque* in a non-superlative sense is with two exceptions out of 22 exx. always prepositive." If we inquire into the nature of D we learn from Gudeman, in the article to which he refers us ad loc., that "this codex abounds in transpositions so that it is difficult to determine whether they were brought about by accident or not." I fancy that most of us will think that this sort of business is to saw off the limb on which we are sitting, and will prefer to make the ratio of *plerumque's* position 19 : 3 instead of 20 : 2.

¹ Though nothing to the point, G.'s observation that *invitare* is used exclusively of such harmless allurements is unreasonable and incorrect, as Ovid, *Her.* 16 (17), 183 shows, *invitant omnia culpam* (cited by Lewis and Short).

19, 4 *Cassium Severum . . . quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab ista vetere [atque directa] dicendi via*. But does *directa* admit of no satisfactory explanation? Interpretation must start from a consideration of the character of Severus' oratory, of which Tacitus says in 26, 18 *primus contempto ordine rerum, omitta modestia et pudore verborum etc.* Cf. also Seneca, Epp. 100, 5 (on Fabianus) *nihil invenies sordidum: electa verba sunt, non captata nec huius saeculi more contra naturam suam posita et inversa*. Most of Gudeman's criticism of *directa* is beside the mark, for Aper's complaint has to do chiefly with the length and tediousness of the older orations and their simplicity (*directa via*), amounting to dullness.

34, 21 *auditorium semper plenum [semper novum]*. *Novum* is bracketed as being an epithet equally applicable to the audiences of the speaker's own day, and not peculiar to those of the republic. But wholly without ground, for (1) the origin of the gloss is not apparent (nor does Gudeman suggest an explanation of it), nor (2) is the word superfluous. It would scarcely seem necessary to call attention to the fact that the distinction here made is between the audience of a school-room (*in condiscipulis nihil profectus cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur* 35, 9) and that of the *iudicia et contiones* (34, 5), before which the young orator of the republic got his training. To call the latter *new* in distinction from the former is to emphasize a significant difference.

Finally, in the acceptance of conjectures of other scholars, the editor seems to me to have been too free, and I have noted more than a dozen instances where their conjectures have displaced perfectly satisfactory MS readings. Some of the more important instances are 14, 12 *ardentior* (*audentior* MSS; cf. Lexicon Quintilianum, s. voc.); 25, 18 *Asinius nervosior* (*numerosior* MSS; cf. Quint. 9, 4, 76, and Schmalz, D. Sprachgebrauch des Asin. Pol., p. 5 ff.); 28, 16 *aut eligebatur* (*eliegebatur autem* MSS, which is required by context, as ch. 29 init. shows; i. e. mother and relative on the one hand, compared with the hired nurse and worthless slave on the other).

The largest portion of the book is taken up by the critical and exegetical commentary, the critical portion of which has already been discussed. It would, however, be very unjust to leave the reader to draw an inference concerning the exegetical part (which is much the larger) from the judgment which has been pronounced on the critical notes. Indeed, there is no relation between them in point of merit, and whatever others may think of the constitution of the text and its justification, I venture to affirm that there will be little divergence of opinion concerning the value of the exegetical commentary. Perhaps its most characteristic feature is the fact that it carries out consistently and methodically the principle of interpreting Tacitus from himself in regard to thought as well as language. In the latter respect greatest completeness has been attained—a completeness which, of course, would hardly have been possible without the Lexicon Taciteum. But, as in relation to the later works of Tacitus, so in relation to the whole history of the Latin language, the material for comparison of usage in regard to vocabulary, semasiology, syntax and style has been amassed with a fullness which excites admiration and amazement. It is from this point of view that the

work will doubtless appeal most strongly to present tendencies in American scholarship and receive from it a warm welcome. But while this is perhaps the most conspicuous phase of the commentary, I have not observed that any side of a just interpretation has been neglected. That the most important illustrative passages have been printed in full, all users of the book will be grateful, and they will admire, too, the diligence and judgment with which new material has been summoned. It would require a much longer familiarity with the commentary than I now possess, in spite of diligent and interested study, to point out exactly the number of new interpretations of the text itself, of observations of linguistic usage, or of original contributions to the most varied phases of classical study that are contained in these pages, but it must be very considerable. But I have already far transcended the limits of space allotted me, and I must forbear to touch on the countless points which here invite attention. One matter, however, of more general interest I may perhaps be pardoned for alluding to. On p. 58 Gudeman says that the dread of repeating the same word "is a modern stylistic sentimentality, quite foreign to the ancients." This view I have heard expressed repeatedly, and perhaps it is true, but I venture at least to challenge it. The editor, in support of his view, refers to Quintilian, X 1, 7 (not 17, of course), but Quintilian in this passage (discussing the means of acquiring *copia rerum et verborum*) does not by any means imply that it is unnecessary to avoid such repetition, but condemns as puerile and useless the mechanical method of attaining that end by committing synonyms to memory. *Nobis autem*, he continues, *copia cum iudicio paranda est*. The authorities, furthermore, to whom Gudeman refers, so far as accessible to me, do not share his view. To these we may add Volkmann (p. 577), who observes that such repetition is avoided except where a special rhetorical figure is designed (to which class several of Gudeman's examples belong), and Schmalz (Stilistik, p. 579), who notes that the repetition without special motive is an evidence of carelessness, and that, on the other hand, Silver Latinity in particular performed almost incredible feats of variation in the expression of the same thought. My own observation is based on no collections of material nor detailed examination of the point in question, but it had led me to the belief that the avoidance of repetition of the same word is an element of ancient style certainly as early as Plato, and in Latin from Cicero, inclusive, on.¹ That examples to the contrary might be cited in considerable number I do not doubt, but whether they would prove any more than a similar collection (which could easily be made) from English writers seems to me questionable. That repetitions in the interest of clearness (or from carelessness) occur in almost all writers is obvious, and this fact, but with a perfectly clear implication of habitual avoidance, Quintilian recognizes when he says (IX 1, 24): *neque verebor explicandae rei gratia frequentiore eiusdem nominis repetitionem*.

¹The *σοκικλία*, which is so striking a characteristic of all our literature and which is nowhere more boldly championed than by Dr. Miles Smith in the Preface to the Authorized Version, seems to be distinctly due to Cicero, and Cicero, in his turn, was much under the fascination of Plato, who, to be frank, abuses *σοκικλία* so much as to make it impossible at times to take him as seriously as a philosopher ought to be taken. Isokrates, whose pretensions to 'philosophy' Plato heartily despises, is very exact in the use of words, and Quintilian (10, 1, 13) is careful to warn the beginner against change for the sake of change.—B. L. G.

The work is concluded by a very valuable and complete bibliography, a complete *index locorum* and an *index rerum et verborum*, not quite so complete as the fullness of the commentary would seem to demand.

Where so much is given it would seem ungrateful to complain of the omission of anything, and probably what I have in mind does not properly fall within the sphere of an edition. But where such fullness has been aimed at and attained, it might not seem unfair to have expected in the *Prolegomena* some discussion of the *Dialogus* as a literary work and of its place in the history of Roman literature. For while the student who has read widely will doubtless know it, to the more casual reader it would have been a service to point out the unique position of the *Dialogus* as a work of literary criticism: to have called attention to the fact that, in spite of imitation of Ciceronian phraseology and dramatic motives, it is an original work of first magnitude—indeed, the most original specimen of literary criticism that Latin antiquity has handed down to us. For where else in ancient literary judgments shall we find what we call the historical point of view—the realization that literature is a part of life and dependent upon social and political conditions and changes? This thought has become so commonplace with us that we are in danger of failing to distinguish between the clearness of historical vision which characterizes the criticisms of Tacitus (especially from ch. 36 on—Maternus) and the technical standpoint of Quintilian. Quintilian, we can imagine, would have guaranteed to restore the eloquence of the republic, if he could but reform the false teaching of his day, but Tacitus knew better than that. Not that Tacitus was uninfluenced by Quintilian, for somehow, whether directly or indirectly, he was familiar with his teachings, but he transfused the data derived from them with historical insight. Hence the seemingly anomalous circumstance (and so also in relation to Cicero) of producing a work which betrays dependence in detail, but a much larger independence. But it is ungracious to complain of omissions where so much is given, and for this and every other question pertaining to the *Dialogus*, Professor Gudeman's edition furnishes abundant material. It is unfortunate that the nature of things requires us to be briefer in praise than in dissent, but it will, I may trust, be understood that my appreciation of the whole work is not less grateful and hearty because in many places I am unable to share the editor's views. The work is an enduring monument to the scholarship and devotion of the editor, and deserves to be widely circulated.

Jan. 15, 1895.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases, edited for the Syndics of the University Press by C. A. M. FENNELL, D. Litt. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1892.

This valuable dictionary should have been noticed sooner, but *vita brevis, longa ars*, and no one has yet discovered the art of compressing into a short life all that one wishes to do. The late Mr. J. F. Stanford left to the University of Cambridge, in 1882, £5000 for the production of a dictionary of "Anglicised Words and Phrases," for which Mr. Stanford had made many notes and collections. He had himself interpreted the term 'Anglicised' to

mean (a) words "borrowed and wholly or partly naturalised"; (b) "used in English literature without naturalisation"; (c) "familiarised by frequent quotation," as in the phrase above given, which is traced to Seneca, *De Brevit. Vit.* 1, with slight transposition. When the University accepted this bequest, the Syndics of the Press appointed a committee, on which were Profs. Mayor, Skeat and Bensly, Mr. Aldis Wright, and Dr. Postgate, to draw up a scheme for their guidance, which is as follows, examples excluded:

"1. All words and phrases of non-European origin found in English literature, if borrowed *directly* (with or without change of sound or form) from non-European languages.

"2. All Latin and Greek words which retain their original form, and all Latin and Greek phrases, in use in English literature.

"3. All words and phrases borrowed directly from modern European languages excepting French.

"4. All words and phrases borrowed from the French which retain the French pronunciation.

"5. All words borrowed from French, Latin, and Greek, since the introduction of printing, whether now altered or but imperfectly naturalised and now obsolete.

"The work shall not professedly include dialectic forms."

Where we have such a comprehensive scheme, for which we should be truly thankful, it seems ungracious to ask for more, but if the time-limit in No. 5 could have been put at the Norman Conquest, which would practically have carried the labor back not more than two hundred years (for the first half of the period was not prolific in such words), we should have had a complete dictionary of the Romance side of the language in brief. However, we are grateful for what we have, and are not disposed to complain. As it is, the dictionary and supplement (it is unfortunate in dictionaries that there should be need for supplements, but it cannot be helped, I suppose) contain 12,798 articles, which treat of 13,018 words and phrases, and 2708 cross-references. The 12,798 articles are concerned with 10,927 words, 1873 phrases and 278 quotations, proverbs or maxims. 13,000 words and phrases seem a small number for such a scheme, but derivatives are excluded, which saves labor and space, and reduces greatly the number of words.

A criticism to which I think the dictionary is justly liable is the lack of any key to the pronunciation. The nearest approach to such a key is the system of accentuation adopted, which the editor describes as follows: "The accentuation of naturalised words has been approximately indicated by using - to represent an unaccented syllable, ' to represent an accented syllable," to represent a comparatively strongly accented syllable. If the mark ' or " be repeated with regard to the pronunciation of one word, it is not implied that the two stresses are quite equal, nor is it implied that all syllables marked as unaccented have precisely the same stresslessness." Now, it seems to me that even in such a system it would have been better to use the breve (˘) instead of the macron (¯) to mark an unaccented syllable, or to leave it unmarked; but if the system of pronunciation of the New English Dictionary had been adopted, it would have added to the usefulness of the work.

As to the general execution of the work, it seems to me (I speak with becoming humility) to be as well done as could have been expected. Some

omissions have been noticed, and examples have not been brought chronologically as far as might sometimes be desired, but much labor has been spent on the work, and the result, on the whole, is very satisfactory.

Acknowledgments are made to the New English Dictionary, our standard as far as published, "up to *Cass*," to Prof. Skeat's, Cassell's and the Century Dictionaries. The last might have been consulted with advantage in respect to more words, for some have been omitted which are there included, as, for example, *picayune* and *lagn(i)appe*, the former used all over this country, and the latter among the Creoles of the South. *Per contra*, the Century omits the interjection *Caramba!*, also common among the Spanish Creoles, which the Stanford gives.

The etymology has been limited "to the indication of the language from which a word or phrase has been borrowed and of its native form and meaning, unless there was some fresh light to be thrown upon a derivation." Our attention is, however, called to some etymologies, and we are told that the assignment of a word to its native tongue supported by the illustrative quotations often corrects current derivations. "So far, so good"; but while this might answer for some, it would not do for others who wish more exact information, and we should have liked to see greater attention paid to etymology, as in the N. E. D. As our attention has been called to *Abacadabra* as one of the words on which 'fresh light' has been thrown, we may compare the articles in the N. E. D. and the Stanford. The former gives "[L.; origin unknown. Occurs first in a poem by Q. Severus [read Serenus] Sammonicus, 2d c.]" After the definitions, examples are quoted, of date 1696, 1810, 1824, 1860, 1879. The latter gives the definition and the usual triangular arrangement of the letters, quotations from 1565, 1584, 1657, 1684, 1711, 1830, 1883, and the following etymological note: "[For first known mention, see quot. fr. Mather [i. e. 1684], in which Sammonicus is mentioned as using *Abrocadara*, but S. is mentioned earlier in the quotation from Calphill, 1565. Severus in N. E. D. should be Serenus. According to C. W. King, Talism. and Amul., in Early Christ. Numism., p. 200, corrupted from Heb. *ha-b'rākāh dabberāh*, = 'pronounce the blessing' (i. e. the sacred name).]" We see here an improvement upon the N. E. D., and a reasonable etymology given for the first time in any dictionary, as far as I know. The Century has merely "[L.; occurring first in a poem (*Praecepta de Medicina*) by Q. Serenus Sammonicus, in the second century: mere jargon. Cf. *abracalam*.]" Neither Webster, Worcester, nor Stormonth ventures on any etymology, but the last adds to the definitions "an oriental deity" (!). Skeat omits the word, as he does so many others that one searches his dictionary for in vain. The latest, so-called 'Standard' has: "The word is said to be from *Ab*, *Ben*, *Ruach*, *Acadosch*, Hebrew for Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." This recalls the antediluvian period in etymology, when it was sufficient to guess at part of a word, and understand (i. e. *supply*, not *comprehend*) the rest. It is evidently taken from the example in the N. E. D. under "1860, T. A. G. Balfour," q. v., but Dr. Murray did not endorse that fanciful etymology. If we go to the German and French dictionaries, we receive no further light. Grimm (*erste Lieferung*, 1852) gives no etymology, and defines simply as "*unverständliche beschwörungsformel*," with two examples from Goethe. The dictionary of the French

Academy (6th ed., 1835) and Poitevin (1860) give no etymology, but the latter adds an example from Victor Hugo. Littré (1885) gives the same example from Victor Hugo, and says: "Proprement *abrasadabra*, car en grec il s'écrit ABPACAΔABPA. On fait venir ce mot de l'hébreu *ab*, père, *ruah*, esprit, et *dabar*, parole. D'après cette etymologie, il designerait la Trinité. Grotefend (*Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopaedie*) le regarde comme composé du mot persan *abrasas*, dénomination mystique de la divinité, et de l'hébreu *dabar*, parole, parole divine."

But here we have a mixture of Aryan and Semitic, unless *abrasas* is an Arabic word incorporated into Persian, *s* softened from *k* (?). Cannot some Semitic scholar untie the knot, and justify Mr. King's etymology? We fail to see why a Hebrew should invoke the Trinity, as in Littré's explanation and Balfour's example, but with King's explanation it becomes clear. We do not find in either the N. E. D. or the Stanford the suitable example from Defoe's 'History of the Plague' (quoted in my 'Selections in English Prose,' p. 377), although the Stanford gives a contemporary one from the 'Spectator.' *Abra-calam*, of similar import, is omitted in both of these dictionaries, though given in the Century and defined as "A cabalistic word used as a charm among the Jews," but without etymology. It is found in the Supplement to the Dictionary of the Academy (1856) as "*Abra-calan*. Terme mystérieux auquel les juifs attribuent la même vertu qu'à *Abracadabra*. Selon Selden ce mot renferme les noms d'une déesse syrienne." Here I think we have traced to its source the idea of the "oriental divinity," which also appears in Adler's German dictionary, s. v. *Abracadabra*, as "name of a Syrian divinity." Is it as mistaken in the one case as in the other, and is Selden responsible, after all?

But the trail has carried me too far, and I must cut short this notice. I had wanted to note, with examples, "haro, sb.: Fr.: hue and cry. 1803 Macdonnel, *Dict. Quot.*" This is all that Dr. Fennell gives, but this word is the same as Middle English *harrow(e)*, very common in The Mysteries, and so it should be excluded under No. 5, as it was in use before "the introduction of printing." Stratmann gives the form *haro*, "O. Fr. *haro*, *harou*," with examples from the Ayenbite of Inwyty, The Towneley Mysteries, Chaucer and Langland. If *haro* is rightly included, *orange* should have found a place, as it is traced back to Persian *nāranj* (see Century Dictionary), Spanish *naranja* retaining the *n*, but O. F. *orenge* having lost it. This is the earliest form in English too, the first example given by Stratmann being from 'Cleanness': "As *orenge* & oþer fryt & apple garnade" (Morris's E. E. Alliterative Poems, c. 1360, II 1044). It occurs as *oronge* in the Promptorium Parvulorum, c. 1440. Having come from Persian through Old French, it would, however, be excluded under No. 5. In some cases the earliest examples of the uses of words are taken from the N. E. D., but in others we find earlier examples in the Stanford, so that this work cannot be neglected even by Dr. Murray. However, it seems that no dictionary can keep pace with the language, for while the collection of phrases in the Stanford is excellent—indeed, one of the strong points of the work—we do not find the upstart *fin de siècle*.

A useful addition to the dictionary would be a list of the full titles of the works read, from which examples have been taken, with author and date, for while these can generally be identified in the abbreviations, this is not always the case, and it would be convenient to have a reference-list of them all together.

Now, when so much more attention is paid to lexicography than ever before, this work will prove a serviceable addition to the resources of the language in that department, for it is no mere compilation, but a large number of works have been read specially for this dictionary, and most of the examples are cited at first hand. It is no disadvantage that dialectic forms are excluded, for we are soon to have an 'English Dialect Dictionary,' edited by Prof. Joseph Wright, of Oxford, which will cover the whole ground.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY. Everybody—Ezod (Forming part of vol. III). By HENRY BRADLEY. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1894.

The publication of this small part of the New English Dictionary completes the letter E, which has been wholly edited by Mr. Bradley, while Dr. Murray is responsible for D, which "is now passing through the press," and these two letters will form vol. III. A very recent circular informs us that "the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have been urged from many quarters to consider the more frequent publication of the subsequent portions of the work in smaller instalments, as each is completed by the editors," and they "have arranged for the punctual issue of the letters D and F in *Quarterly Sections*." The circular states that the first sections of each of those letters will be issued on Nov. 15—they have just (Jan. 1) come to hand—and that "from and after Jan. 1, 1895, one section at least of each letter, consisting of 64 pages, will be published quarterly." F and G will be edited by Mr. Bradley, H, by Dr. Murray. It is gratifying to know that the publication will proceed hereafter more rapidly and regularly, as this has been the chief drawback to the great undertaking. Those of us who are now in middle life would like to see its completion, and under the hands of the present most competent editors. I should, however, prefer one thick part annually to four thin parts quarterly. It is ten years since the first part was issued, and four letters have just been completed, but at an average of two letters per year, one from each editor, the next ten years may see the completion. It is now more than forty years since the first part of Grimm's great dictionary was published, and it is not yet completed. Moreover, this is a much fuller work than Grimm's dictionary.

There is no preface to this small part, so that we cannot give any statistics, which some may not regret. Although Mr. Bradley says under *Everybody*, "Sometimes incorrectly with *pl. vb.* or *pron.*," the usage certainly has "the rime of age." The very first example, from Lord Berners (c. 1530), is "Everye bodye was in *theyr* lodgynges"; so Sidney (1580), "that everie body might come and take *their* meat freely"; *Horae Subsecivae* (1620), "To take upon him the disciplining of every body for *their* errors"; De Foe (1725), "*Do* not everybody else love him?"; Bp. Warburton (1759), "Every body else I meet with *are* full ready to go of *themselves*"; Byron (1820), "Everybody does and says what *they* please"; Ruskin (1866), "Everybody seems to recover *their* spirits." There are five other examples, in four of which no verb or pronoun occurs with *everybody*, and the fifth is from Bp. Berkeley (1720), "Time, place, and motion . . . are what every body knows"; but Byron and Ruskin too use

the singular verb with the plural pronoun of reference. Now, which are to give the law to language, the grammarians or the writers? Here is a series of examples from Lord Berners to Ruskin in which the plural pronoun is *invariably* used, and De Foe and Bp. Warburton use the plural verb too. We may say that De Foe is not a model of correctness in the use of English, and perhaps Bp. W. is not either, but can we stigmatize the use of the plural pronoun as 'incorrect' when it is supported by all these writers over more than 300 years? It is a *constructio ad intellectum*, and there is no getting over it, however much it may conflict with notions of grammatical concord. We cannot denounce it, *Si volet usus, | Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi*.

As Mr. Bradley includes *Everybody else* here, I wish that he had given some examples of the possessive, tracing historically that location. Under *Else* we find *anybody else's*, in Pepys (1668), and *somebody else's*, in Saturday Review (1860), but no other examples.

This Part is chiefly taken up with the compounds of *Ex-*, 124 out of 144 pages, but we find nearly three pages, = nine columns, given to *Evil* and its compounds, and between seven and eight pages to *Eye* and its compounds. The familiar *Eyas* (Hamlet, II, 4, 355) is quoted with the first folio spelling, *Yases*, which form is not given in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon. It is carried back to 1486, The Book of St. Albans: "An hawke is calde an *eyes* of hir eyghen." This is an early instance of popular etymology, as the word is originally *nyas*, from French *niais* 'nestling,' with loss of *n*, as in *adder*. We miss the form *Eyrie*, *Eyry*, with cross-reference to *Aerie*, *aery*, under which Dr. Murray has already given the word. This is the more remarkable as the spelling *eyrie* occurs in several examples under *Eyas*. Both *Eyas* and *Eyrie* (all forms) are omitted in the Stanford Dictionary. According to the scheme they should have been included, as the one dates from the late 15th and the other from the 16th century. As showing the superiority of the N. E. D. to the Stanford Dictionary, we do not find in the latter *Exosmose*, though *Exosmosis* is given, but without example; similarly for *Endosmose* and *Endosmosis*, whereas the N. E. D. gives all four terms, with examples, although none are earlier than 1828-29, which shows that they are recent words. In the case of several words the Stanford Dictionary claims to have supplemented previous researches, but the N. E. D. has gone beyond it. The only two given which may be compared in this Part are *Exiture* and *Expulse*. The first is given in the Stanford with two examples, 1543 and 1578. The N. E. D. marks the word as '*Obs.*,' but divides the meanings. In the sense of a 'passage out or forth,' two examples are given, 1578 and 1615, the former being from the same work as in the Stanford. In the sense of 'a running abscess,' three examples are given, c. 1400, 1543 and 1657, the second example being the same as in the Stanford. There are added in the N. E. D. three examples of *Exitura* from medical dictionaries, 1811, 1860 and 1884. Under *Expulse*, *vb.*, the Stanford gives six examples, 1528, 1542, 1549, 1554, 1579 and 1591, none later than the 16th century. The N. E. D. gives *Expulse*, *n.*, *obs.*, with one example from Golding's Ovid, 1565; but as *verb* it is characterized as "very common in the 16th-17th c.; now *Obs.*, though casual examples occur in 19th c." The meanings are subdivided into three paragraphs: under *a.* we have nine examples,

1432-50, *Higden*, to 1842, *Tait's Magazine*; under *b.* five examples, 1542 to 1823; under *c.* four examples, 1505 to 1767; besides seven additional examples of *Expulsed*, *Expulsemment* and *Expulsing*, 1537 to 1691. The example under *b.* 1542, Boorde's Dyetary, is the only one that is common to the two works.

This brief comparison shows the thoroughness with which the N. E. D. is being worked up. I may add that under *Extravagansa*, a word directly in the line of the Stanford's work, we find four examples, all of the present century. In the N. E. D. we find three paragraphs of definition, with eight examples in all, two of which are from 1789 and 1794, the earliest, so that the word is not much more than a hundred years old. It deserves to be noted that we find also *Extravagansist*, with one example from Poe: "1849 Poe, *Marginalia*, Wks. 1864, III 538, That . . . school of *extravagansists* who sprang from the ruins of Lamb"; so perhaps Poe started that long list of words in *-ist*, which have become so common as slang in recent years.

But this brief notice must suffice by way of illustration of the work that is being so admirably done by Dr. Murray and his colleagues.

J. M. GARNETT.

Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburh, with text and glossary on the basis of M. Heyne. Edited, corrected and enlarged by JAMES A. HARRISON and ROBERT SHARP. Fourth edition. Revised, with notes. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1894.

This attractive book came from the press near the close of the session of 1893-94, too late for regular class use in that academic term. We hope it is ere now in the hands of multitudes of students. The book is still known as Harrison and Sharp's; but we have authority for saying that the latest and best feature, the admirable body of notes to be discussed below, is the work of Professor Harrison alone.

The text differs very little from that of former editions. Perhaps those familiar with the Heyne-Socin book will be somewhat disappointed. There are about twenty changes in the direction of the Heyne-Socin edition; but the latter has about fifty changes not noticed by the American editors. An entirely new text is promised us in the not remote future. (See preface to 4th edition.) This we shall hail with delight. Why not have an out-and-out American edition of Beowulf? Heyne has given his book into other hands. His German *besorgers* carry no overwhelming authority. Why may not Prof. Harrison give us a text embodying the best results of recent Beowulf studies, calling to his aid students of the poem at home and abroad? This, with the notes recently added, will make our college classes practically independent of editions in foreign languages.

Of the changes in the text, the most important are as follows:

3d edition.	4th edition.
<i>sēle raedenne</i> (51)	<i>sele-raedende</i>
<i>eafēðo</i> (534)	<i>eafēðo</i>
<i>hrinde</i> (1364)	<i>hrimge</i>
<i>āter-tānum</i> (1460)	<i>āter-tedrum</i>
<i>est</i> (2158)	<i>eſt</i>
<i>helpan</i> (2449)	<i>helpe</i>

In compounds, *win* has been changed to *wīn*, e. g. ll. 655, 696, 715, 772, 994, 2457. The word *eoten* has been capitalized in ll. 1073, 1089, 1142, 1146. The *H* of *Hānferð* has been dropped. The much-disputed passage 899-903½ has been changed to follow H.-So. Much-needed corrections in punctuation are as follows: after *forsworcð* (1768) a semicolon; period after *bið*, in same passage, changed to comma. Several omitted hyphens have been inserted, e. g. *feor-cyððe* (1839), *mere-krügla* (1906), *oncer-bendum* (1919), *sae-liðend* (2807), *ende-lāf* (2814).

Of the textual emendations accepted by H.-So. and not by Harrison, we miss only a few: most of those passed over by the American editor being of rather doubtful propriety. We do, however, miss *healle* (101) for *helle*, *fledh* (1201) for *fealh*, *hām* (2326) for *him*. (In connection with the second word we should cancel the third reference under *fedlan* in the glossary. See p. 207, 4th ed.)

The glossary of proper names has been carefully retouched. *Hōce*, *sub voce Finn* and *Hildeburh*, has been changed to *Hōc*. *Heaðo-raemas reaches Breca* is changed to *H. reached by Breca*. *H* of *Hānferð* is bracketed. *Eotenas* = *subjects of Finn, North Frisians*, is given a place among proper names. (See above, under textual changes.)

The changes in the general glossary are numerous and valuable. Typographical errors, mistakes in reference, inconsistencies—in all about two hundred and twenty-five oversights—have been corrected. Of these improvements, some of the most important are:—The imaginary *felgan* has been substituted by *fedlan*; so in the compound *āfelgan*. Under *fednd-sceaða* change 'gleaming' to 'hostile.' Under *onfōn* (last reference) change 'received' to 'clutched.' Under *beglle* cancel 'to find, to attain,' and read 'attainable.' Under *bearu* and *hangian* change *hrinde* to *hringe* and translate 'frosty, ice-clad,' instead of 'rustling.' Cancel *lthan* and *on-lthan*, and put *leōn* and *on-leōn*. Under *mēðel* change definitions to 'assembly, council.' Under *on* (3d ed., p. 247, second column, near bottom) change 'against' to 'towards.' Under *scacan* change 'their strength (breath?)' to 'their bravest men.' *Sēðnan* is abandoned. Under *to* 'to the hall' (I 2) is changed to 'from a room.' Under *wāl-bledt* 'deadly-pale (?)' is changed to 'mortal, cruel.' Under *geweorðan*, definition 3 now reads 'to agree, decide,' and the bracket in first reference reads '(since many agreed that . . .)' In second reference 'happened (?)' is changed to 'advisable.' The present writer would recast this as follows: 'To this the friend of the Scyldings, the shepherd of the kingdom, has agreed,' etc. *þās* = gen. *rei*, not = *therefore* (cf. Hall's *Beowulf*, p. 55). Under *wið* 4th ed. changes *eotena* (2 (c)) to *Eotena*, and render 'with the Eotens' sons.' Under *eald-fāder* Prof. Harrison discards the second definition of his own third edition and of the H.-So. In his note on l. 373 he suggests that the hyphen be omitted, and that *eald* be rendered by 'honored.' So that the note and the glossary conflict. This idea of rendering *eald* (B. 373) without reference to time or age is, in my opinion, eminently good. *Eald-fāder* and *eald fāder* were no doubt as distinct in A. S. as 'grandfather' and 'grand father' are in modern English. The various uses of 'old' in Shakspeare are, of course, familiar to us all. In Virginia now, we have several of those uses still surviving. And, in addition to the wide-spread 'old fellow,' Virginians of the best classes have

the phrases 'old gentleman' and 'old lady,' which they often seriously apply to honored friends, and often to their own parents. The last-named phrase a gentleman often uses in addressing his wife in playful mood. I should like to know how this is elsewhere: with us no disrespect is dreamed of in any case referred to.

Under *der-tedrum* the glossary is altered to suit the change from *tān* to *tedr*.

It is, however, impossible to multiply examples of the improvements in the glossary. Enough have been given to show that great care has been bestowed upon this part of the work, and that, even without the notes, Harrison's fourth edition would be a boon to Beowulf students.

The following misprints and oversights have been noticed:—P. 49, figure 1 lacking in numbering l. 1555. P. 139, 1607 should be 1617. P. 140, figures should read 1688–1699. P. 146, 'H.-So. p. 112' should be p. 113. P. 148, l. 2477 should be l. 2476, and reference to Ha. should be p. 84. P. 182, under *on-cirran*, for *wealdendas* read *wealdendes*. P. 192, under *dryhten*, 2483 should be 2484. P. 225, under *gedng*, 2019 should be 2020. P. 229, under *gearwor*, reference should be l. 3075. P. 237, under *for-grindan*, for 'feasts' read 'fastness'; cf. *fūsten* in glossary. P. 238, under *grund-wong* change 2772 to 2771. P. 255, *hredðan* should be *hreddan*. P. 256, under *hring-mael*, 1562 should be 1565. P. 270, in first word cancel second *o*. P. 274, under *māgen*, 780 should be 790. P. 299, under *sceapan* the third reference should be pret. part. P. 305, under reference to l. 1840 read *him* for *hine*. P. 316, under *sum*, first bracket should read '(there shall naught be hidden).' P. 322, under *teōn*, second reference, read 'a' for 'the' at beginning of sentence.

And now, having saved the good wine till the last, we come to the notes, pp. 117 to 156 inclusive. These constitute an epoch in Beowulf studies. They are scholarly, stimulating and suggestive, showing throughout the laborious and painstaking scholarship of their author. In this body of notes Prof. Harrison has brought together the latest and best results of Beowulf scholarship. The best emendations of Bugge, Sievers, ten Brink, and other recent critics of the text; the different renderings of translators, American and European; the happiest suggestions of Brooke, Earle, and other literary students of the poem—all these are brought together, in orderly arrangement, with consummate skill. Here, for the first time, the collegiate student of Beowulf has a good working apparatus in one handy volume. The quotations from the recent works of Earle and Brooke—both expensive for the average collegian—make these notes worth far more than the cost of the whole volume.

Of original suggestions and emendations, Prof. Harrison offers few. Some of these are worthy of special notice.

As to *eald* (l. 373) see above.

For *ndt* (l. 682) he suggests *ndh* (= *ne* + *dh*), and thus justifies the rendering 'he has not the ability,' etc. (Cf. 2253.)

Stedpne (927) he would translate 'bright.' His arguments are: (1) It is immediately followed by *golde fāhne*. (2) Chaucer (Prol., l. 201) has *his eyen stepe*; cf. Morris's note. (3) The word is used with same meaning in *Ste. Marherete* and in *St. Kath.*

In note to l. 2402 it is suggested that, Beowulf being essentially *the* Epic of Philanthropy, the number twelve may be reminiscent of another Friend of Man and another Twelve.

For *byrdu-scrdd* (l. 2661) Prof. Harrison suggests *beadu-scrdd* = battle-shirt (cf. 453).

The crux 3063½ ff. he would clear up as follows: For the first three words read *Wundrað hwæt þonne*, and translate 'The valiant earl wondereth then through what he shall attain his life's end, when he no longer may live. . . . So Beowulf knew not (wondered how) through what his end should come,' etc.

L. 3147 he suggests *wind-blonda lte*, which would afford a parallel to *swögende lte*, suggested by Bugge.

In conclusion we desire to thank Prof. Harrison for this most timely and scholarly addition to his Beowulf labors, and to urge him to give us, very soon, a corrected and emended text, bringing his quantities and his notation to that high level reached in his glossary and notes.

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J. L. HALL.

Euripides' *Alcestis*, edited by MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE, Doctor in Philosophy of Columbia College, Instructor in Greek at Barnard College, New York. Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1894.

This little work, though intended for use in schools, has some of the features of a critical edition, and therefore merits more than casual notice in this Journal. The author is evidently one who weighs and tests his conclusions independently, and his book shows a degree of originality which is decidedly refreshing, especially in a school edition of so well known a play. The introduction is brief and clear, and is well adapted to interest and stimulate the student. Dr. Earle is a zealous opponent of the 'no-stage theory' of Dörpfeld, but the argument drawn from the analogy between the theatre and the *Pnyx*, upon which he lays so much stress (Introd., pp. xxxiv-xxxvii), does not seem very conclusive. Until the site of the *Pnyx* is determined with absolute certainty, the believers in Dörpfeld's view will refuse to attribute any great weight to the argument; and supposing that Messrs. Crow and Clarke are right in their identification, it is hard to see why the resemblance between *Pnyx* and theatre need extend to the arrangement of the stage. On the other hand, the argument as to the number of stage-doors necessary for the performance of some of the tragedies (ib., pp. xxxviii-xli) deserves more attention than it has hitherto received from the adherents of the Dörpfeldian theory. But the weightiest evidence in favor of the existence of a stage is surely the strong and persistent tradition that the actors spoke from some kind of an elevation, and there are many who think, like Dr. Earle, that the hypothesis of a low wooden stage or platform best accords with all the conditions of the problem, though they may not hold with him that this platform was surmounted by a *βῆμα*.

In his notes on the *ὑπόθεσις* of the play, Dr. Earle suggests that the words *τὸ δράμα ἐποιήθη αὖ* mean that the *Alcestis* belonged to the seventeenth group of plays brought out by Euripides. As he points out, the statement in the *Γένος Εὐριπίδου* that the poet's first appearance took place in Ol. 81, 1 agrees well with this supposition, which seems a very reasonable one. But the words *ἀλέκται δὲ τὸ δράμα τοῦτο ᾤβ* in the Aristophanic *ὑπόθεσις* to the *Antigone* can

scarcely mean that the latter play was brought out by Sophocles in the thirty-second year of his dramatic career. It is much more natural to suppose that they refer to the order in which the plays were read by the Alexandrian librarian in cataloguing them; and in any case the phrase is too vague to be of much service in determining the disputed date of the *Antigone*. Hence the coincidence noted by Dr. Earle (Introd., p. xxix) cannot be regarded as being at all decisive.

The text of the edition is, on the whole, a conservative one; but the editor has made some ingenious emendations, among which the following deserve special notice. In line 44 he reads *πρὸς βίαν γ'* for *πρὸς βίαν σ'*. In 59 he reads (with Dindorf) *ὠνοῖντ' ἂν οἷς πάρεστι γηραῖοι θανεῖν*, rightly, as I believe. In 64 he reads *κλαύση* for *παύση*, thinking that the MS reading arose from a combination of *κλαύση* with a gloss *πέιση*. This seems better than *πέισει*, the emendation of F. W. Schmidt. *Κλαύση* certainly is admirably suited to the tone of the whole passage. In 237 he reads *χθόνιον κατὰ γᾶς*, transposing *κατὰ γᾶς χθόνιον* of the MSS. In 230 he retains *οὐρανίῳ*, but his defence of the reading seems unsatisfactory. Hipp. 1207 *κῦμ' οὐρανῷ στηρίζον* is a common nautical hyperbole, and is not parallel to such an extravagant expression as *οὐράνιος βρόχος*. The other passage which he cites in defence of his position, *Androm. 830 ff.*, will not seem very strange to any one who has had his cloak whirled high aloft by the wind on a gusty day. Doubtless the right substitute for *οὐρανίῳ* has not yet been suggested, but unless some more conclusive evidence is forthcoming, I must hold, with Prinz and Wecklein, that the word is corrupt. In 254-5 he reads *Χάρων καλεῖ μ' ἐπείγων· τί μέλλεις*; for *Χάρων μ' ἤδη καλεῖ τί μέλλεις ἐπείγων* of the MSS. In 304 for *ἐμῶν* he reads *σέβων*. The emendation is palaeographically a good one, but is not *τούτους ἀνάσχον δεσπότας σέβων δόμων* too strong an expression for the respect felt by a father for his children? Wecklein's *τρέφων* seems to give better sense, though the change is a harder one. Line 321 Dr. Earle (with Mekler) brackets as being probably an interpolation. The present writer, for one, cannot see the difficulty in *ἐς τρίτην μηνός* which some editors have found. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the *κύριον ἡμῶν* on which *Alceste* was to render up her life was the day on which debts were usually paid, the *νομηνία*; and if so, the expression *ἐς τρίτην μηνός* is entirely natural, the sense being 'I shall not pay the debt of nature to-morrow nor the day after (third of the month), but to-day' (the first of the month). Why there need be any reference to 'extended payment' I am unable to discover. The day after the morrow is mentioned simply to strengthen the statement (cf. *χθὲς καὶ πρῶην, χθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν* and similar expressions). 332-3 Dr. Earle retains, changing *ἄλλως* to *ἄλλων*. His defence of the two lines against Nauck is acute, and has much in its favor. In 458 he emends the MS reading to *Κωκυτοῖό τε ρεῖθρον*. *Κωκύντο* of S certainly seems to point to *Κωκυτοῖο*, and L actually has *κωκυτοῖο* by a later hand. The change from *ρεθρων* (*ρεῖθρων* L) to *ρεῖθρου* is also an easy one; but the plural is much more frequently used than the singular, and probably should not be altered. If Pape may be trusted, Sophocles and Euripides *always* use the plural, though, to be sure, in *Soph. Ant. 1124* lyr. most MSS, including L, give the singular. In 565 Dr. Earle reads *οἱ* for *τῷ*, and in 566 *αἰνέσεις* for *αἰνέσει*. This seems to be right. *Admetus* would not

be likely to admit that his guest would censure his hospitable conduct, especially as it was not at all certain that Heracles would ever discover the real state of the case. In 631 he reads *ταῦτον* for *τὸν σόν*. Vv. 636-9 Dr. Earle rejects as spurious, thinking them to be an interpolation from another play. In 734 he reads *ἔρρων*, with the scholiast, instead of *ἔρρον* or *ἔρροις*. In 1071 he adopts Monk's conjecture *ἥτις ἐστὶ* for *δοτις εἰ σὺ* of the MSS. If the change is to be made, should we not go a step farther and read *εἰη* for *εἰ σὺ*? The optative in this construction is especially common with verbs of necessity like *χρή* (Goodwin M. and T. 555), and the change will be somewhat easier from a palaeographical point of view. In 1123-4 Dr. Earle transposes *λέβσω* and *λέξω*. The change is ingenious but seems unnecessary, especially if we retain *θαῦμα* in 1123.

The explanatory notes are clear and concise, and err, if at all, in the direction of too great brevity. The edition is well adapted to stimulate discussion, and will be valuable to the critical student of Euripides as well as to the school-boy who is beginning the study of the drama. However much one may disagree with some of Dr. Earle's conclusions, the work is one to be heartily commended to lovers of classical learning.

H. W. HAYLEY.

REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXII (1893).

Janvier.

E. Philipon. Les Parlers du Forez cis-ligérien aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. In 20 pages devoted to phonology and morphology and 24 pages of dialect texts, the author sets forth the character of the vernacular speech in the old province of Forez, north of the sources of the Loire.

A. Jeanroy. Trois dits d'amour du XIII^e siècle. These pieces, numbering respectively 193, 264 and 170 verses, and composed by Adam de la Halle, Névelon Amion and Guillaume d'Amiens between the years 1260 and 1280, had not been previously published. They are here critically edited, and accompanied by introduction, notes and glossary.

R. J. Cuervo. Las segundas personas de plural en la conjugacion castellana. Just as Americans of the United States have signalized their devotion to the speech of the mother-country by making a number of the most important contributions to English lexicography, so a Chilian and a Colombian of South America (Messrs. A. Bello and R. J. Cuervo, particularly the latter, in his revised edition of the *Gramdica castellana* of the former and in his own *Diccionario de construccion y régimen de la lengua castellana*) have made the most valuable contributions to Spanish grammar. In the present article Mr. Cuervo discusses an interesting point in Spanish philology. In the 13th century all the 2d plurals of the Spanish verb except the imperative (*escuchad*) and the preterit (*escuchastes*) ended in *-des*. The history of their later development is treated under (1) forms originally paroxytonic, (2) forms originally proparoxytonic, (3) forms in *-tes*, (4) other analogical formations, (5) conjectures.

P. Meyer. Les manuscrits de Bertrand Boyssset (*fin*). II. Recueil de morceaux variés (40 pages). Continued from vol. XXI 557-80.

Mélanges. P. Guilhiermoz. Une charte de Gace Brulé. "La vie de Gace Brulé, comme celle de la plupart des trouvères, est fort obscure : il vivait à la fin du XII^e siècle ; il était Champenois ; il passa quelque temps en Bretagne, où il avait été appelé par le comte Geoffroi II ; il était chevalier. Voilà à peu près tout ce qu'on sait de lui, et ce n'est pas beaucoup. Aussi nous a-t-il paru intéressant de signaler une charte, datée de 1212, qui émane d'un seigneur nommé 'Gatho Bruslé.'"—A. Thomas. Les premiers vers de Charles d'Orléans. In his edition of the poems of Charles d'Orléans, Champollion-Figeac, by confusion, attributes to Louis d'Orléans, afterwards Louis XII of France, a short moral poem entitled *Le livre contre tout péché*. Three verses of the poem read as follows :

Ce livre, lequel, Dieu donnant,
Je nommé [*name erased*] d'Orleans
Fiz quant je eus acompli X ans.

The name to be restored is here shown to be Charles, and we are thus placed in possession of a boyish production of the distinguished poet.

Comptes rendus. Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris le 29 décembre 1890 (25^e anniversaire de son doctorat ès lettres), par ses élèves de France et ses élèves des pays de langue romane (G. Paris). On the 9th of August, 1889, the fiftieth birthday of Professor Paris, he was presented with a volume of essays by his former Swedish students. The following year brought him a similar but more extensive anniversary testimonial, composed of studies by thirty-eight French savants, six Swiss and one Belgian. "Plus d'une, parmi ces contributions mêmes, dépasse les limites où j'ai le droit et le moyen d'exercer une critique utile; la plupart sont en rapport plus étroit avec mes études habituelles. Quelques unes sont d'une haute importance; toutes, je puis le dire bien sincèrement, ont de l'intérêt et de la valeur, et je ne puis qu'être fier et heureux de voir mon nom associé à des travaux aussi divers et aussi remarquables. . . Je me rappelle qu'il y a vingt-cinq ans, dans la première leçon publique que je fis, aux cours libres de la rue Gerson fondés par M. Duruy, je disais que le vœu de tout professeur digne de ce nom pour chacun de ses élèves est le vœu d'Hector pour son fils :

Kaí ποτέ τις ελθούσι· Παιτρὸς δ' ὄγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Ce vœu s'est réalisé pour plus d'un de ceux qui, venus de France ou de l'étranger, ont depuis lors trouvé dans mes cours et mes conférences leur première initiation à la science. En voyant la façon dont ils ont su développer et accroître le germe qui leur avait été confié, je me dis que ma carrière didactique n'a pas été inutile, et cela ne me fait pas seulement plaisir, cela me prouve que j'ai eu raison, contre l'avis de quelques conseillers bien intentionnés, de donner inflexiblement à mon enseignement la direction toute scientifique que je lui ai donnée, le tenant également à l'écart de toute préparation à un examen quelconque et de tout appel à l'intérêt d'un public étranger au travail: cela m'a valu quelques heures difficiles, où j'ai pu craindre de me trouver isolé, et, par suite, d'avoir choisi une mauvaise voie; mais je suis aujourd'hui délivré de mes doutes et largement payé de mes peines."—W. Golther. *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur. Erster Theil. Von den ersten Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (G. Paris). "M. Golther s'est fait connaître par des études approfondies, très personnelles et très méritoires, quoique parfois un peu aventureuses, sur plusieurs des questions les plus intéressantes du sujet qu'il présente ici en résumé. . . Toutefois, nous n'en parlerions pas ici si l'auteur n'avait donné à son exposé un caractère particulier, en y introduisant beaucoup plus intimement qu'on ne l'avait fait jusqu'ici l'étude de la poésie française du moyen âge. . . C'est sur la matière de Bretagne que M. Golther, comme on sait, a fait des études spéciales. . . L'élément celtique dans les romans bretons est assurément beaucoup plus



important que ne le dit M. Golther, suivant en cela M. Förster . . . La vérité sur cette question, que M. Zimmer a posé avec tant d'éclat, mais qu'il sent bien lui-même n'avoir pas résolue, se dégagera peu à peu des recherches faites sans parti pris, et on verra certainement qu'il ne faut exclure de la contribution à la matière de Bretagne aucune des trois régions bretonnes, ni la Cambrie, ni la Cornouaille, ni l'Armorique, et qu'il ne faut jamais oublier, derrière cette couche, relativement récente, où a germé la poésie franco-bretonne, les assises plus profondes qui la rattachent à la branche gaëlique de la race celtique."

Chronique. Eduard Mätzner, distinguished for contributions to Romance and Germanic philology covering over half a century, died July 13, 1892, at the age of 87 years. From 1858 to 1888, when he retired, he was principal of an important girls' high school in Berlin. In 1843 appeared the first volume of his *Französische Syntax*, in 1856 the first edition of his *Französische Grammatik*, and in 1860 the first volume of his great *Englische Grammatik*. He left unfinished the most extensive of his undertakings: *Altenglische Sprachproben, nebst einem Wörterbuche*, the publication of which was begun in 1867. [It was the characteristic boast of Mätzner, in private intercourse, that his scientific productions were based exclusively on his own individual researches.]—Siméon Luce, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, professor at the École des Chartes, died December 14, 1892, at the age of 59. Mr. Luce, who was devoted chiefly to historical studies, edited for the Société de l'histoire de France the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, and eight volumes of the *Chroniques* of Froissart (which will be continued by G. Raynaud), and for the Société des anciens textes français the *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*.—A new learned review has been established in Italy, the *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, under the competent direction of Prof. A. d'Ancona.—The English collection of the Master of the Rolls (*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*) has been increased by the appearance of volume II of the Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, edited by Thomas Arnold. It contains an original edition of the Anglo-Norman *Vie de Saint Edmond le Roi* by Denys Pyramus. This text is even less satisfactorily edited than was that of Gaimar, which appeared earlier in the same collection.

Livres annoncés sommairement (13 titles).

Avril.

W. Cloetta. Le mystère de l'Époux. This brief text, consisting of some 95 lines of mingled Latin and French, of which only about a third part is French, seems to be the oldest dramatic piece preserved in any form of Romance speech. It is here edited with elaborate introduction and critical apparatus (52 pages).

A. Piaget. Simon Greban et Jacques Milet. In his *Complainte de la mort de Millet*, Simon Greban, in enumerating the works of Milet, mentions "Ung livre de grant excellence Nommé la *Forest de tristesse*," hitherto supposed to have been lost. Mr. Piaget has discovered it in the *Jardin de*

Plaisance (printed for Antoine Vérard about the year 1500). The *Forté de Tristesse* is a poem of some 5000 verses, written in 1459 in the allegorical manner of the *Roman de la Rose*, and is here briefly analysed, with extracts.

E. Picot et A. Piaget. Une supercherie d'Antoine Vérard: les *Regnars traversans* de Jehan Bouchet. Jehan Bouchet holds an honorable place among the French poets of the first half of the 16th century. The title of his first work, *Les Regnars traversans les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du monde*, had been inspired by a Latin elegy of Sebastian Brant's, *Alopekiomachia, seu de spectaculo conflictuque vulpium*. Antoine Vérard, the great Paris bookseller, undertook the publication of Bouchet's poem, but what was the latter's stupefaction, upon the appearance of the work in a luxurious illustrated edition two or three years later (in 1503), to find that his own name had been suppressed from the volume and that the title-page bore "par Sebastien Brand, lequel composa La Nef des folz [*Narrenschiff*] derrenierement imprimee a Paris." By means of a lawsuit Bouchet secured the recognition of his rights, and as an appropriate characterization of his experience caused himself to be known forever after as "le Traverser des voyes perilleuses." Apropos of this incident, Mr. Picot suggests that the condemnation passed by A. Piaget, Romania, XXI 581, on Octavien de Saint-Gelays for having (apparently) appropriated the greater part of the poems of Charles d'Orléans in a volume entitled *La Chasse et le Deport d'amours*, ought probably to have been addressed to the publisher of the work, our friend Vérard. In both cases the motive of Vérard's *supercherie* would have been the same, viz. to gain a wider sale for his books. Saint-Gelays, it should be observed, had been dead for some seven years, when his name was attached to the plagiarized edition of the poems of Charles d'Orléans. Mr. Piaget appends a defence of his former position, in which the force of Mr. Picot's suggestion seems not to be broken.

Mélanges. A. Thomas. Le latin *-itor* et le provençal *-eire*. Thomas having explained (Rom. XXI 17) that Prov. *deveire* is Lat. *debitor* pronounced *debbitor*, which latter is to be accounted for as an analogical formation: *-itor -itorem*, to correspond to *-itor -itorem* and *-ātor -ātorem*, Cornu took issue, explaining the development as *debitor* > *débitro* > *debbtro*, which last would regularly give *deveire*. Thomas here rejoins that the Franco-Provençal *piscator* = *peschare*, but *latro* = *laro*, which shows that *piscator* did not pass through the stage *piscatro*; and what is true of Franco-Provençal is probably true of Provençal as well.—A. Delboulle. *Buissé, boissid, bouyssé, boissé*. "M. Godefroy, sous *Buissie*, explique cet adjectif par 'de bois ou de buis.' C'est une double erreur. Ce mot signifie seulement 'orné de buis' [*boxwood*]."—G. Doncieux. Fragment d'un miracle de sainte Madeleine. Restitution of the text of a fragment (78 verses) of an Anglo-Norman poem preserved in the library of Trèves.—A. Thomas. Chrétien de Troyes et l'auteur de l'*Ovide moralisé*. In two of the MSS of the *Ovide moralisé* the authorship of the poem is attributed to Chrétien Legouais. Thomas here shows that this name is probably a blundering misapplication of the phrase *Crestien li gois*, with which the author of the *Philomena* (incorporated in the *Ovide moralisé*) characterizes himself.

This latter Crestien is most probably the celebrated Chrétien de Troyes; while the *Ovide moralisé* is thus bereft of a sponsor.—E. Picot. Le Jeu des Cent Drutz dans le diocèse de Pamiers. "Dampnamus autem et anathematizamus ludum cenicum vocatum *Centum Drudorum*, vulgariter *Cent Drutz*, actenus observatum in nostra dyocesi etc."—A. Morel-Fatio. Sur Guillaume de Machaut. The name of Guillaume de *Machaut*, which was often misspelled *Michaut* even in France, is found disguised in certain Catalan citations of a Spanish work by Torres Amat, under the forms *Mechant*, *Mexaud* and *Maixaut*.—B. Hauréau. Jean de Hesdin, le *Gallus Calumniator* de Pétrarque. "Jean de Hesdin, religieux de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean, docteur en théologie, auteur de très gros commentaires sur différents livres de l'Écriture sainte, aurait certainement mérité que la postérité s'inquiât de lui quand il n'aurait pas écrit contre Pétrarque et quand Pétrarque n'aurait pas écrit contre lui. Il n'est donc pas sans intérêt de faire un exact recensement de ses œuvres."—E. Picot. Complément de l'Oraison d'Arnoul Greban à la Vierge (173 verses).

Comptes rendus. De Nicolao Museto (gallice Colin Muset) francogallico carminum scriptore, thesim Facultati litterarum parisiensi proponebat Joseph Bédier (G. Paris). "[L'auteur] a surtout fait servir l'aimable *vielleur* du XIIIe siècle à appuyer la thèse (car s'en est bien une) qu'il soutient contre M. Jeanroy et en général contre tous ceux, ou peu s'en faut, qui ont parlé de la poésie lyrique française du XIIIe siècle: tous en ont relevé la banalité conventionnelle, le manque de sincérité dans le sentiment, et surtout l'extraordinaire uniformité . . . Mais [M. Bédier] prétend qu'avec un peu d'attention et de perspicacité on découvre bien vite dans la mise en œuvre de ce fonds commun des différences toutes personnelles, et il le prouve en étudiant comparativement les chansons de Conon de Béthune et celles de Colin Muset, où se révèlent non seulement deux existences, mais deux âmes et deux caractères poétiques très différents." M. Paris devotes ten pages to a series of exhaustive discussions and emendations.—Rev. Robert Williams. Selections from the Hengwrt MSS preserved in the Peniarth Library. Vols. I and II (G. Paris). Of these volumes the first contains *Y seint Greal*, "being the adventures of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table in the quest of the Holy Greal, and on other occasions. Originally written about the year 1200. Edited with a Translation and Glossary"; and the second contains the *Campen Charlymaen*, etc. Vol. I appeared as early as 1876, when the death occurred of the Rev. Robert Williams, who left the texts and part of the translations of vol. II in the printer's sheets. The work was completed in 1892 by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones. "Il est regrettable qu'elle n'ait pas été faite avec une meilleure méthode et un plus grand souci de l'utilité des lecteurs."—M. Lanusse. De l'influence du dialecte gascon sur la langue française de la fin du XVe siècle à la seconde moitié du XVIIe. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des lettres de Paris (P. Meyer). The influence of the Gascon on the French language was exerted chiefly in the 16th century. It was principally due, in the current speech, to contact with the *cadets* (younger sons) of Gascony (the word *cadet*, earlier *capdet*, is Gascon) who journeyed northward in

quest of fortune; in the case of the literary language it is attributable to the numerous Gascons who in the 16th century wrote in French. M. Lanusse has sought to discover the traces of this double influence in pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax. "Dans cette recherche il a fait preuve de beaucoup d'érudition, mais il a, sur tous les points, exagéré sa thèse."—*Studi dialettali veneti*: I. M. Goldstaub und K. Wendriner. Ein toscovo-venezianischer Bestiarius, herausgegeben und erläutert. II. F. Novati. *La Navigatio Sancti Brendani* in antico veneziano, edita ed illustrata. III. L. Luzzatto. I dialetti moderni delle città di Venezia e Padova (E. G. Parodi). Minute critique of 14 pages.

Périodiques.

Chronique. "M. Henry A. Todd a été nommé professeur de philologie romane à Columbia College, New-York."—"M. John E. Matzke a été nommé professeur de philologie romane à l'université Leland Stanford Jr., Palo Alto, Californie."—The French Institute has awarded the Volney prize to the Abbé Rousselot for his book, *Les modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin*.

Livres annoncés sommairement (46 titles).

Juillet.

G. Paris. *La Chanson d'Antioche* provençale et la *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (fin). Continued from Rom. XVII (1888) 513-41, XIX (1890) 562-91. "Je crois donc que nous avons dans le fragment de Madrid et dans les parties du poème auquel il appartient que nous a conservées la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* les restes de la *Canso d'Antiocha*, œuvre du chevalier limousin Grégoire Bechada, attaché aux seigneurs de Lastours, composée environ de 1130 à 1145. La valeur historique de ce poème ne me semble nullement à dédaigner: il contient certainement beaucoup de renseignements dus à des témoins oculaires. Mais il est surtout précieux pour ce qu'on peut appeler l'histoire poétique de la première croisade. . . . En somme, le poème de Grégoire Bechada, intéressant par sa date, par son sujet, n'était pas à mépriser pour sa forme et paraît avoir justifié l'estime qu'il avait inspirée aux contemporains. La découverte d'un fragment original de ce poème et de la traduction partielle qu'en a faite la *Conquista* apporte à la littérature provençale un véritablement enrichissement, et il serait fort à désirer qu'on retrouvât en Espagne les restes, qui y subsistent peut-être encore, du précieux manuscrit auquel appartenait notre fragment. . . . Qu'est-il devenu depuis le XVIIe siècle? C'est aux archéologues limousins à le rechercher: il y aurait là une belle découverte à faire."

L. Gauchat. Les poésies provençales conservées par des chansonniers français (40 pages). Several manuscript collections of French chansons preserve a number of pieces, in the aggregate considerable, of Provençal verse. These are here enumerated in detail, assigned as fully as possible to their respective authors, studied under various of their aspects, and, in the case of one of the most important MSS, diplomatically reproduced.

Comte E. Cais de Pierlas et P. Meyer. *Mémoire en provençal présenté, en 1398, au comte de Savoye par les Grimaldi de Beuil.* Text of a document of some historical and linguistic interest, with remarks.

A. Piaget. Jean de Garencières (60 pages). Jean de Garencières is a personage so little known to history that there is some difficulty in identifying him among the Garencières of his time. He was the son of Jean de Garencières, seigneur de Croisy, and to distinguish him from his father he is commonly called Jeannet de Garencières. As a child, in 1396, he was a member of the "expedition de Hongrie"; in 1403 he is found in the retinue of the duc d'Orléans; in 1406 he and other knights are interdicted by letters royal from engaging in "certains joustes ou faiz d'armes" which they had organized; in 1407 he is taken prisoner by the English at the siege of Bourg, etc. The poetry of Garencières begins with a little poem entitled *L'enseignement du dieu d'Amours*, in which we learn how, while still a "jeune valleton," he has determined to "se bouter en l'amoureux mestier," and how, unfortunately for him, the blond damsel of his choice is "si gente, si longue, si droicte, si gracieuse," that she is already surrounded by a whole court of admirers. The MS Bib. Nat., fonds français 19139, contains fifty-one pieces, ballades, rondeaux, complaintes, etc., most of which are of the composition of Garencières, whose "devise amoureuse," prefixed to nearly all, is expressed in the words *Vous m'aves*. A considerable number are here published for the first time. One ballade, modernized and done over by two different rhymers, is printed in separate redactions in the *Jardin de Plaisance*; it reappears, at last in its original form, in this article. The most notable event of Garencières's literary career was his passage at arms with Charles d'Orléans. In the latter's *Poème de la Prison* appear two spirited ballades, one entitled *Orléans contre Garencières*, the other *Response de Garencières*. Charles d'Orléans, assuming for the moment to speak in the person of the *dieu d'Amour*, complains of the Don Juans of his time, and in particular of Garencières, "roy des heraulx pour bien mentir." The latter's rejoinder, addressed to Cupid, concludes as follows:

Prince, s'on doit avoir vaillance
Pour mentir a grant habondance
Et pour faulseté maintenir,
Vous verrez icellui venir
A grant honneur, n'en doubtez mie,
Qui, contre raison, veult tenir
Le droit de vostre seigneurie.

A. Morel-Fatio. Notes de lexicologie espagnole. Treats half a dozen items of interest. The etymology of *cada* (every), conclusively shown by P. Meyer in 1873, from its use in Folk-Latin, to be Greek *κατά*, is here credited as a lucky guess to a Spaniard writing in 1791.—The MS of the *Cancionero de Baena* bears the following indication of its authorship: "el qual dicho libro . . . fizo e ordeno e compusso e acopilo el *jndino* [i. e. *indigno*] Johan Alfonso de Baena." In vol. IV of his *Antología de poetas*

Uricos castellanos, Menéndez Pelayo, on the strength of the exploded error that *judino* is the reading of the MS, would still make out that Alfonso de Baena was a Jew, in spite of the fact that no such form of the word for 'Jew' is known to have been ever used in Spain (or elsewhere), not to speak of the improbability that an author, under the circumstances, would have thus proclaimed his Jewish origin.—By the side of the regular subjunctive form *plega* of *placer* stands a form *plegue*, especially in the phrase *plegue d Dios* 'please God!' This is probably due to a confusion between the regular *plega d Dios* and the popular corruption (*plega*) of *prega* (Lat. *preca* or *precat*) *d Dios*, leading to the inference of a corresponding subjunctive form *plegue*.

Octobre.

A. Thomas. Les noms de rivières et la déclinaison féminine d'origine germanique. By declension of Germanic origin Mr. Thomas means the declension in *-ain*, admitting, however, that the implied origin of this declension is by no means accepted by all scholars. Jules Quicherat long since pointed out that certain names of rivers, which in Latin were of the 1st declension, present to-day in French a masculine termination in *-ain*, *-in* or *-ing* (le Loing, Lat. *Lupa*; le Mesvrin, Lat. *Magavera*; le Thérain, Lat. *Thara*). He supposes that the French names were formed by the addition of a suffix *-inus* (*Lupinus*, *Magaverinus*, etc.). Lindström observed that the oldest documents had the forms *-ain* and *-ein*, but not *-in*. This led him to hesitate between an ending *-anus* and an accusative form in *-ain*. Thomas, following Longnon, believes that "les noms *Loing*, *Mesvrin*, etc., sont incontestablement des restes de l'ancienne déclinaison française et doivent être mis sur la même ligne que les deux débris conservés par la langue actuelle et souvent cités: *nonnain* et *putain*." (The explanation of these 'débris' is to be sought by Gaston Paris in a special article.) In good Latinity the names of rivers of the 1st declension are, with some exceptions, masculine; in the Low Latin period the masculine gender becomes exceptional, and the names in question may accordingly be considered to have been originally feminine in French; if they still later become masculine, it is doubtless under the influence of the numerous masculine terminations in *-ain*, *-ein* and *-in* (a similar case is that of a church in the diocese of Limoges, now called *Saint-Barbant*, but originally *Sainte-Barban* = *Barbain*). Quicherat had cited six of these names of rivers. Thomas declares that of some eighty river-names in *-ain*, *-in* or *-ien*, probably the greater part are to be explained in the same manner as *nonnain*, *putain*. He gives a certain number the origin of which may be considered certain, and a much longer list of names inviting scrutiny.

H. L. D. Ward. Lailoken (or Merlin Sylvester). The purpose of this paper is nowhere stated, nor does the well and favorably known author, who writes in English, vouchsafe to inform us anywhere in his 'Introductory Notes' what he means by "our Part I" and "Part II of our narrative," until we finally fetch up, absolutely without other premonition, at a "Part I.—St. Kentigern and Lailoken," which proves to be a face-to-face repro-

duction of a chapter from Bower's *Scotichronicon*, entitled 'De mirabili paenitentia Merlini vatis,' and of a hitherto unpublished portion of Cotton MS Titus A. XIX, with the indication, "Narratives of Lailoken, headed (in another hand) 'Vita Merlini siluestris.' In 2 Parts." Part II ("King Meldred and Lailoken") is mistakenly printed in different type from that used in Part I, by which the reader's comprehension of the article is still further bewildered. "People had certainly begun to identify Lailoken with Merlin, when the narrative in Titus A. XIX [which we are not told is in store for us] was written. It says of him: 'qui Lailoken vocabatur quem quidam dicunt fuisse Merlinum, qui erat Britonibus quasi propheta singularis, sed nescitur.' Again, Lailoken utters that prophecy about a triple death (in this case told of himself), which we regard as essentially Merlinesque, because we know it well in the French Romance. And lastly, at the end of Part II, when it has been told how he was buried at Drumelzier in Tweeddale, 'In cuius campo lailoken tumulatus quiescit,' the following couplet is added:

Sude perrossus, lapidem perpressus, et undam,
Merlinus triplicem fertur inisse necem.

In all other respects Lailoken is very different indeed from the semi-daemon who attached himself to the early Kings of Britain."

Mélanges. A. Thomas. D'un comparatif gallo-roman et d'une prétendue peuplade barbare. In the department of the Marne there is a commune officially known as *Courtisols*; the name was formerly *Courtisor*, and is pronounced to-day *Courtisou*. In his *Dict. topographique de la Marne* (1891) M. Longnon has: "*Courtisols, Curtis Ausorum*, semble avoir pour second élément le nom de quelque peuplade étrangère." But a document of the year 847 gives for *Courtisols* the Latin *Curtis Acutior*, which latter word, in its accusative form, would have regularly become, in French, *ausior*. Another example of *acutior* in the topography of Gaul occurs in the name *Montaguson* (near Agen), in the 11th century *Montagusor* = *Montem acutiorem*. For similar comparatives note "villa quae dicitur *Monte Subteriore*" (*Monstereux*) and "in *Monte Superiore*" (*Monseveroux*).—A. Salmon. La laisse 144¹ du *Roland*. Argues in favor of the genuineness of the *laisse* (which is not found in the Oxford MS) and endeavors to establish the text.—J. Cornu. Révision des études sur le Poème du Cid. A considerable number of emendations and rectifications to the text of the *Poema del Cid*.—G. Huet. Sur l'origine du poème *De Phyllide et Flora* (of the *Carmina Burana*). From resemblances to characteristic peculiarities of the *chansons de geste*, the author argues in favor of French origin.—G. Paris. La chanson composée à Acre en juin 1250. Characterized by P. Paris as "cette belle chanson où l'on engage Louis IX à ne pas quitter la Terre Sainte avant d'avoir visité Jérusalem et délivré tous les chrétiens restés captifs." Here critically edited.—A. Salmon. *Entrecor—puin* (*helt*). "*Entrecor*—c'est une partie de la poignée, une sorte de bobine, renfiée en son milieu . . . *puin*—c'est le pommeau. Mais *helt* n'est pas aussi sûr.—G. Paris. *Béddne*. Il me paraît certain qu'il s'agit ici d'*ane*,

'canard' en anc. fr., et non d'*asne* ("bec de canard," and not "bec d'âne," as Littré spells the word).—A. Bos. *Marmot, marneau*. "En résumé, *marmot*, ladin *marmont* < *murem montis*, a signifié d'abord marmotte, puis singe et, enfin, petit enfant. Quant à *marneau*, petit enfant (diminutif de *merme* < *minimum*), il s'est probablement confondu avec *marmot*."—E. Langlois. J. Molinet auteur du mystère de S. Quentin. L'*Histoire de Monseigneur S. Quentin*, attributed to Molinet on internal evidence and MS testimony.—Ad. Hatzfeld, A. Thomas. Coquilles lexicographiques. Continued from Rom. XX 464, 616.

Comptes rendus. Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique à Helsingfors (G. Paris). "Rien n'est plus intéressant et plus digne de sympathie que les efforts que font depuis quelques années en Finlande un certain nombre d'hommes jeunes et convaincus pour y développer les études sérieuses de philologie moderne et spécialement de philologie romane . . . Ils ont fondé, à Helsingfors, le 15 mars 1887, un *Club néo-philologique*, devenu en 1891 une *Société néo-philologique*, qui, de 17 membres, a passé, s'accroissant chaque année, à 88, et qui forme une base très solide pour l'action qu'ils poursuivent tant à l'université qu'à côté d'elle."—G. Rydberg. Le développement de *facere* dans les langues romanes. Thèse pour le doctorat (G. Paris). "Cet ouvrage n'est pas seulement, comme l'auteur semble le dire trop modestement dans sa préface, un recueil de faits et un résumé d'opinions présentées antérieurement. Le jeune philologue suédois auquel nous le devons apporte partout une critique très indépendante et généralement très perspicace, et sur plus d'un point les explications qu'il propose sont à la fois nouvelles et justes."—F. Ramorino. La pronunzia popolare dei versi quantitavi latini nei bassi tempi ed origine della verseggiatura ritmica (G. Paris). "Depuis quelques années on s'est occupé aux points de vue les plus différents des origines de la versification romane, qui est, comme on sait, fondée sur l'accent et le nombre de syllabes (l'assonance ou rime n'est qu'accessoire), par opposition à la versification classique, fondée sur la quantité et le pied . . . Les travaux de MM. W. Meyer (de Spire), Kawczynski, Vernier, Havet, Henry, Thurneysen, Becker, Ronca, Stengel, d'autres encore, n'ont cependant pas, malgré le très grand mérite de plusieurs d'entre eux, réussi encore à l'élucider. M. Ramorino nous apporte ici une solution nouvelle, qu'il regarde comme définitive, et qui mérite, tout au moins, d'être prise en très sérieuse considération, car si elle ne résout pas, à mon avis, le problème tout entier, elle en éclaire d'une façon qui me paraît décisive quelques-uns des côtés les plus obscurs."—J. Lair. Étude sur la vie et la mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée (G. Paris). "Cette belle publication nous intéresse d'abord à cause de la nouvelle édition critique qu'y donne M. Lair du précieux petit poème rythmique . . . sur la mort de Guillaume I de Normandie (943) . . . ensuite à cause des nouveaux documents que le savant éditeur apporte à la curieuse question de la chanson de la *Vengeance Rioul* (voy. Rom. XVII 276)."—C. Steinweg. Die handschriftlichen Gestaltungen der lateinischen Navigatio Brendani; —F. Novati. La Navigatio Sancti Brendani in antico veneziano (C. Boser). "L'étude de la légende, et plus particulièrement du *voyage océanique*, de

saint Brendan, a pris dans ces dernières années un nouvel essor . . . Cependant on est obligé d'avouer que le progrès accompli est loin de répondre à un effort aussi multiple et aussi considérable . . . Il me semble que tout ce qui a été dit sur la question, après les travaux de Schröder, Suchier et Zimmer, a presque autant contribué à embrouiller les choses qu'à les éclaircir."—A. Stimming. Bertran de Born (A. Thomas). "La nouvelle édition de Bertran de Born que vient de donner M. Stimming diffère profondément de celle qu'il avait publiée en 1879, et se rapproche tout à fait par la disposition matérielle, comme par le caractère intrinsèque, de celle que j'ai donnée en 1888."—A. Devaux. Essai sur la langue vulgaire du Dauphiné septentrional au moyen-âge (P. Meyer). "Cet ouvrage est une thèse de doctorat présentée à la Faculté des lettres de Grenoble. C'est sans doute l'une des meilleures thèses que cette Faculté ait recues : à Paris même on en a admis qui ne la valaient pas. Le sujet est bien limité, bien compris, traité avec compétence."—Ph. Aug. Becker. Jean Lemaire, der erste humanistische Dichter Frankreichs (Ch.-M. des Granges). "Du moins, les érudits et les critiques ne pourront se dispenser de le consulter, et tout en faisant leurs réserves sur le mérite absolu de Jean Lemaire, ils jugeront avec nous que M. B. vient d'écrire d'une manière aussi définitive que possible un des plus intéressants chapitres de l'histoire de la littérature française au XVI^e siècle."

Périodiques. Apropos of a highly important article by A. Horning in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVII 160 sqq., *Ueber Dialektgrenzen im Romanischen*, G. Paris writes at length : "Dans cette très intéressante étude, M. H. résume avec beaucoup de clarté le débat qui s'est élevé entre les romanistes depuis le mémorable article de P. Meyer sur le franco-provençal et la question des dialectes et de leur limite ; il oppose à l'opinion de Meyer, que j'ai adoptée ainsi que MM. Gilliéron, Schuchardt, Gauchat et la plupart des philologues, des objections diverses, toutes réfléchies et dignes d'attention. . . . En résumé, la position que prend dans la discussion en question un savant de la valeur et de la circonspection de M. Horning est assurément un fait important, et plusieurs de ses remarques méritent d'être prise en sérieuse considération ; mais je ne puis trouver qu'il ait réussi à ébranler une théorie qui me paraît toujours être absolument simple, conforme à la nature des choses telle que nous pouvons la concevoir, et confirmée par la plupart des observations qui ont été faites avec la rigueur et l'absence de parti pris désirables."—*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (G. Paris). L. E. Menger. The Historical Development of the Possessive Pronoun in Italian. "Cet excellent travail, fait avec autant d'application que de méthode, éclaire véritablement le sujet auquel il est consacré."—*Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (G. Paris). "Nous accueillons avec grand plaisir cette annonce et ce spécimen qui est fort intéressant." G. L. Kittredge. The Authorship of the English *Romaunt of the Rose*. "Contrairement à l'opinion de M. Lounsbury, qui revendique pour Chaucer cette traduction dont on ne possède que 7700 vers, M. K., après une étude fort attentive et fort méthodique, conclut que le *Romaunt* n'est pas de Chaucer, à l'exception peut-être

des 1704 premiers vers (exception admise par MM. Kaluza et Skeat).”—E. S. Sheldon. The Origin of the English Names of the Letters of the Alphabet. “Étude excellente, qui intéresse la philologie romane et spécialement française tout autant que l’anglaise.”

Chronique. Eduard Schwan died at Giessen, his native place, July 27, 1893, at the age of 35 years. After having been *privat-docent* at Berlin, and having lectured at Breslau for one semester as substitute for Prof. Koschwitz, he had just been appointed professor of Romance philology at Jena when he was stricken by a fatal malady. For one of his years his publications were important. The second edition, completely rewritten, of his *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, appeared in the year of his death. Although open to frequent criticism, it is by far the best grammar of Old French phonology and morphology.—The Académie des Inscriptions has awarded the La Grange prize to Émile Picot for the publication, in collaboration with the late Baron James E. de Rothschild, of the *Mystère du Viel Testament*, under the auspices of the Early French Text Society.—A *Société des parlers de France* has been organized at Paris, under the presidency of Gaston Paris, and the vice-presidency of Paul Meyer and Jules Gilliéron. The membership fee has been placed at 6 francs, which covers the price of subscription to the *Bulletin* of the Society.—More recently there was constituted in Paris the *Société d'histoire littéraire de la France*, MM. G. Boissier president, and Petit de Julleville and Dezenneris vice-presidents. The annual fee is 20 francs, including subscription to the organ of the association, the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*.—The first installment of an *Altfranzösische Grammatik* by Prof. H. Suchier has made its appearance. It is conceived on a different plan from that of the lamented Prof. Schwan, and will be considerably more extensive.—M. Longnon has discovered in a MS of the Paris National Library a wellnigh complete copy of Froissart's lost romance of *Méliador*.

Livres annoncés sommairement (17 titles). Theophilo Braga e la sua obra, por T. Bastos (pp. ix, 508). Theophilo Braga has written some hundred volumes; he has composed poems, tales, works philosophical, aesthetic, sociological, political; he is in Portugal the representative of Positivism and the leader of the Republicans. At the same time, he is the historian of Portuguese literature. “Son œuvre inégale, disproportionnée, contradictoire en bien des pages (suivant que l’auteur a passé de l’école de Hegel à celle de Comte, ou qu’il s’est exalté pour les Germains, les Arabes ou les Touraniens), est en tout cas une mine de faits prodigieusement riche et aussi une mine d’idées qui, pour n’être pas toujours bien approfondies et bien sévèrement contrôlées, n’en sont pas moins fort souvent originales et quelquefois remarquablement justes et fécondes.” As a folklorist he has gained wide recognition. Braga was born at Ponta Delgada (Azores), February 24, 1843. He is preparing a new edition, entirely recast, of his great History of Portuguese Literature.

H. A. TODD.



BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. Dritter Band, Heft 1 (pp. 1-188). 1895.

The first Heft of the third volume of the *Beiträge* contains three articles of considerable length.

The first of these (pp. 1-59) is a study by C. Brockelmann of the *Kitāb al-Wafāʾ fi faḍāil al-Muṭafāʾ of Ibn Ġauzī*, according to the Leiden Manuscript. This work belongs to that class of writings in which, since the fourth century after the close of the great canonical collections of Islām, the Mohammedan scholars attempted to arrange according to later points of view and to turn to some practical use the constantly accumulating mass of religious tradition. Brockelmann points out that while the majority of these works were religio-legal in character, that of Ibn Ġauzī was written solely in the interest of science and of education. Ibn Ġauzī in his introduction states as his reason for producing such a work that many of his co-religionists had a very imperfect knowledge of the real excellence of the character of the Prophet. Although it is true that such a statement had become at that time almost a stereotyped formula, it is evident that the author's object was to collect and present in a convenient compass the chief credible traditions regarding the virtues of Mohammed. The themes of the work are the personality of the Prophet, his activity as a teacher and as an opponent of error, his private life and death, and his final appearance on the Day of Judgment. Ibn Ġauzī was not content, however, merely to collect and set forth the views of others. He occasionally not only criticises the historical value of his material, but in some instances ventures into theological discussions and even into lexicographical explanations.

Brockelmann gives in chronological order the chief sources of Ibn Ġauzī's work (pp. 8-27). This is not a difficult task, because, with few exceptions, whenever a tradition is mentioned, the author, in accordance with the demands of the strict traditional style, gives a full *Isnād*, or citation of the unbroken line of authorities for the tradition back to the original written source, and then the list of authorities upon which that depended back to one of the Prophet's companions, from whom the tradition originated.

Brockelmann closes his treatise with twenty-eight selections from the text of Ibn Ġauzī's work (pp. 28-59).

Siegmund Fränkel's article on sporadic sound-change in the Semitic languages (pp. 60-86) is really a criticism and correction of certain views expressed by Barth in his *Etymologische Studien*.¹ Fränkel recognizes the necessity of a systematic treatment of Semitic etymology, and admits the excellence and thoroughness in many points of Barth's work in this field. His chief objection to the results of Barth's investigations, however, is that the latter attributes all sound-change merely to phonetic influences. Fränkel formally states as his theses against such a view (pp. 61-62) that sporadic sound-change arises from the fact that when a word is attracted by the analogy in meaning of some other word representing the same class of ideas, the first word becomes

¹ *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen, insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893).

also phonetically similar to the second, and, furthermore, that words related in sense and similar in sound actually assimilate in meaning; that the meaning of a word can be specialized by the influence of another word which is similar in sound and related in sense.

As an example of the first phenomenon of sound-assimilation, Fränkel cites the identity of the Arabic *رفس* and the Hebrew *רמס* 'to tread.' In this case the change of the middle radical is due to the influence of the stem *רמש* 'to creep,' which is analogous in meaning to *רמס*. As an instance of an assimilation in meaning, he mentions the Hebrew stem *נגע*, the original meaning of which was 'touch.' The further development into the meaning 'smite' (cf. *נגף* 'plague') was caused by the influence of the two stems *נגח* and *נגנ*, both of which are similar in sound and of allied meaning.

Fränkel expresses grave doubt as to the correctness of Barth's assumption of numerous cases of metathesis, by means of which he arrives at new derivations and etymologies (p. 63). Thus, in the case of *אֶבְגֵּט* 'a girdle,' which Barth considered identical with *اطنابة*, Fränkel calls attention to the fact

that *اطنابة* means not 'a girdle,' but 'a small strap for fastening the girdle.' He considers, moreover, that the pronunciation of *אֶבְגֵּט*, as indicated by the traditional vowelling, is strongly suggestive of *אֶבְגֵּר*, which is certainly a foreign word. In view of this, and also because, according to his view, the words *חנר* and *מנח* 'bind, gird' are probably of foreign origin,¹ he adheres to Barth's first opinion, expressed in his 'Nominalbildung,' 226, l. 2, as well as to that of Erman (ZDMG. 46, 110), that the word *אֶבְגֵּט* is of Egyptian origin (from the stem *bnd* 'bind'). Fränkel does not mention, however, that the

stem *طنب*, seen in *اطنابة*, appears also in the Arabic *طَنْبٌ* and the Syriac *טונבא* 'tent-rope.' The Arabic word means also 'a tendon of the body' and 'the root of a tree,' and the general signification of the stem seems to be 'to be crooked,' hence 'intricate,' from whence the derivatives 'tent-rope' and 'strap.' There is a stem *ṭapānu* in Assyrian, probably 'to bend, direct, rule,' from which the well-known *miṣpānu* 'bow' is a derivative, and which appears in II R. 27, 23 in connection with the word for 'chariot,' *ṭapānu ša narkabti*, in such a way as to seem synonymous with *gamādu* 'bind, fasten.' In II R. 34, 41 also, the noun *ṭappanu* is given as a synonym of *ḡindu ša asi* 'a physician's bandage.' In view of the similarity both in form and meaning of the Assyrian *ṭapānu*, the Arabic *طنب* and the Hebrew *אֶבְגֵּט* (אֶבְגֵּט), it does not seem impossible, in spite of Fränkel's objection, that Barth may be right in assuming that it may not be necessary to seek the derivation of *אֶבְגֵּט* outside of Semitic.

¹ *חנר* (with *ח*) is represented by the Assyrian *igdrn* 'an enclosing wall' and *ugdrn* 'a field.' *מנח* is usually considered cognate with the Arabic *حزام* 'a girdle' (cf., however, ZDMG. 46, 112, 116).

Fränkel rightly objects (p. 67) to Barth's identification of שִׁמֵּר 'destroy' with the Arabic سَدِم 'to stop up,' because the latter is probably a cognate of the Hebrew סָדַם 'to stop up,' used of wells and springs. שִׁמֵּר is, however, undoubtedly a cognate of the Assyrian *šamdtu* 'to cut off,' found in II R. 67, 24: *uxinušu ašmuṣma* 'I cut off his revenue' (?). The familiar adjective *šamfu* 'sharp' is a derivative of this stem.

Fränkel doubts also (p. 77) the identity of Arabic قَتِين 'thin, feeble' and the Hebrew קָטָן 'small,' owing, as he states, to the existence of the Ethiopic form *qatīn*, cited by Barth himself. Fränkel thinks that the Hebrew word is cognate rather with قُطْن = קוֹטָנָא = 'cotton.' It seems probable, however,

that such a form as the Arabic قَتِين with ט may be connected with similar forms with ד, because the latter consonant might arise from an original ט, by a partial assimilation, either to the initial פ or to the final י, according to its proximity to either consonant. In such a form as قُطْن the ט may have become ד by being brought into vowelless proximity with the final י. We may suppose that the Assyrian form *naddnu* with *d*, as opposed to the Hebrew נָדָה and the rare Assyrian *naldnu* with נ (Strm. K, 662, 38), arose in some such way as this.

After a number of highly interesting and scholarly comments on Barth's work, omitting, however, the discussion of all derivations bearing on the Assyrian, Fränkel closes his treatise with some valuable remarks regarding the nature of etymological work in general. He warns scholars that etymological comparisons do not usually admit of mathematical proof, but frequently depend rather on the ingenuity and imagination of the investigator. This is particularly true in the case of Semitic etymological work, because we have such scanty lexicographical remains of some of the languages. Bearing this in mind, Fränkel hesitates to admit the possibility of such an extensive occurrence of metatheses between the various dialects as that implied by Barth's work. He adds that an absolute similarity in meaning between many words, with only a slight variation in sound, is frequently the cause of comparisons based on metathesis and sporadic sound-change. As soon, however, as the slightest suspicion arises that in one dialect the word in question has obtained its meaning in the written language, either as a final product of a long period of development or as a metaphor, it is evident that the investigator must abandon his comparison.

Fränkel finally lays down, as follows, the lines along which the student of Semitic etymology must do preliminary work before the study is placed upon a sound scientific basis:—

I. All certain cases of sporadic *sound-change* within the individual Semitic languages should be collected, always bearing in mind, however, the influence of the dialect on the written language.

II. All certain cases of *sound-agreement* between the different Semitic languages should be collected.

III. First all the metaphors peculiar to the individual Semitic languages, and then the transitions in meaning shown by cognate roots in the different languages, should be collected. These investigations should be carried on upon the broadest possible basis, with most careful consideration of the modern Semitic dialects, and in some cases even of non-Semitic languages, because the creative imagination which influences speech often produces similar figures and metaphors in totally distinct languages.

Fränkel's article gives the impression of being the thoughtful work of a most conscientious and cautious scholar.

The third and last article in the *Beiträge* is a most elaborate historical treatise on the fall of Nineveh and the prophetic writing of Nahum of Elkosh (pp. 87-188). This work, which is the result of the combined labors of Colonel Adolf Billerbeck and Dr. Alfred Jeremias, is divided into three chapters, both authors sharing the labor of the first two, while the third is entirely the work of Col. Billerbeck.

The first chapter (pp. 87-106) contains a translation of Nahum's oracle against Nineveh, with an historical and Assyriological commentary, while the second (pp. 107-49) is a history and description of the city of Nineveh from earliest times until its downfall.

The opinion held by a number of commentators on the book of Nahum (for example, Schrader, *KAT.*², p. 452), that the prophet's vivid allusion to the destruction of Thebes (3, 8, 10) shows that the siege of that city must have been still fresh in the popular memory, and that consequently the oracle must date from very shortly after 664 B. C., is very properly objected to (p. 95). As has been pointed out by previous commentators, it is perfectly possible to suppose that an Israelitish prophet might refer many years afterward to this great triumph of the Assyrian arms, and see in it a prophetic type of Assyria's own downfall.

On p. 96 the writer offers the interesting suggestion that the נַחֲמִי of Nahum 2, 2, 4 (which he reads נַחֲמִי) may have been the Scythian horde, instead of the first Median attacks against Nineveh, which would have been hardly sufficient to awaken the prophet's hope to the extent implied by the oracle. A comparison of Jer. 6, 22-3, which is usually regarded as a reference to the Scythian invasion of Palestine, seems to lend probability to this assumption.

The expression שְׁעֵי הַנְּהָרוֹת of Nah. 2, 7 is explained (p. 101) as alluding to the filling up of the great ditches which were intended to protect Nineveh in case of siege.

The second chapter closes (pp. 139-49) with a brief but interesting discussion of the origin and development of the Medes as a people, the records relating to their various attacks on Nineveh, and the way in which the city must have been approached by the enemy in the final siege, which must have lasted more than two years. The author doubts the truth of the tradition that Nabopolassar of Babylon aided the Medes directly in their overthrow of Nineveh. His idea is that Nabopolassar more probably concentrated his forces on weakening the Assyrian power in the Euphrates valley, leaving the actual siege of Nineveh to Cyaxares alone.

The third and last chapter (pp. 149-88) is an archaeological and scientific

military description by Col. Billerbeck of ancient Assyrian fortifications, and a treatise on their use in the warfare of the period, illustrated with numerous plates. It is followed by three maps explanatory, respectively, of Nineveh and the surrounding country, of the fortifications of Nineveh, and, finally, a general map illustrating Nahum's prophecy and the overthrow of the Assyrian capital.

Billerbeck and Jeremias' article should be consulted by every one interested in the Book of Nahum and the later Assyrian history.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. RICHARD HORTON-SMITH's *Conditional Sentences in Greek and Latin* (Macmillan) is based on his *Outline of the Theory of Conditional Sentences in Greek and Latin*, published as long ago as 1859. The plan is to lay down a scheme of possible combinations, which scheme, of course, involves the assumption that the author's views as to the constituent parts of the hypothesis are correct, and then to arrange under these categories the various phenomena of the language. There must be a fair field and no favor, above all no tampering with MSS; and *εἰ ἴσθησι, εἰ στήσσει, ἐὰν στήσῃ* must not be allowed to absorb our attention, to the exclusion of *εἰ ἐσθήξει ἂν, ἐὰν ἐσθηκῶς ἂν εἴῃ* and *ἐὰν ἐσθήκει ἂν*. Now, with such a conception of the task, it is not in human nature to resist the temptation to fill out the scheme, and it requires deeper study than Mr. HORTON-SMITH has given the subject to appreciate fully the silences of language. For Mr. HORTON-SMITH, as we learn from his preface, has been withdrawn for a generation from the practice of teaching as well as from the currents of philological thought, and while he has amused himself with arranging under the different rubrics of his scheme a number of interesting examples, his processes seem strangely old-fashioned, now that everybody recognizes the limitations imposed by time, sphere, department, dialect. To be sure, such considerations as these are not altogether absent from Mr. HORTON-SMITH's lucubrations, but his observations are sporadic and not systematic, and herein lies the characteristic difference between the syntax of to-day and the syntax of Mr. HORTON-SMITH's beloved and revered teachers. Acute observers have never been lacking in the domain of Greek syntax, and it not unfrequently happens that the best thing has been said or implied in advance of modern formulation. Whoever gave the name *αἰτιατικῆ* to the accusative thought more truly than most persons who have treated of the case since. Nay, before there was an *αἰτιατικῆ* πτῶσις in grammar, Plato had meditated profoundly on the nature of the grammatical object, and in his *Euthyphron* gives the key to the periphrasis with the participle. Aristotle, to cite only one small matter, lays down the correct doctrine for the position of article, adjective and substantive, and Dionysios, however taught, appreciated more clearly than some modern commentators the significance of Thukydidean syntax. The same thing may be said of modern syntacticians from Gottfried Hermann down. But that is no good reason for keeping deliberately aloof from the paths that have been opened by recent research and for thanking one's stars that the law left leisure only for the kind of amusement that Mr. HORTON-SMITH has found in getting together the variegated contents of his bulky volume. For after all it would seem that the conditional sentence has merely

furnished a series of pegs from which to hang a number of literary game-bags, and the index reveals what we Americans would call in our mercantile way a 'job lot' of curiosities. Who would expect, for instance, in a treatise on the conditional sentence to be told of 'Adversity, its sweet uses,' 'Alfieri, his terseness,' 'Camoens, his poetic denunciation of naval enterprise,' 'Lord Chesterfield on proverbs,' and so on? Much of this extraneous matter is delightful, if one have a soul above grammar, but grammar is a severe study, and one is apt to be resentful when one contemplates seven hundred pages largely made up of what German scholars call *allotria*.

In a well-known passage of his *Poetisch-dialektische Syntax* (54, 3, 7), Krüger says that the frequency of the potential optative without *άν* is in inverse proportion to the excellence of the MSS. The better the MSS, the fewer the occurrences. This, he adds, is especially true of the minor orators; and so the recent editors of the minor orators, notably Blass, have very little scruple in restoring *άν* to such optatives. Of course, it is perfectly possible to take a diametrically opposite view, and to maintain that the authors that were most read were worst doctored. From this point of view the text of the minor orators may be regarded as a valuable museum of constructions that have escaped the processes of restoration such as have made the antiquities in some of our museums little better than forgeries. Such is or was the point of view of Herr Willibald Roeder, who some dozen years ago published sundry recalcitrancies against any change in the text of Isaios and against Cobet's changes in particular. Unquestionably, if you want 'sports,' you can always find them by looking into what prejudiced people will call poor texts. But a 'sport' remains a 'sport,' and isolated constructions cannot be made into a category without the most cogent reasons. If *δει σ'* *δπως* occurred but once in Greek, a textual emendation might have suggested itself, but as there are three—all, to be sure, in dramatic poetry—we must try to get at the secret of the sudden shift from the expected infinitive to the *δπως* construction. So the combination of an anticipatory condition into a logical condition such as we find in Antiphon 6, 4 *άν τις κτείνῃ τινά ών αὐτός κρατεῖ καὶ μὴ ἔστιν ὁ τιμωρήσων* is perfectly explicable. *κρατεῖ* is too much for the normal *ή* which we find in a similar passage below (§5). An interesting irregularity occurs in the Timocratea, and what is still more interesting is the fact that the whole speech may be regarded as a protest against that irregularity. It is, as it were, a double *γραφῇ παρανόμων*, a protest against *ex post facto* law and at the same time a protest against *ex post facto* syntax. *εἰ τινι τῶν ὀφειλόντων δεσμοῦ προστετιμῆται ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν προστιμῆθῃ* (D. 24, 41) is therefore doubly bad. *οἶμαι*, says the orator (§72), *οὐδὲ ἐν' ἀνθρωπον ἄλλον τολμήσαι νόμον εἰσφέροντα ἐπὶ τῷ χρῆσθαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τοὺς πρότερον κυρίους νόμους κρίσεις γεγεννημένας ἐπιχειρῆσαι λύειν*. This, at all events, is an instructive sport. But in Hippocr. de Prisc. Med. I, p. 8 F = I, p. 20 K, *ὅπερ εἰ μὴ ἦν ἱητρικῇ ὅλως μὴδ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσκεπτο μὴδ' εὗροιτο μὴδέν*, it is simply absurd to keep *εὗροιτο*, which is not a passive and cannot mean 'were to have been discovered.' We must simply change *εὗροιτο* into *εὗρητο*, with Ermerins. It is an everyday case of itacism. Mr. HORTON-SMITH cites further (p. 49)

Eur. Or. 1132, but may it not be better to take *μεθεῖμεν*, with the scholiast, as aor. ind., and not as opt., with Goodwin (M. T. 508), or as 'subj. of the past,' with Mr. Horton-Smith? The unreal condition of an action that is decided, and so virtually past, is much more vigorous.¹ Comp. *νῦν δὲ* below. In Lys. 10, 9 *εἰ τις σ' εἰποι πατραλοῖαν ἢ μητραλοῖαν, ἥξιους ἂν . . . ᾧον ἂν* there is undoubtedly a shift, but it is just such a shift as one finds in illustrative hypotheses, hypotheses that are meant for arguments. So we find Isokr. 18, 57 *ὁμοιον ἐργαζόμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τῷ Φυνώνδας πανουργίαν ὀνειδίσσειεν ἢ Φιλοργῶς ὁ τὸ Γοργόνειον ὑφελόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους ἱεροσέλους ἐφασκεν εἶναι*. In a long sentence cited from Plat. Alc. Pr. 111 E there is a shift from the ideal to the unreal—a *grata negligentia* of which we must not make too much by insisting on minute shades of difference; nor, on the other hand, are we to forsake so good a MS as the Clarkianus in Plat. Theaet., 147 A, in order to bring in a *difficilior lectio*. These are the comments that suggest themselves on one page of Mr. HORTON-SMITH, and there are many pages that might be annotated at the same length. So something might be said about *εἰ* with subj. *εἰ* w. subj. is an old generic form which survives here and there in dramatic poetry, for the most part as a bit of epic affectation to which the tragic poets were not superior. Wherever it shows itself in model prose it is more than suspicious. *ἐάν* has usurped its place, and that is all. To make a distinction between *εἰ* w. subj. and *ἐάν* w. subj., and translate the former *if haply* and the latter *if truly*, is futile. Mr. HORTON-SMITH wishes to have a Greek syntax that is good for all Greek. Now, is there any conceivable reason why we should never find *if truly* in all Pindar? Is it not, on the other hand, conceivable that the conservative poet should have stuck to the old formula just as he clung to the dying *ὅπρα*? In Theocr. 5, 64 *αἰ λῆς* is translated *if haply you shall be so desiring*, where *λῆς* seems to be clearly present indicative = *εἰ βούλει*. So 8, 85; 11, 56, whereas *αἰ κα λῆς* (5, 21) is *ἦν βούλη*. The future sense comes from the character of the verb. Of course, the Hippocratean corpus yields as many monsters as fabled Africa did of yore, and we are taught that there is a peculiar virtue in combining *ἦν* with a variety of indicatives which only need a slight change of accent to become normal subjs. But these specimens of Mr. HORTON-SMITH's method must suffice, showing as they do most clearly the utter hopelessness of reconciling his way of looking at things with the processes of recent grammatical thought which he has seen fit to ignore. There is a good deal of material which may serve by way of illustration, there are occasional *obiter dicta* which show native perspicacity. But the only men who can safely use the book will not take the trouble to explore the mass of irrelevancies for the sake of a happy turn here and a good remark there. A man who treats *εὔροιτο* as if it were *εὔρεθειν* puts himself out of court and cannot expect to have much weight attached to his undoubtedly just contention (p. 168) that *ἐάν* in Greek has no parallel construction in Latin, which better grammarians than Mr. HORTON-SMITH do not seem to have found out.

¹ See A. J. P. XIII 503.

Dr. HOLDEN's edition of *Plutarch's Life of Pericles* (Macmillan) is constructed on the lines of his other Plutarchean work with which every scholar is by this time familiar. In this volume, as in the others, there is no lack of instructive detail, and the young student can learn much besides Plutarch's Greek from the ample commentary and from the valuable indexes. Of course, where there is so much detail, there is always room for criticism of the petty sort. One misses a word about the avoidance of hiatus in τοῖς δλοῖς, c. IV 3, 35. It is impossible to take a thinker very seriously who shifts from singular to plural for the sake of euphony, and the ταῖς ἀληθείαις of Isokrates always calls up a smile at the expense of that rhetorical soul. ταῖς ἀληθείαις, so common in later Greek, occurs but once in the Demosthenean corpus, and then in XLIV, and Blass might have added this phrase to the rest of his objections to the speech which he belabors unmercifully. To be sure, the author is careless as to the hiatus in the body of the speech, but he is careful in the prooemium, and ταῖς ἀληθείαις is a cheap and familiar device. At c. VIII 4, 30 one wonders that an editor of Aristophanes should have disdained to quote Eq. 571 foll., and c. VIII 6, 48 might have had a note on φησὶν ὅτι, that unmistakable sign of later date. C. XXXI 4, 31 ἐνετύπωσε is translated "cut in relief" or "intaglio," which is, to say the least, enigmatical, and it is quite too polite to translate Ἀσπασία συνόντα, c. XXIV 4, 33, 'by his marriage with Aspasia.' The Life of Plutarch which is prefixed to some of the other volumes is repeated here, and to this there will be no serious objection, but it would have been well either to substitute or to add some general characteristic of Plutarch's style. The students for whom these volumes were prepared are not sufficiently advanced to gather up the many items of the commentary into a literary portrait. True, the matter far outweighs the manner, but the philosophic *causeur* of Chaeronea introduces too many new-fangled words into Greek, and is a decided corrupter of youth, from the stylistic point of view.

The mention of Aspasia recalls a chapter in v. WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLEN-DORFF's *Aristoteles und Athen*—a work of manifold interest and incitement—in which he takes up the Aspasia legend with his wonted asperity (II 99). He protests, and not without reason, against making Perikles a Maecenas or a Lorenzo de' Medici, and as a part of his thesis he assails Aspasia in Aristophanic or rather Dikaiopolitan style. Aspasia, he maintains, was nothing more to Perikles than Herpyllis was to Aristotle. No decent woman in Athens could have been called Aspasia, and while the Ionians were not so particular, Aspasia was a favorite hetaira-name even among them, and the tradition that she had a father, Axiochos of Miletos, is offset by the other tradition that she was a Carian. Really this is abusing the proverb ἐν Καρὶ κινδυνεύειν. However, Wilamowitz, if ungallant, is interesting, and goes on to explain the origin of the Aspasia-myth. Aischines, the Sokratic, took it into his head to make what we should call a Ninon out of her, and idealized her so far as to represent respectable people as visiting at her house, among them Xenophon and his wife—a droll anachronism. Still, Xenophon was pleased at this compliment, and

returned it after the fashion of his time—and our time. In Mem. 2, 6, 36 Aspasia is represented as past mistress in the art of matrimonial negotiations, and in Oec. 3, 4 she is cited as a person experienced in managing an establishment—no excessive praise. This is the way in which the Egeria of Perikles was started, and, once started, she was taken up by the author of the Menexenos. Of course, Wilamowitz is incensed at the revived belief that the Menexenos was written by Plato, who was not the man to make a heroine out of an hetaira. "It is no small sign," he adds, "of the dignity of Attic history that only one female figure occurs in it—only one, but she dominates it throughout: The Virgin of the Acropolis." All this is sadly old-fashioned, but it may be mentioned that in the same chapter Wilamowitz draws a picture of Perikles which it is a pleasure to read after soiling one's self with the scandalous stuff that Plutarch has heaped up about the name of the great Athenian, to the effacement of his noble image. But the work of Perikles, W. insists, was the work of a great statesman, not of a universal genius. Parthenon and Propylaea, he contends, are no more evidence of his taste than the creations of Schinkel are evidences of the taste of Frederick William III, and all the rhetoric about the intimacy with Pheidias, the community of ideas between statesman and sculptor, is rubbish. Pheidias was and continued to be a *βάνανος* in the eyes of Perikles and men of his stamp. Such plain speaking helps to clear the philological air, even if some of us find the draught too strong, and close the windows hermetically with a shiver, as in a German lecture-room.

The fourth volume of FREEMAN's *History of Sicily* (Macmillan & Co.) brings the narrative down to the death of Agathocles. The gaps in the MS have been filled by the insertion of passages from the author's small *Story of Sicily*, by copious footnotes, and by supplements placed at the end of the chapters they illustrate. All this is the work of Mr. FREEMAN's faithful friend and devoted son-in-law, Mr. ARTHUR J. EVANS, whose utilization of recent numismatic discoveries adds a personal element and a special value to this labor of love.

Many of the emendations of the *Appendix Vergiliana* that have been published by Professor ROBINSON ELLIS in this Journal (see III 271-84, VIII 1-14, 399-414, XI 357, XV 469-94) have been accepted by PAPILLON and HAIGH in their beautiful pocket edition of all the works of *Vergil* (New York, Macmillan), a *lepidus novus libellus* which recalls Catullus and the editor of Catullus. The volume is a delight to the eye, the type is clear, and the paper that marvel of thinness and strength which is generally reserved for sacred literature of another school. The only fly in the ointment that I have noticed thus far is *fati* for *fata* in the ominous words of Turnus, Aen. 9, 136-7: *sunt et mea contra | fata mihi*.

Those who have studied Professor BLASS's excellent little manual, *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (A. J. P. VII 274), must have been struck with the number of illustrations drawn from the New Testament. This would not be surprising in an English scholar, but in a German classical philologist of our day it is noteworthy, especially as Professor BLASS's tone towards the Greek of the N. T. is one of greater allowance than is common among professed students of Attic. The student of Attic, if he does not sympathize with the Emperor Julian in his sneer at the language of the Gospels, is prone to consider the Greek of the New Testament as a means of grace. It brings him down to the level of the common people who heard the Word with all readiness, and bids him associate with freedmen and other lightly esteemed persons, one Philologus among them, whose very names show their humble origin. But though such a lesson is of the greatest spiritual importance, it is better not to make phrases about it, and BLASS's method of treating the language of the N. T. is far the more excellent way. In his *Hermeneutik u. Kritik*², S. 199, he maintained that the writers of the N. T. handled imperfect and aorist, durative and complexive tenses with remarkable precision, and this *dictum*, coming from one who has made special studies in the imperfects and aorists of such a master as Demosthenes (A. J. P. XI 107), is not to be rejected lightly. Nor has he repented of his *dictum* in his *Editio philologica of the Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht), a book which will doubtless give the editor all the trouble he anticipates from the theologians, but cannot fail to be warmly welcomed by men of his own guild. It is true that the chapter of the *Prolegomena* which deals with the language of the N. T. is somewhat disappointing. One craves much more. But the close observation of the peculiarities of the author of the Acts, and the perpetual comparison of the language with that of standard prose, make this edition one of unique practical importance. The student of classical Greek will come back to his special studies in Attic 'immunified' against post-classic microbes, and the theological student will gain a truer vision of the shades of culture in the early church.

After marshalling all the evidence obtainable about the *pronunciation of the Greek Aspirates* (London, D. Nutt), Miss ELIZABETH A. S. DAWES, M. A., D. Lit. (Lond.), has arrived (pp. 102-3) at certain 'broad conclusions,' which in her judgment are not 'such as to justify a final decision in favour <of either> of the two opposed theories,' 'the aspiratic' and 'the spirantic.' The 'straddle,' to use an undignified Americanism, is somewhat disappointing.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Egyptian Book of the Dead; ed. with introd., a complete translation, etc., by C. H. S. Davis, M. D., with 99 full-page il. and 27 designs. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1894. 4to, cl., \$5.

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CORRECTION.

By a curious accident in copying for the press my notice of Professor JURENKA's *Novae Lectiones Pindaricae* (A. J. P. XV 509), a line or more was omitted and a grievous wrong done, for which reparation is made here so far as reparation for such blunders is possible. Read therefore, l. 8: "σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ Πελλίῳ φόνῳ κτέ., <of which, I venture to say, Professor JURENKA will repent some day as much he repents now of> taking μίγεν in the sense of μίγεν φιλότῃτι." In point of fact, Prof. JURENKA's emendation was intended to prevent the very misunderstanding of the text into which he himself had fallen in his early Pindaric studies.

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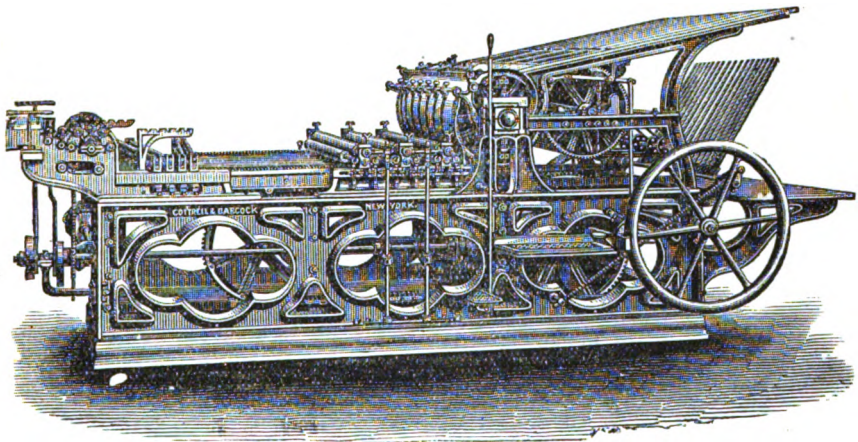
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WHOLE No. 62.

I.—THE IMPERFECT AND THE AORIST IN GREEK.

All students of Greek syntax are familiar, or should be familiar, with the great activity that has recently been displayed in the investigation of the use of the Greek tenses. Of the various publications on this subject that have appeared from time to time, there came to hand in 1892 a portion of a work by Fr. Hultsch¹ which, from the very start, by its scope and method of treatment, attracted a great deal of attention, and the completion of which was awaited with eager expectation. Now that the work has been completed and sufficient time has elapsed to dispel the first enthusiasm and to make room for calm and sober judgment, there seems to be the need of a somewhat elaborate review comprising a thorough criticism of the theoretical portions of the work and a summary of the most important details of Polybian tense-usage. The following paper is in the main an attempt to supply this want, at least partially; but it is only fair to state that it also partakes of the nature of an independent contribution by furnishing a certain amount of material derived from the writer's own investigations and observations.

In addition to a few prefatory remarks, Hultsch's work comprises 32 chapters, which may be divided into seven parts as follows: Part I (chapter I) contains the author's theory of the narrative tenses. Part II (chaps. II–IV) gives a conspectus of

¹ Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios. Ein Beitrag zur Syntax der gemeingriechischen Sprache von Friedrich Hultsch. Abhandl. d. K. S. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., Band XIII, No. I, S. 1–210, u. IV, S. 347–468; Band XIV, No. I, S. 1–100. Leipzig, 1891–93.

the general use of the imperfect in Polybios. Part III (chaps. V-XXVII) treats of the imperfect and aorist with reference to certain classes of verbs. A chapter on the use of the imperfect and aorist in combination with adverbs of haste is inserted supplementary to the consideration of verbs signifying to make haste, and chaps. XV-XXVII are reserved for the discussion of such verbs as are especially important from the point of view of textual criticism. Part IV (chap. XXVIII) is devoted to the aorist exclusively. Part V (chaps. XXIX-XXX) treats of the change from the imperfect to the aorist, or *vice versa*, within the compass of a single period or in closely connected sentences. Part VI (chap. XXXI) disposes of the historical present, and Part VII concludes the entire work with a chapter (XXXII) on the pluperfect.

As for the introductory remarks, it was somewhat of a disappointment to find on p. 4 the statement that the investigation was not exhaustive, but was based on a collection of only between six and seven thousand examples. To be sure, Hultsch tells us that he has tried to omit no forms that seemed to be of any importance, that he has been unwilling to decide matters upon the basis of mere numbers, and that any considerable increase in the material would only have increased the difficulty of getting a comprehensive view of the whole; still, when one reflects that in the first five books of Polybios alone there are nearly 6000 examples of only¹ imperfect and aorist indicative; that what may appear uninteresting at one stage of an investigation may appear quite important at another; that while numbers may not be sufficient of themselves to determine a principle, they yet form a most important and sometimes absolutely indispensable element of investigation—when all this is borne in mind, one cannot always dispel an ominous foreboding that an exhaustive exhibit might possibly reveal essentially different results, and a contradiction like that mentioned below, p. 164, is certainly not calculated to allay one's distrust. Nevertheless, it is due our author to say that in more than one case he has really taken the pains to collect all the examples of a given usage, and that in many other instances the irresistible impression is made that absolute completeness, though not distinctly claimed, has for all that been aimed at.

The first chapter, as has been stated, treats of the general theory of the narrative tenses. Hultsch is to be congratulated

¹ Hultsch's collections are not confined to imperfect and aorist ind.

upon having quietly accorded to all the tenses used in the narration of past events, the right of bearing the name of *narrative*. Such a procedure does away with the perplexing question as to which tense is the narrative tense *par excellence*, and it is to be hoped that the statement in Kühner, Gr. Gr.², p. 135 (cf. Krüg., §53, 6), will be suitably modified in the forthcoming edition. But if we are doomed to face the problem anew, it would be well to bear in mind that possibly the imperfect possesses greater claims to that distinction than the aorist. Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. IV, p. 103) puts in a mild plea for the claims of the imperfect as "Tempus der Erzählung," but as it may be objected that he takes too narrow a view of the matter, and as the limitation he would impose upon the meaning of the word *Erzählung* certainly does not apply to our English word *narrative*, the question plainly resolves itself into one of numbers. Now, Koch has lately shown the overwhelming preponderance of the imperfect over the aorist in the first four books of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and though he is inclined to overrate the value of Xenophon as evidence, and though his field of observation is dangerously small and the inferences drawn by him are not entirely correct,¹ it nevertheless remains a fact that the Greek is not at all shy of the use of the imperfect, and, for classic Greek, to judge from the figures given below, it would seem that the imperfect tense forms a larger constituent of historical narrative than does the aorist. These figures will also serve to correct any erroneous impression as to the universal preponderance of the imperfect that the reading of Koch's article may have produced, and though the figures speak for themselves, it might be worth while to point out specially that while Xenophon is so fond of the imperfect in the *Anabasis*, he is perfectly capable of indulging in an excess of aorist, as will appear from the fact that in the first book of the *Hellenica* the proportion of imperfects and aorists of the *Anabasis* is almost exactly reversed.

¹ Cf. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. XIV, p. 104 ff.

TABLE¹ SHOWING FREQUENCY OF IMPERFECT AND AORIST
INDICATIVE IN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

	No. of Impf.	No. of Aorist.	Percent. of Impf.	Percent. of Aor.
Herodotos, Book VII,	819	588	58	42
“ “ (omitting <i>ῥν</i>),	729	588	55	45
“ Book VIII,	587	399	60	40
“ “ (omitting <i>ῥν</i>),	516	399	56	44
Thucydides, Book VII,	593	372	61	39
“ “ (omitting <i>ῥν</i>),	518	372	58	42
“ Total,	4286 ²	3910 ²	52	48
“ “ (omitting <i>ῥν</i>),	3685 ²	3910	49	51
Xenophon, Anab., Books I-IV,	1437 ³	880 ³	62	38
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	1148	880	57	43
“ Kyr., Book I,	358	167	68	32
“ “ “ (om. <i>ἐφη</i>),	260	167	61	39
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i> and <i>ἐφη</i>),	241	167	59	41
“ Book II,	282	176	62	38
“ “ “ (om. <i>ἐφη</i>),	170	176	49	51
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i> and <i>ἐφη</i>),	150	176	46	54
“ Book III,	371	171	68	32
“ “ “ (om. <i>ἐφη</i>),	249	171	59	41
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i> and <i>ἐφη</i>),	232	171	58	42
“ Hell., Book I,	186	317	37	63
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	163	317	34	66
Polybios, Book I,	572	618	48	52
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	492	618	44	56
“ Book II,	308	491	39	61
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	254	491	34	66
“ Book III,	652	647	50	50
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	569	647	47	53
“ Book IV,	477	493	49	51
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	434	493	47	53
“ Book V,	710	664	52	48
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	618	664	48	52
“ Books I-V,	2719	2913	48	52
“ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i>),	2367	2913	45	55
Arrianos, Anab., Book I,	332	374	47	53
“ “ “ (om. introd.),	330	366	47	53
“ “ “ (om. <i>ῥν</i> and introd.),	262	366	42	58

¹ Rigid accuracy is not claimed for the figures given in this table. They are the result of a single careful count. The amount of labor and time involved and the enormous tax on eyes and health rendered a recount impossible. Fortunately, however, absolute accuracy, though extremely desirable, was not absolutely necessary for our purposes. For even if we were to allow a tolerably large margin for error, the results would not be materially changed.—Pluperfect forms used as imperfects were excluded from the count.

² The figures for the whole of Thucydides were obtained by counting the imperfects and the aorists as given in v. Essen's Index Thuc.

³ These are the figures given by Koch, *Jahrb.* 146 (1892), p. 426.

But let us return to our examination of Hultsch. After all that has been said and written, the world over, by great and small on the subject of the tenses, the presentation of anything new regarding the theory of the tenses was hardly to be expected. As a matter of fact, Hultsch, on p. 5, openly accepts Curtius' formulae, and with him distinguishes between *Zeitstufe* and *Zeitart*. "With reference to the '*Zeitstufe*,'" says H., "the forms of the indicative belong to either the present or the past or the future; with reference to the '*Zeitart*,' they are to be viewed as either '*dauernde*' or '*vollendete*' or, as Curtius puts it, '*eintretende*.'" Now Curtius, it must be admitted, rendered a signal service to the cause of Greek grammar by pointing out the true function of the augment and by instituting the distinction between the *sphere* of time and what he called the *kind*¹ of time (*Zeitstufe* and *Zeitart*), yet when that distinguished scholar adopted such terms as *dauernd* and *eintretend* as expressive of the fundamental distinction between the stem of the present and that of the aorist, and used all the influence of his authority in giving currency to his formulae, he placed in the way of the study of the Greek tenses a barrier that has not been entirely removed even at the present day. The term *dauernd* is utterly inadequate to express the various uses of the imperfect, and Krüger, to whom the term was no stranger, was evidently impressed with its inadequacy. But granting for the sake of argument that the term might be stretched so as to admit of that wider interpretation, it is reprehensible for being not simply ambiguous, but positively misleading. Otherwise, why all this warning² to the effect that the use of the imperfect is not dependent on the *absolute length of the time* of the action? Indeed, so deceptive is the term that not only scholars like O. Riemann have fallen victims to its snares, but some of the very men that have sounded the alarm, and among them Hultsch,³ have not at all times kept free from its meshes. It is therefore high time to abandon the formula, and if the notion of *Dauer* and *dauernd* must needs be retained, let it be retained

¹ Curtius, *Erläuterungen*², p. 181, objects to Schoemann's term *Entwicklungsstadien* as being far too difficult for an ordinary school-grammar. It certainly is infinitely better than the term *Zeitart*. Brugmann in his Greek Grammar uses the term *Aktionsart*, which is quite an improvement upon Curtius' term.

² Cf. Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* IV, p. 160; Curtius, *Erläut.*³, p. 181; Hultsch, p. 7.

³ See below, p. 145 and p. 146 f.

in its foreign form as a part of the scientific nomenclature. The term *durativ* in 'durative Formen' will do little, if any, harm, provided only it be understood that it is a convenient *name*, and nothing else.

As for the term *eintretend*, which has been done to death by Delbrück and has even passed into Latin syntax,¹ suffice it to say that when undefined it is so hopelessly ambiguous, and when defined so hopelessly vague or one-sided, that there is really no longer any excuse for its retention as a comprehensive definition of the aorist.² The difficulty, moreover, is greatly enhanced by the indiscriminate use of the past and the present participle (*eingetreten* and *eintretend*) and the substantive *Eintritt*, and to show that the reviewer is not simply indulging in 'hair-splitting,' he begs leave to call attention to the fact that *eintretend* has actually been confounded with *eingetreten* by Kaegi, who, after stating in §186, 3 of his Gr. Grammar, that in the case of the aorist indicative the augment refers "die Handlung *an sich* oder die *eintretende* Handlung" to the past, designates, in the tabular review of §186, 4, the 'Zeitart' of the present of inchoative verbs such as *γηράσκω*, as identical with that of the aorist. But *γηράσκω* is as much of a durative as any other present. *γηράσκω* is as a rule equivalent to *γέρων γίγνομαι*. The past of this is *γέρων ἐγίγνετο*, which is the imperfect that corresponds to the aorist *γέρων ἐγένετο*. Of course, the forms of the present may be aoristic in meaning, and so it may be conceived that *γηράσκω* might on occasion serve as an aorist, but that is not the natural and the regular use of the present of any verb, not to mention inchoatives like *γηράσκω*.

In spite of having accepted Curtius' theory of the tenses, Hultsch is not at heart satisfied with it. For on p. 6 he proceeds to define each of the narrative tenses, and when he comes to the imperfect and the aorist he proposes the following formula to distinguish between the two tenses: *Der Sprechende oder Schreibende bezeichnet durch das Imperfect die von ihm als dauernd, durch den Indicativ des Aorists die als dauerlos aufgefasste, der Zeitstufe der Vergangenheit zugetheilte Handlung.*³

¹ Cf. Schmalz, Müller's Handb. II², p. 404, who, however, uses the noun *Eintritt*, not the present participle.

² Cf. in this connection the strictures of the late Prof. Whitney in A. J. P. XIII 290 f.

³ The original words have been quoted and no attempt at a translation made, because the words *dauernd* and *dauerlos*, as has been stated, are ambiguous, and while *dauerlos* may be rendered with the same ambiguity by

Dauernd here becomes *dauernd aufgefasst*, and *eintretend* becomes *dauerlos aufgefasst*. The cause of the change is not far to seek. It plainly appears from H.'s own explanation of his formula¹ that in his mind the idea of length of time is prominently associated with the word *dauernd*, and that to him *eintretend* is virtually the same as *momentan*. This being his conception of the terms *dauernd* and *eintretend*, at least at this stage of his treatment, our author cannot but have felt that the original formula would not satisfactorily account for the aorist in such sentences as *ἐτη πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, ἐπέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας*,² nor for the use of the imperfect of verbs of momentary occurrences, and it was, no doubt, to meet this difficulty that he proposed the above-mentioned changes.

The new formula, however, is no better than the old. A few moments' reflection will show that it is at best a mere makeshift. In the first place, *dauerlos*, viewed in the light of Hultsch's explanation above referred to, hardly expresses the right conception of the aorist. When, for example, Polybios says *ἐπέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας* or *ἐτη πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον*, as above quoted, it would seem preposterous, in view of the definite expression of time, to say that he conceived the action as having no duration. The idea of a certain length of time may not have entered into the conception of the *ἐπέμεινε* or may have entered only as a secondary consideration, but that is entirely different from saying that the idea of the absence of length of time, or, in other words, the idea of instantaneity formed the determining element of Polybios' choice.³

without duration, no ambiguous expression can be found to correspond to *dauernd*. 'Having duration' will not do, as *dauernd* can hardly be said to be the exact counterpart of *dauerlos*.

¹ P. 7: "Also nicht die längere oder kürzere Dauer der Handlung an sich, sondern die subjective Auffassung des Erzählers entscheidet für die Wahl des Imperfects oder Aorists," and a little further on: "Solche Verba und Redeweisen welche den Begriff einer dauernden Handlung schon in sich tragen, werden zumeist im Imperfect sich vorfinden; andere, die an sich ein plötzliches Eintreten oder ein kürzestes Geschehen bezeichnen, werden in den meisten Fällen in der Form des Aorists erscheinen."

² Cited by Hultsch, p. 10.

³ Hultsch later on did actually make the mistake of supposing that *dauerlos aufgefasst* was only a negative definition. In a reference to this formula he says: "Wenn wir vor kurzem sagten, dass durch den Aorist eine Handlung als *dauerlos* aufgefasst werde, so haben wir diese Zeitform . . . doch schon insofern bestimmt, als wir von ihrem Bereiche das weite Gebiet des Imperfects und der übrigen Formen der Dauer ausschlossen. Allein an Stelle der Verneinung 'dauerlos' sind nun weiter positive Merkmale zu setzen."

However this may be, the formula is liable to yet another and graver objection. It is too indefinite. The use of the aorist and of the imperfect is made to depend upon the point of view of the speaker or writer, but no statement is made as to whether there is more than one legitimate point of view in every case in which an imperfect or an aorist is used by a Greek writer, or whether the possibility of a difference of conception is limited, and, if so, to what extent and how? Indeed, the formula thus unmodified would lead the unwary to suppose that according to Hultsch the use of the aorist and of the imperfect was purely subjective. As a matter of fact our author does give this explanation of the formula when he says immediately following: "Also nicht die längere oder kürzere Dauer der Handlung an sich, sondern die *subjective Auffassung* des Erzählers entscheidet für die Wahl des Imperfects oder Aorists." But this statement once made, Hultsch awakes to the untenability of his position, and in the modification he proposes we are brought face to face with a new stage in the author's presentation of the theory of the imperfect and the aorist.

This new stage is introduced by the words: "Doch soll damit nicht gesagt sein, dass nicht auch objective Unterscheidungsgründe in Betracht kämen, und besonders der Stil eines Geschichtschreibers wird an gewisse, häufig wiederkehrende Auffassungsweisen sich binden, welche dem Leser als feste, objectiv gültige Regeln erscheinen." Then follows the statement that such verbs or expressions as by their meaning suggest the notion of duration will generally be found in the imperfect, while others that designate the idea of a sudden occurrence or express an action characterized by great rapidity will generally be found in the aorist. Lastly, we are informed that the consideration of the peculiar circumstances, conditions, customs, manners and institutions of individuals and states exercises a constant influence upon the author in his choice of the tenses, and that the reader thus gains the impression that certain tenses are adapted to certain modes of expression and methods of representation. Though a lack of definiteness, similar to that which characterized some of Hultsch's earlier statements, is noticeable here also, yet we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that, whatever other influences, real or imaginary, Hultsch may refer to in the above presentation of his views, he is of the opinion that the absolute length of the action forms the supreme determining factor in the

choice of the imperfect and the aorist, and that the exceptions to the rule are to be accounted for by differences of point of view on the part of the narrator. The truth of this conclusion is further borne out by Hultsch's classification and description of the various uses of the imperfect. He says in substance as follows: "There are three fundamental significations of the imperfect: duration (Dauer), evolution (Entwicklung) and description (Schilderung). The imperfect of *duration* and *repetition* is determined solely by objective considerations. There is no conflict between the point of view of the narrator and that of the reader. Even the beginner may be expected to use such an imperfect correctly. A certain amount of the subjective element enters when the imperfect of a past protracted or repeated action is converted into the imperfect of *evolution*. Even actions that of themselves do not express duration may be viewed as only beginning and continuing for a certain length of time, but not reaching their final consummation, and in such cases the imperfect expresses preparation, occupation, endeavor. The imperfect of description is purely subjective, and is often used when least expected by the reader. 'Or,' says Hultsch, 'were not the Athenians obliged to resort to speedy and hasty measures when news was received of Philip's entrance through Thermopylae? And yet Demosthenes de cor. 169 uses the imperfect in reporting: τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηπῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο, etc.'"

It will be noticed that Hultsch fails to give a definition of the various categories of the imperfect. On the contrary, he tells us that it is impossible in every case to make a rigid distinction between the three uses. But in stating the reason he launches a fourth theory of the imperfect. "Natürlich," says he, "denn alle Kategorien sind eng verwandt und gehen von der gemeinsamen Anschauung aus, dass eine Handlung der Vergangenheit nicht an und für sich, sondern in zeitlicher Beziehung auf andere, seien es nun ausdrücklich erwähnte oder stillschweigend gedachte Handlungen in Betracht kommt, dass sie neben anderen Handlungen einhergeht, dass sie eingreift in andere Kreise der Thätigkeit, kurz dass sie alles andere als in sich abgeschlossen ist." As it is quite as true of the aorist that it may be viewed with reference to its temporal relations to other actions, that it may be parallel with other actions, that it may enter into other spheres of activity, and that hence it is not, to that extent at least, "*in sich abge-*

geschlossen," it seems rather unsafe to make such considerations the common starting-point of the various uses of the imperfect, the more so as there is a general consensus of opinion to the effect that neither the imperfect nor the aorist as such expresses relative time.

Hultsch next gives a general outline of the various uses of the aorist. As the expression "dauerlos aufgefasst" of his second formula appeared to him to present only the negative side of the aorist (see above, p. 145, note 3), we are now invited by him to view the characteristics of the positive side (*positive Merkmale*). He states, in the first place, that the more he examined his large collection of passages from Polybios with reference to the aorist, the more he was impressed with the fact that the action expressed by the aorist was conceived as "*in sich zusammengedrängt* und deshalb im Sinne des Sprechenden *abgeschlossen*." As for the term *in sich zusammengedrängt*, the precise relation it holds to the term *abgeschlossen* is not apparent. It does not appear whether the concentration of the action is carried on to the extent of its becoming a point and finality is reached in that way, or whether by *eine in sich zusammengedrückte Handlung* is meant only an action that is viewed in its entirety, and as entirety involves completion, so the term *in sich zusammengedrängt* involves the term *abgeschlossen*, or whether the transition takes place in some other way. So much, however, is certain, that the notion of finality is regarded as proceeding from the notion of concentration, and in view of this fact it seems a little surprising that in Hultsch's further discussion of the aorist the *in sich zusammengedrängt* plays such a minor rôle, while the *abgeschlossen*, at least in so far as it is contained in the expression *abschliessender Bericht*, figures so prominently as to be everywhere made the final test. With regard to the term *abgeschlossen*, Hultsch observes that he has followed E. Koch, Griech. Schulgrammatik, §96, in returning to a designation which, while closely corresponding to the *συντελικός* used by the Alexandrine grammarians to distinguish the forms of the aorist from the durative forms, is at the same time free from the objectionable features attaching to the use of the Greek expression. "Denn wie," says he, "sollte das dem Aoriste beigelegte *συντελικός* von der *συντέλεια* die dem Perfect zugeschrieben wurde (Anecdota, p. 889) und die jenem Tempus den Namen *ἐνεστώδης συντελικός* gab (Anecd., p. 891) unterschieden werden? Hierüber giebt auch

F. Blass, der in seinen Demosthenischen Studien (a. a. O. S. 429 vgl. mit S. 407 ff.) den Aorist als Tempus der *Vollendung* deutet keine Auskunft." But why should Blass stop to explain a thing which every Greek grammarian ought to understand. According to the combined statements of Dionysius Thrax and Apollonius Dyscolus, whether those statements be correct or not, there are three tenses of the past that express completion (*συντίλεια, συντελείωσις*), the aorist, the perfect and the pluperfect. The *συντίλεια* in each case is the same. The aorist expresses the past completion without further modification (*ἀόριστος*). The perfect qualifies the past completion by stating it as a present fact (*συντίλεια ἐνεστώσα*), and the pluperfect is merely the perfect thrown into the past (*ὑπερσυντελικός*). As for the relative merits of the terms *abgeschlossen* and *vollendet*, the former undeniably possesses for the German the advantage of enabling him to speak of an "abschliessender" aorist; but apart from this, it is just a trifle hard to see how the term *vollendet* involves difficulties that are not also inherent in the term *abgeschlossen*. It seems to be merely a case of the substitution of one synonym for another,¹ unless indeed the idea of completion is to be excluded from the meaning of the word *abgeschlossen*, and *Abschluss* is to be nothing more than *cessation*. Such a definition, however, besides doing violence to the German language, would convey a radically wrong conception of the use of the aorist.

Continuing his discussion of the use of the aorist, Hultsch states that he has found no occasion upon the basis of Polybian usage to institute a separate category to be designated as the *momentary aorist*. On the contrary, says he, there is nothing to prevent the historian from using the imperfect of description in the case of an action of ever so short a duration. Not the instantaneity of the action, but the conception, on the part of the narrator, that the action is concluded (*abgeschlossen*) is responsible for the use of the aorist. After thus virtually condemning a theory which, though long since exploded,² still finds a lodging-place in certain reputable text-books, it is to be regretted that

¹ As a proof of this fact, if proof be needed, cf. Krüger, *Gr. Sprachl.*, §53, 3 and 4, who uses the term *Abgeschlossenheit* side by side with *vollendet* to define both the perfect and the pluperfect (not the aorist), and Gerth, *Gr. Schulgr.*², §§271 b, 275, and 275, 4, who uses *Vollendung* (*vollendet*) and *Abschluss* (*abgeschlossen*) as synonymous terms with reference to the perfect.

² See Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* IV 160. Even Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* V, p. 280, intimates that the term *momentan* is unsatisfactory.

Hultsch should in so far have deferred to the erroneous opinions of illustrious scholars as to admit that, for the purposes of elementary grammar, there might be some advantage in speaking of a momentary aorist, on the supposition that the beginner would thus be easily led to associate the notion of brief, summary and final report with the fact of a sudden or momentary occurrence.

Passing on to the consideration of the so-called *ingressive* aorist, our author has the following to say. When the speaker conceives an action as concentrated and makes a final report about it, he will be apt in certain cases to picture to himself the action at the moment of its entrance into existence. The reader thus gains the impression that the aorist designates ingress (*Eintreten*), and in so far it is perfectly legitimate to speak of an ingressive aorist, which, when translated into other languages, often requires the use of expressions that differ distinctly from the renderings adopted for the durative forms of the same verb. But Hultsch cannot agree with Koch, 13th ed., in differentiating between the ingress of a *state* and the ingress of an *action*, and in instituting, upon the basis of this distinction, an ingressive imperfect by the side of an ingressive aorist. He makes the point against Koch that *καρίσχω* and *ἔσχω*, which are at times confessedly ingressive, designate *actions* and not *states*. Contrary to Koch, he believes that the aorist is the proper tense for ingress of action as well as of state, and he points out the fact that there is a sharp and unmistakable difference between the ingressive aorist and the so-called imperfect of evolution, which difference he formulates thus: "Die früher einmal eingetretene Handlung gilt, wenn durch den Aorist ausgedrückt, zugleich als abgeschlossen; die sich entwickelnde Handlung geht weiter fort und greift in andere Handlungen ein." Though Koch is by no means to be complimented on his use of the term *Eintritt* in connection with the imperfect, and though the value of his distinction between the *Eintritt* of a *Handlung* and that of a *Zustand* would depend upon the definitions of the words *Eintritt*, *Handlung* and *Zustand*, nevertheless he deserves credit for having called a halt to the wholesale manufacture of ingressive aorists, and it is but due to him to quote here the statement made by him with reference to this subject, in *Jahrb.* 146 (1892), p. 440: "Unter den 881 aorist-indicativ-formen habe ich *keine* gefunden, der ich die bedeutung des *eintritts der handlung* zusprechen könnte; trotz der aller-neuesten grammatik (Vollbrecht, §226 a) bleibt Xenophon dabei,

nicht den aorist ἔφυγον, sondern das imperfect ἔφευγον im sinne unsers deutschen 'sie wandten sich zur flucht' zu gebrauchen (III 4, 4; III 5, 1; dagegen ἔφυγον πρὸς ἐκείνους sie sind geflohen), wohl aber finden sich einige aoriste welche den eintritt eines *gemütszustandes* (ἡγάσθη I 1, 9, ἡράσθη IV 6, 3) und somit den abschluss eines werdens bezeichnen." Hultsch, on the other hand, seems to have thrown the doors wide open to the influx of all manner of ingressive aorists, for the limitations he would place on the use of the ingressive aorist are not put in a tangible shape.

The author of 'Die erzählenden Zeitformen' closes his introductory chapter with a few remarks on the differences between the aorist and the perfect. He states that there is no possibility of confusion between these two tenses either in theory or in practice. From the point of view of the 'kind of time' the perfect expresses completion; from the point of view of the 'sphere of time' it belongs to the present. It therefore enters into close proximity with the present indicative, but not with the aorist indicative, which has nothing to do with the sphere of the present. Thus far Hultsch.¹ The writer heartily concurs with that portion of the above statement which maintains that there is no possibility of confusion between the aorist and the perfect in *theory*. Indeed, from the days of Krüger to the present day there has never been any possibility of confounding any one of the tenses with any other in point of *theory*. But how about the *practice*? Not only does the aorist at times get dangerously close to the perfect, as, for instance, in the well-known passage from Aeschines (I, 99), cited by Hultsch himself: τῶν θεραπαينῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδένα κατέλειπεν ἀλλ' ἅπαντα πέπρακε, but it also serves as a substitute for the perfect (cf. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. IV 429); and more than this, even the perfect approaches the aorist when the perfect is dated. But it is high time to pass from these purely theoretical discussions to the consideration of the most important facts of Polybian usage. For the sake of brevity and clearness, the substance of Hultsch's statements will be presented at the top of the page, and such occasional remarks as the writer may feel called upon to make will be placed in notes at the bottom of the page.

Chaps. II-IV. The three great uses of the Imperfect.—Chap. II. The imperfect of *duration* (*Dauer*) is common in Polybios, though there is no mistaking the fact that wherever practicable

¹ For a fuller discussion of Polybios' usage see p. 180 f.

the action is viewed as preparatory or developing, and so there are many more examples of the imperfect of evolution (*Entwicklung*) than of the imperfect of duration, and even some of the instances of the latter might very well be classed under the former. The notion of duration undoubtedly prevails in such passages as *ἐπολέμουν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας* Polyb. 1, 6, 3. Cf. 1, 6, 4. 7. 7, 10. 20, 5. etc. Also in imperfects like *εὐδοκίμει* 1, 52, 1; *διηπίστουν* 4, 71, 6 and others. Next are to be noted the durative forms *οὐδείς ἐτόλμα* 3, 6, 10. 14, 9, and *ἐπειρᾶτο* 3, 14, 10, *ἐπειρᾶτο* elsewhere being an imperfect of evolution. The notion of duration is especially prominent when the imperfect occurs side by side with the pluperfect, as e. g. in *Πόπλιος παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠδόξε καὶ διεβέβλητο* 1, 52, 2. Cf. 2, 18, 1. 10, 15, 3. 27, 12.

Quite in conformity with the real nature of the imperfect, it designates the duration of minor actions that parallel a principal action. This use of the imperfect of duration is especially conspicuous in clauses introduced by *γάρ*. Cf. 4, 67, 1-3. 86, 8-87, 2 and 87, 5. Here belongs also the use of the imperfect in explanatory relative clauses and the use of the imperfect in temporal clauses, though this latter construction is rather less common. Examples of the imperfect in temporal clauses are 29, 19, 7 f. 22, 5, 10. 5, 68, 1. 3, 116, 10.

Not uncommon is the use of the Greek imperfect in explanatory dependent sentences where the English would use the progressive form of the past perfect, but if the completion is specially to be emphasized, the pluperfect is used in such clauses also.

The imperfect of duration is used of actions that are viewed with special reference to other contemporaneous actions, or, in other words, where there is a *synchronism*. It is the rule with verbs signifying *to expect, await, endure* (*προσεκαρτέρει, ἐτήρει, ἐπετήρει, προσεδόκων, ἐκαρδόκει, ἀπεκαρδόκει, ἐξ-, ἀν-, προσ-, προσανεδέχετο*), and it is especially frequent with *μένω* and its compounds, though here the aorist is not infrequently used where the imperfect might be expected.¹

Closely connected with the idea of a past *duration* is the idea of a past *repetition*. The repetition is often specially indicated by the use of adverbs. The imperfect is the rule, though in exceptional cases a repeated action may be viewed as consummated (*abgeschlossen*), and then the aorist will be used. Cf. 1,

¹ See below, p. 175 f.

2, 2 ὁσάκις ἐτόλμησαν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ὄρους, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἐκινδύνευσαν.

The imperfect of duration also embraces many imperfects of such verbs as ἄγειν, ἔχειν and ἰστάναι, which will receive separate treatment hereafter,¹ and lastly it is to be noted that many an imperfect of *evolution* may also be viewed as an imperfect of *duration*.

Chap. III. The imperfect is often used by Polybios to express the *evolution* of an action, or to *describe* an event. For in the words of Polybios (5, 21, 6), βουλόμεθα πάντες οὐχ οὕτως τὸ γεγονός ὡς τὸ πῶς ἐγένετο γινώσκειν. The mere occurrence of an action is expressed by the aorist, but the *how* of the action, the circumstances under which it takes place, the peculiar way in which it was executed, are expressed by the imperfect.

The action that is in the process of evolution may sometimes be expressly designated as in its first stages. So in ἤρχετο τῆς πολιορκίας 10, 31, 7² and in five other similar passages, or when τὰς μὲν ἀρχάς, κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀρχάς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον and similar expressions are used to introduce the clause containing the imperfect.

The principal events of a war are narrated in the aorist, but the imperfect is the tense used to indicate the temper and the circumstances under which the opposing parties enter the war.—μέλλω in the sense of 'to be on the point of, be minded' is used only in the durative forms, no matter what the tense of the dependent infinitive, and Hultsch expressly states that he does not remember coming across a single aorist of μέλλειν in the above signification.³

¹ Cf. chaps. X, XII, XV, XVI and XXIV.

² It might be well to note that the action that is represented as being in its first stages is contained in the genitive in five of the six instances cited by Hultsch, and in the infinitive in the remaining instance. The mere fact that ἀρχεσθαι means *begin* does not account for the tense of ἤρχετο. In Polybios, e. g., we read τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἤρξαντο προκοπῆς 1, 12, 7; ἐγχειρεῖν ἤρξαντο 2, 71, 7; ἤρξαντο συμφρονεῖν 4, 1, 6; ἤρξατο λοιδορεῖν 5, 49, 3; ἤρξατο προσάγειν 5, 99, 10, and so the aorist in ten other passages, cited by H. IV, p. 451. In Thucydides there are only two imperfects of ἀρχεσθαι as compared with sixteen aorists indicative. In Demosthenes only one imperfect indicative is used over against seven aorists indicative. Further to be noted in this connection is the fact that the regular tense of the infinitive dependent upon ἀρχεσθαι is the present. About the only exception to this rule in classic Greek, at least so far as can be ascertained with the help of the indexes, seems to be the formula ἤρξατο γενέσθαι. But see Marchant's note on Thuc. 2, 47, 3.

³ In Thucydides a similar state of affairs prevails. In addition to more than a hundred other durative forms of μέλλω, there are 68 imperfects, and by far

Not only the general preparations for war, but also special preparations, such as the levying and recruiting of soldiers, leading them to the scene of war, the preparations for a fight, the entrance into battle, the progress of the fight, are expressed by the imperfect wherever (as is the rule) the action is to be portrayed in its evolution or is to be described. Especially to be noted in this connection are the imperfects of *καταγράφειν* and *ἀθροίζειν*. Like the imperfect of duration, the imperfect of evolution is also found in relative and temporal clauses.

Chap. IV. The imperfect of *description* (*Schilderung*) has been explained above.¹ As model examples from Polybios may be cited *ἐξεπῆδαν* and *διεφθείροντο* 14, 4, 7-10; *ἀπεχώρουν* 3, 67, 2 f.; *ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν* and *ἀπεχώρουν* 4, 69, 1-7. Noteworthy are the imperfects of *διαφθείρειν*, *ἀπόλλυμι*, *ἀποθνήσκω* and the like. Specially interesting is the imperfect *διεφθείροντο* of 3, 84, 8 as compared with the aorist *διεφθάρσαν* of §10. The aorist in this case briefly states the final issue; the imperfect expresses precisely the same fact, but there is connected with it the subjective coloring to which the name of *description* (*Schilderung*) has here been applied.

The imperfect is the favorite tense in the description of battles, sieges and other similar military operations. Cf. 1, 23, 3-10; 1, 50, 8-51, 12; 2, 29, 5-31, 2; 3, 72-74; 4, 71, 8-11; 9, 3, 1-4; 10, 12-15. The *τέλος ἐγκλίναντες ἔφυγον* at the close of the description of the naval battle off Mylae 1, 23, 3-10 and the *τέλος τραπέντες ἔφευγον* in the narrative of the capture of Psophis 4, 71, 8-11 furnish the means for a very instructive comparison. In the former case the aorist *ἔφυγον* represents the decisive event, in the latter the imperfect *ἔφευγον*² forms one of the elements of description, and the decisive event is narrated with the help of the aorists *ἐπέβησαν* and *ἠνάγκασαν*.

the largest portion of these forms is used in the sense indicated above. Of aorists there are only seven. One of these aorists is used in the sense of *tarry* and is a participle; two aorist participles and three aorists indicative are used as substitutes for the pluperfect, and one is used parallel with an aorist in the sentence *ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε* Thuc. 3, 55, 2. A closer search might possibly reveal an instance or two of the aorist even in Polybios.

¹ Cf. p. 147 of this paper.

² The case of *ἔφευγον* is hardly fairly stated. *ἔφευγον* means, as a rule, 'they took to their heels, started to run,' without stating whether their efforts were successful, this being implied by the aorist. So in this case the *ἔφευγον* merely tells us that those in the city *started* for the acropolis (*οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*

Chaps. V-XXVII. As indicated above, p. 140, chapters V-XXVII treat of the imperfect and the aorist of certain classes of verbs, chaps. XV-XXVII being reserved for such verbs as are specially important from the point of view of textual criticism. Everywhere Polybios' fondness for the imperfect of evolution and the imperfect of description is plainly seen. The use of the aorist is treated along with that of the imperfect. The discussion leads off with chap. V. *Verbs of Endeavor* (exclusive of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι). The so-called imperfect of endeavor (conatus) is closely related to the use of the imperfects ἡρχόμεν,¹ ἔμελλον and the like, discussed above in chap. III. δίδοναι and πείθειν, as elsewhere, so in Polybios, furnish striking examples of this use. But as a general rule, when the mere attempt of an action is to be recorded, Polybios uses an express verb of endeavor, usually πειρᾶσθαι, with the infinitive. In narrative, the tense most frequently used is the imperfect,² and the dependent infinitive is likewise durative. Hultsch cites 30 examples of this durative combination, but has noted but a single example (11, 17, 4) to show the exceptional use of the aorist infinitive with the durative forms of πειρᾶσθαι. Only four examples of the aorist of πειρᾶσθαι have been noted, and in each case the dependent infinitive is likewise in the aorist. An example each of the aorist and of the imperfect of the active πειρᾶν without the infinitive are recorded. Of ἀποπειρᾶσθαι with the genitive and καταπειράζειν with the genitive or without an object, the durative forms seem to be the rule, and none other are cited. ἐγχειρεῖν and ἐπιχειρεῖν in Polybios take either the dative (one example of πρὸς with the acc. is cited) or the infinitive. Ten examples of the imperfect of these verbs and about 20 instances of the aorist are noted.³ As to the tense of the dependent infinitive, there is no rule as there is in the case of πειρᾶσθαι (see above) and of συμβαίνειν and συγκυρεῖν (see below, chap. XIX).

τραπέντες ἔφειγον πάντες πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν), and they are left in their flight until in §13 information is given of their safe arrival (οἱ μὲν οὖν Ψωφίδιοι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν ἀκρην, αἷα δὲ τοῦτοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν διασπυζομένων). ἔφειγον then, in the above passage, can hardly be counted as a purely subjective imperfect of description, and the same, by the way, may also be said of more than one of the imperfects above cited by Hultsch as model instances of such a use.

¹ But see our note on ἡρχετο, p. 153.

² Thuc. also prefers the imperfect of πειρᾶσθαι, no aorist indicative occurring.

³ Both imperfect and aorist indicative of ἐπιχειρεῖν are used in Thucydides also, but the aorist indicative is more common than the imperfect.

The imperfects of ἐγχειρεῖν and ἐπιχειρεῖν are found not only with the present infinitive, but also with the aorist, whilst ἐνεχείρησα is used but once with the aorist infinitive, the present being elsewhere used. Similar variations in the tense of the dependent infinitive are found also in the case of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι and of verbs signifying to 'make haste.' All these variations are not the result of chance, but are designed by the author.

Chap. VI. Expressions of *Doubt and Perplexity*.—The predominant use of the imperfect in the case of numerous verbs and expressions of doubt and perplexity is the natural consequence of the meaning of such expressions. Besides ἀπορεῖν and its compounds may be mentioned παρέχειν τινὶ ἀπορίαν, δυσχρηστίαν, δυσχέριαν; ἀπορίας, δυσχρηστίας πλήρη εἶναι; ἀπόρως, δυσχρήστως ἔχειν, διακεῖσθαι; δυσχρηστίαν εἶναι, γίνεσθαι; δυσχρηστεῖσθαι (cf. also chap. XXIV below). With ἀπόρως and δυσχρήστως ἔχειν are connected the expressions δυσχερῶς ἔχειν, δυσχερῶς βαρέως φέρειν, δυσχεραίνειν and others, and these in turn are found accompanied by a verb like σχετλιάζειν. With all the above expressions the imperfect is the rule. The aorist, when used, is *ingressive* (cf. ἐδυσχρήστησαν 21, 4, 14), or else it is used simply to express the final conclusion of a past action (die abgeschlossene Handlung der Vergangenheit), as in 4, 34, 1, and may then even be accompanied by adverbs that express a certain amount of duration, as in 1, 10, 3 Ῥωμαῖοι πολὺν χρόνον ἠπόρησαν.

Chap. VII. Verbs of *haste*.—In accordance with general usage, σπεύδειν and διασπεύδειν, whether construed with the genitive or with the infinitive, are not infrequently found in the aorist. So also καταταχεῖν. The attendant infinitive or participle in all these cases is likewise in the aorist. But Polybios' desire for descriptive effect has caused him to use also the imperfect of σπεύδειν, perhaps more frequently than the aorist, and the imperfects of ἐπείγεσθαι and σπουδάζειν are used to the almost entire exclusion of the aorist, no aorist of ἐπείγεσθαι and only one of σπουδάζειν having been noted.¹ The tense of the verbs depending on the imperfect and present participle of σπεύδειν and σπουδάζειν varies. In the

¹ To guard against the possibility of supposing that Polybios' usage with reference to the verbs above cited is isolated, it will be well to note that in Thucydides σπεύδειν, though not very common, is only durative. The aorist occurs in other authors, but the durative forms seem, upon the whole, to prevail. There is no aorist indicative of ἐπείγεσθαι in Thuc., but there are a number of imperfects. σπουδάζειν is not used by Thucydides.

examples recorded, the aorist preponderates. The periphrasis σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι for σπουδάζειν is rather common, and is found only in the imperfect.

Chap. VIII. Aorist and Imperfect of verbs accompanied by *expressions of speed*.—When the participle σπεύδων is used with verbs of *military movement*, these verbs are used in the imperfect. Such is the case also when ideas like *quickly, rapidly, forthwith* are expressed by means of participial or adverbial expressions, or by the adjective ταχύς. Moreover, there is quite a string of adverbs meaning *forthwith, at once, in haste, quickly* that are connected with the imperfect no less frequently than with the aorist. The list is as follows: ἐξ αὐτῆς, εὐθέως, εὐθύς, παραντίκα, παραχρῆμα, ἐκ ποδός, κατὰ πόδας, παρὰ πόδας, σπουδῇ, κατὰ σπουδὴν, μετὰ σπουδῆς, ταχέως, ταχύ, κατὰ τάχος, τὴν ταχίστην, and one or two others. There are four points of view that may determine the choice of the tenses—two for the aorist and two for the imperfect. On the one hand, any sudden, immediate action may convey to the narrator the notion of ‘entrance into reality’ (Eintritt in die Wirklichkeit) or that of a sudden, abrupt conclusion (kurz abgeschlossen), and this will call for the aorist. On the other hand, the startling character of a sudden, unexpected action may have the tendency to attract general attention, or that which is done rapidly and hastily may suggest the idea of something imperfect, something in the state of evolution, and so we should expect the imperfect—in the one case that of description, in the other that of evolution. The above-mentioned adverbs are so frequently used with verbs of *sending* that an exhibit of this use is here given independently of the later special treatment of verbs of sending: Out of 57 instances noted, the aorist occurs 24 times, the imperfect 33 times; the use of the imperfect with εὐθέως, εὐθύς, παραντίκα is more than three times as common as that of the aorist; with παραχρῆμα, however, there is a decided preponderance of the aorist; in the case of other adverbs of this class, the imperfect and the aorist are found with about the same degree of frequency. The great frequency of the imperfect of ἀγειν and compounds with adverbs meaning ‘forthwith’ is also to be noted. Following is a summary of all the instances recorded of the use of the imperfect and aorist indicative with the above class of adverbs. The first of the two figures accompanying each adverb or adverbial phrase designates the number of the imperfections, the second the number

of the aorists. ἐξ αὐτῆς 8, 16; εὐθείως 87, 38+¹; εὐθύς 5, 3; παραν-
τίκα 24, 24; παραχρῆμα 10, 28; ἐκ ποδός 2, 1; κατὰ πόδας 1, —; παρὰ
πόδας 2, 9; σπουδῇ 4, 2; κατὰ σπουδὴν 13, 13; μετὰ σπουδῆς 13, 4;
ταχέως 9, 37; ταχύ 1, 5.

Chaps. IX–XII. Verbs of GOING AND COMING, including *Military Movements* by land and by sea.—Chap. IX. Verbs of *Going* and *Coming*.—Compounds of βαίνω, as a rule, are probably more frequently durative than aoristic, but ἀποβαίνειν in the sense of *expire, come to an end, turn out to be* shows a decided preponderance of the aorist. Compounds of ἵεναι furnish frequent examples of the imperfect of evolution, but the corresponding aoristic forms of ἦλθον, especially of the compounds of ἦλθον, are exceedingly common, and are everywhere used in accordance with the general rules. πορεύεσθαι and compounds are more frequently found as duratives than as aorists, and the imperfect is the predominating narrative tense. To express '*arrival*,' Polybios occasionally uses ἀφικνεῖσθαι. As a rule, however, παραγίνεσθαι is preferred, and of this the imperfect in common use in Polybios is παρῆν, παρεγινόμεν being of less frequent occurrence. The aorist παρεγενόμην, παρεγενήθην is common enough, but the imperfect of evolution or description is very frequently used, and often used when, according to general usage, the aorist might have been expected. The imperfect of ἤκω is used not only as a pluperfect, but also as an imperfect or an aorist. It is sometimes hard to decide between the imperfect and the aoristic use, but the question is one that is of importance only to us moderns, who have been taught by rules of syntax to differentiate between the two uses; to the ancient writer the characteristic notions of the imperfect and the aorist were in the case of this verb blended in one form. ἀπαλλάττεσθαι in the sense of '*to depart*' occurs a number of times in the imperfect, especially with adverbs denoting "*forthwith, speedily*."

Chap. X. ἄγειν and COMPOUNDS *expressing military movements*.—As all movements of troops, from the very nature of the case, are mere preparations for subsequent events, and inasmuch as these movements are directed in accordance with a definite plan mapped out by the general, it is quite natural that they should be

¹ Hultsch gives 38 references of the use of the aor. and adds "und anderwärts." 'Anderwärts' presumably stands for *in a few other cases*, and the impf. is the more common tense. But how is one to know with certainty from what H. says?



reported in the imperfect. But in Polybios 21, 43, 9 ἐπέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἀναξεύξας προῆγε, the sudden change from aorist to imperfect would be extremely hard to understand,¹ if it could not be otherwise proved that of ἄγειν, προάγειν, πορεύειν ποιέσθαι and similar expressions of 'marching,' the imperfect is used in Polybios almost to the exclusion of the aorist indicative. The choice of these durative forms depends upon the individual point of view of the author, but in consideration of the similar usage of more ancient prose-writers and the large number of such imperfects in Polybios, we must formulate what in the first place may be looked upon as an exception to the general rule, but owing to the frequency of its application, must itself be regarded as a rule.² We proceed to give the main details of the exemplification of the rule. ἄγειν and several of its compounds, either alone or with an object like στρατόν, πορείαν, etc., are used in the sense of 'marching,' and the tense used is regularly the imperfect. In the case of the simple verb used in this sense, the rule is without exception. Of the compounds, προάγειν (which, by the way, is the most frequently used of the verbs of marching) heads the list in importance. It is used more than 100 times in the imperfect, but only once (5, 62, 1) in the aorist indicative.³ The aorist participle of προάγειν occurs 4, 19, 4 and possibly 31, 26, 5. ἀντιπαράγειν, ἐξάγειν, ἀντεξάγειν, ἐπάγειν and ἐπανάγειν, with or without an object, are used of movements of troops and are found only in the imperfect, 36 instances in all being recorded. The other compounds of ἄγειν that are more or less frequently used to express military movements are προσάγειν, συνάγειν, ἀπάγειν, διάγειν, εἰσάγειν, μετάγειν and παράγειν. No decided preference in the choice of tenses is discernible except in the case of συνάγειν, of the imperfect of which eleven instances are recorded, but none of the aorist.

¹ Hultsch seems to have found a difficulty here where really none exists. προῆγε is as fine an example of the imperfect of evolution as one could expect. The consummation is expressed by ἀφικόμενος δὲ τριταῖος εἰς κτέ.

² The fact that Hultsch acknowledges conformity of usage on the part of earlier writers ought to have kept him from applying the 'subjective' theory in this connection. It would seem rather strange that a number of earlier writers, as, for instance, Thucydides (cf. v. Essen, *Ind. Thuc.*, sub ἄγω) and Xenophon (Koch, *Jahrb.* 146 (1892), p. 424, sub ἄγω), should all make the same 'subjective decision' (subjective Entscheidung) about the same thing, without occupying a common objective point of view.

³ Even here one of the MSS reads the imperfect, but Hultsch thinks that in the absence of further knowledge we are not warranted in rejecting the aorist.

Chap. XI. *Other military movements by land.*—In point of frequency, the imperfect of πορείαν ποιείσθαι connects itself with the imperfect of προάγειν. There are about 32 instances of the imperfect to one of the aorist indicative. Of sundry other verbs such as κινεῖν, ἡγείσθαι, ἔπεισθαι, ἀπαντᾶν, ἀκολουθεῖν, διανύειν, imperfects but no aorists indicative are recorded by Hultsch. ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀποχωρεῖν and ὑποχωρεῖν are found both as imperfects of description and as aorists of consummation. The aorist of ὁρμᾶν, ἀφορμᾶν, ἐξορμᾶν is very common and is the rule, only a few instances of the imperfect of evolution being noted. ἀπαίρειν and καταίρειν, of movements by land and by sea, seem to have been used in the aorist exclusively. The question as to whether ἀπῆρε and κατῆρε may not have been originally intended for the forms ἀπῆρε and κατῆρε must be answered in the negative, and even in 5, 2, 11, where there is some MS warrant for an imperfect κατῆρε, the aorist must be retained. ἀναστρατοπεδεύειν, ἀναξενγύναι, καταστρατοπεδεύειν, καταξενγύναι show an overwhelming preponderance of aoristic forms. Of στρατοπεδεύειν an exhaustive exhibit is given. There are 32 durative forms as compared with 26 aoristic forms, but of these only 4 are imperfects, while 9 are aorists indicative. The compounds ἀντιστρατοπεδεύειν, ἐπιστρατοπεδεύειν, παραστρατοπεδεύειν, περιστρατοπεδεύειν, προσστρατοπεδεύειν are not uncommon in Polybios, and in the use of the tenses follow the rules of the simple verb. ἀναλύειν 'to march back' follows ἀναχωρεῖν in the use of the tenses, and with the imperfect of ἀποχωρεῖν the form ἀπελύετο is to be compared. ἀνακομίζεσθαι 'to march back, sail back' is used only in the aorist—four times the indicative, once the participle.

Chap. XII. Verbs denoting *movements at sea.*—In the discussion of this class of verbs, πλεῖν and πλεῦσαι are the first to receive our attention. Both forms are likely to be frequently met with in an historian. But Polybios' usage is peculiar in this respect, that the simple verb πλεῖν and its periphrasis ποιείσθαι πλεῖν are generally used when the duration or the evolution of a voyage, or the preparation for a further undertaking, is to be expressed, whereas the aoristic¹ side is represented chiefly by the compounds, less frequently by the simple verb ἐπλευσα. The imperfect of πλεῖν

¹Hultsch's words are: "Um dagegen das Eintreten der Handlung zu bezeichnen verwendet der Schriftsteller lieber Composita, seltener das einfache ἐπλευσα. Dass der Aorist sowohl von πλεῖν als seinen Composita auch schlechthin für die abgeschlossene Handlung, abgesehen von ihrer längeren oder kürzeren Dauer, gebraucht werde, haben wir von vornherein zu erwarten."

is cited more than 20 times, the aorist only 4 times (including one aorist participle).¹ Like ποιῆσθαι τὴν πορείαν (chap. XI above), ποιῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦν is almost confined to the imperfect and to the present participle, only one example of the aorist, and that a participle, having been met with.

Of the compounds of πλεῖν,—ἀναπλεῖν, ἀποπλεῖν, διαπλεῖν and καταπλεῖν form a group that are in so far related as the aorist is the prevailing tense. More than 40 aorists indicative are cited over against 2 imperfects. ἐπιπλεῖν and παραπλεῖν, on the other hand, as was to be expected from the meaning of these verbs, show a marked preference for the imperfect. Of ἐκπλεῖν the aorist is not uncommon, though the imperfect also is found. As isolated examples of other compounds of πλεῖν may be cited the forms εἰσέπλευσεν, προκατέπλευσεν and ἐπανάπλει. The expressions ποιῆσθαι τὸν ἀνάπλου, ἀπόπλου, ἐπίπλου follow the analogy of ἀναπλεῖν, ἀποπλεῖν and ἐπιπλεῖν respectively. ἀνάγεσθαι, which is synonymous with ἀναπλεῖν, is found most frequently in the aorist, but there is quite a sprinkling of imperfects. The exclusive use of the aorist in the case of ἀπαίρειν and καταίρειν (cf. ἀποπλεῖν, καταπλεῖν) was noted above, chap. XI. διαίρειν (cf. διαπλεῖν) is represented by 8 aorists (1 ind., 6 ptes. and 1 inf.) and but 2 durative forms, both infinitives. ἀνακομίζεσθαι, διακομίζεσθαι and παρακομίζεσθαι are used in the aorist only, while καθορμίζεσθαι (cf. καταίρειν, καταπλεῖν) is overwhelmingly aoristic. The forms ἀφώρμησαν, προῆγε, ἐπεραιούτο and κατήχθη may be noted as isolated instances of other verbs denoting movements at sea. For κατέχειν and προσέχειν 'to enter port, to land,' see chap. XXIV below.

Chap. XIII. *Verbs of Saying, Ordering, Exhorting*.—With a solitary exception, presently to be mentioned, Polybios uses this group of verbs according to the rule he has followed elsewhere. ἴφη is used as an imperfect far more frequently than would be expected even on the basis of Attic usage,² but despite a long string of instances of this kind, there remain a large number of examples in which ἴφη is used aoristically without any perceptible difference from εἶπε or ἴφησε. It is likely that considerations of a more external nature may have guided Polybios in his choice of

¹ Right here is an instance in which the non-exhaustive treatment occasions some trouble. From the words of the preceding foot-note, we should expect to find more than three aorists indicative. Thucydides has 42 imperfects of πλεῖν and 19 aor. ind.—a very much larger proportion of aorists.

² Cf. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. IV, p. 161 and foot-note.

one or the other of the forms. Certain it is that ἔφησεν is often used to avoid an objectionable hiatus that would have been occasioned by the use of ἔφη.¹ εἶπον and its compounds are regularly used of an action concluded (abgeschlossen) in the past.² By way of illustration of the use of the imperfect of verbs of saying are cited 3 examples of the imperfect of λέγειν, 1 of λόγους ποιῆσθαι, 2 of ἀντιλέγειν, 1 of προσεπιλέγειν and 9 of διαλέγεσθαι, and to contrast with this array of imperfects, 3 aorists indicative of διαλέγομαι are recorded. Of λαλεῖν two imperfects are noted. As in the case of λέγω, so also in the case of διασαφεῖν, the imperfect is the favorite tense,³ and 9 examples of the imperfect are noted, with but 2 of the aorist, excluding 4 instances of the aorist in which the author refers to himself.

¹ Hultsch first called attention to this fact in *Philologus*, XIV, p. 302.

² But of the whole list of examples cited for the aor. ind., only four instances of the simple verb are used in the narrative portion of Polybios' work, the greater bulk being used in such formulae as καθάπερ ἀρτίως εἶπον, εἶπα, εἵπομεν in reference to statements previously made by the historian.

³ Here is another instance of the difficulties caused by the lack of exhaustiveness. The author cites only three examples of the imperfect of λέγειν and none of the aorist. Are we to take for granted that there are no more examples of the imperfect and that the aorist is altogether absent? But Hultsch says that the imperfect of λέγειν is the *favorite* tense. That would imply that the aorist was a less favored tense, and one or another example of its use might be expected. As a matter of fact, three examples of the aorist indicative of διαλέγομαι are recorded. But διαλέγομαι ought not, in the matter of tense-usage, to be classed with λέγω and its compounds, and this, by the way, is not the only instance in which incongruous matter has been lumped in one mass by the author of the treatise under discussion. Take away the διαλέγομαι and what is there left? A few examples of the imperfect of λέγειν and no aorist. But right here Hultsch, like Rutherford, *New Phryn.*, p. 326, and *First Greek Syntax*, p. 88 (see Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* XI 390), has overlooked the fact that εἶπον is the regular aorist of λέγω and in some authors the only aorist. Veitch, many years ago, pointed out the rareness of ἔλεξα in Plato and the Attic orators. Several years ago the writer of this note undertook (at the suggestion of Prof. Gildersleeve) to look into this matter somewhat more narrowly, and is therefore able to add that the aorist active of λέγω, rare as it is in any mood, is entirely wanting for the indicative in all the Attic orators except Antiphon and Andocides, and even for the future the ἐρῶ forms seem, upon the whole, to be much more common than the λέξω forms. Owing to the large amount of material and to lack of time, no complete statistics can here be given. For present purposes it will suffice to note that for the indicative Demosthenes has 24 λέξω's,* but 127 ἐρῶ's; no ἔλεξα, but 105 εἶπον's; Thucyd-

* λέξω, ἐρῶ, ἔλεξα and εἶπον are meant to include all the persons and numbers of the fut. and aor. ind. act. respectively.

In the case of verbs of *ordering*, the aorist is, as a rule, far more frequent than the imperfect, but the imperfect of ἐπιτάττειν and κελεύειν is not less common than the aorist, and in the case of παρακελεύεσθαι the imperfect vastly predominates. The difference between the aorist and imperfect of this class of verbs may be formulated as follows. For a short, peremptory command, the aorist is the suitable tense. From the point of view of the person issuing the command, the matter is settled. But whenever the notion of ordering contains the additional element of urging, admonishing, trying to influence the subordinate, the action of ordering appears undeveloped, and the imperfect is the fitting tense. This accounts for the fact that in genuine verbs of commanding, the aorist predominates, whereas in such verbs as ἀξιοῦν, παραινεῖν, παρακαλεῖν and προκαλεῖσθαι the imperfect is used by preference.¹ We append a synopsis of the relative frequency of the

ides has 1 λέξω, but 3 ἐρῶ's; 16 ἐλεξα's, but 59 εἶπον's. In Aristophanes also there are more ἐρῶ forms than λέξω forms, and εἶπον is decidedly more common than ἐλεξα. In the above statistics only the simple verbs have been noted. But to return to Polybios. Hultsch should have noted the use of εἶπον as an aorist, if not the aorist of λέγω, and then, not counting the fifty or more examples of εἶπον and compounds in which Polybios refers to himself, and not counting the ἀπειπεῖν on account of its possibly being the aorist of ἀπαγορεύω, there still remain six examples of the aorist indicative of εἶπον and compounds against the six examples of the imperfect of λέγειν and compounds. As for Thucydides, there are 42 imperfects of λέγω to contrast with 75 ἐλεξα and εἶπον forms, and in Demosthenes there are 66 imperfects of λέγω to the 105 εἶπον forms. This is enough to prove that if there is any preponderance of the one tense over the other, it is in favor of the aorist rather than of the imperfect. But this is only the average rule, and passages can readily be found in which the imperfect of λέγω far outweighs the aorist.

¹ This statement of the theoretical difference between the imperfect and aorist of verbs of commanding is, in the main, more satisfactory than that of Blass, Rh. Mus. 44 (1889), 410 ff., where we read as follows: "Es giebt eine Anzahl Verba, Handlungen bezeichnend, die ihr Ziel und ihre Vollendung in dem Thun eines Andern haben, und diese Verba können in weitem Umfange als imperfecta behandelt, d. h. statt in den Aorist ins Imperfektum gesetzt werden, sobald diese Unvollständigkeit und diese Beziehung zu dem ergänzenden Thun eines Andern hervorgehoben werden soll. Dahin gehören κελεύειν, ἀξιοῦν, παρακελεύεσθαι, ἐρωτᾶν, λέγειν, πέμπειν, ἀποστέλλειν u. s. w." Whilst there may be a good deal of truth in this statement, yet, worded as it is, it is liable to produce very erroneous impressions regarding the use of the tenses among the Greeks. Blass did not fail to notice this, and so, on p. 414, he gives more explicit directions with regard to κελεύειν, and to make matters doubly sure he says (p. 415) with reference specially to προστάττειν: "Dass

tenses of different verbs of ordering and urging. No claim is laid to exhaustiveness, yet all the passages that seemed of any importance have been gathered, and the table is sufficient for all practical purposes to show the relative frequency of imperfect and aorist indicative. Of the two figures following each verb, the first gives the number of imperfects indicative, the second that of the aorists indicative. *ἐπιτάττειν* 5, 10; *προσσεπιτάττειν* —, 1; *κελεύειν*¹ 21, 12; *παρακελεύεσθαι* 3, —; *παραγγέλλειν* 9, 37; *προστάττειν* —, 4; *συντάττειν*

indess nicht in der wirklich geschehenen Ausführung das Wesen des Aorists liegt, zeigen die Stellen [Ps.-Dem. 50] 53 und 50." But, after all, *προστάττειν* is something wholly different from *κελεύειν*. *προστάττειν* and especially *ἐπιτάττειν* are the words used of a peremptory command, while *κελεύειν* may be a mere *incitare*, and even in its strongest sense seems not to have been as harsh to the liberty-loving Greek as the other two words. This difference, among other things, seems to be reflected in the use of the words in ordinary Attic prose. For, if Thucydides and Demosthenes may be regarded as representatives of ordinary prose and if the writer's memory serves him correctly, *ἐπιτάττειν* is less common than *προστάττειν*, and *κελεύειν* is very much more common than either,* and, in the matter of tenses, the aorist is the narrative tense of *ἐπιτάττειν* and *προστάττειν*, whilst the imperfect is the favorite narrative tense of *κελεύειν*. This statement is partially based on the indexes. Possibly in Plato also, to judge by the amount of space given to the words, *προστάττειν* is used more frequently than *ἐπιτάττειν*, though *κελεύειν* seems to be less frequent than either of the two. It might be well, for purposes of comparison, to note the following statistics for the imperfect and aorist ind. act. respectively of *ἐπιτάττειν*, *προστάττειν* and *κελεύειν*:

	<i>ἐπιτάττειν.</i>		<i>προστάττειν.</i>		<i>κελεύειν.</i>	
	Impf.	Aor.	Impf.	Aor.	Impf.	Aor.
Thuc.	—	2	—	3	73	7
Dem.	1	3	5	27	34	25

¹ When Hultsch, p. 103, l. 7 f., says "doch sind als solche deren Imperfect nicht minder häufig als der Aorist gebraucht wird, zu verzeichnen *ἐπιτάττειν* und *κελεύειν*," it is a source of astonishment to find in the above table, which shows (see l. c., p. 109) "wie Imperfect und Aorist in der Häufigkeit des Vorkommens sich zu einander verhalten," as many as 21 imperfects of *κελεύειν* to only 12 aorists, but one is simply amazed to find only 5 imperfects to 10 aorists of *ἐπιτάττειν*. Which of these two statements is to be believed, that on p. 103 or that on p. 109? Or is neither to be trusted? If exhaustiveness had been aimed at, one would have supposed, from a comparison with the statistics of Thucydides and Demosthenes, that the figures in the table were about correct and that the statement on p. 103 was simply an oversight on Hultsch's part.

* Hence correct the statement of Cobet, N. L., p. 47: "*ἐπιτάσσειν* Tragicorum est, Comici *προστάττειν* dicebant." There seems to be absolutely no foundation for this statement. *προστάσσειν* is used also by tragic poets and *ἐπιτάσσειν* as well by comic poets, and *προστάσσειν* seems to be the more common of the two in tragedy.

2, 7; ἀξιούν 21, 1; παραινείν 9, 1; παρακαλεῖν 56, 12 (one being middle); προκαλεῖσθαι 3, —; ἐντέλλεσθαι —, 1; προσεντέλλεσθαι —, 2. Other expressions of *encouraging, exhorting, urging* used by Polybios are ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, προσκαλεῖσθαι, παροξύνειν, παρορμᾶν, ψυχαγωγεῖν, προήχθην (γράφειν, εἰπεῖν, ἐξηγήσασθαι). Unlike other verbs of exhorting, the verbs just cited prefer the aorist.

Chap. XIV. Verbs of *Sending*.—Polybios' use of the narrative tenses of verbs of sending conforms pretty closely with the rules given for verbs of commanding and exhorting. In the sense of *dispatch* (absenden, entsenden), all the verbs of this class regularly take the aorist, and it is a matter of special note that στέλλω and its numerous compounds are represented by about four times as many aorists as imperfects. Of these, ἐξαποστέλλειν is exceptional in this respect, that relatively more imperfects of it are found than of the other compounds. The original signification of ἐξ seems to have faded, and ἐξαποστέλλειν means not *to dispatch*, but *to be engaged in sending, to make preparations for dispatching*, and it is this point of view that has caused Polybios to use the imperfect so freely in the case of πέμπω and its compounds, that it equals the aorist in frequency.¹ In the case of διαπέμπεσθαι and μεταπέμπεσθαι, the imperfect is far more frequent than the aorist. This is quite natural, for διαπέμπεσθαι means "to enter into negotiations by sending messengers," and μεταπέμπεσθαι "*to send for*," which cannot be done without a great deal of effort and preparation. Of πρεσβεύεσθαι and διαπρεσβεύεσθαι "to send ambassadors" and πρεσβεύειν "to act as ambassador," the imperfect prevails.²

¹ Compare, however, the figures recorded in the following note.

² Hultsch states that the ratio for στέλλω and compounds is based upon his collection of examples, and that this collection, while containing as complete a list of imperfects as possible, is by no means exhaustive for the aorist. Whether this remark as to the lack of exhaustiveness of the aorist is to apply to πέμπω and its compounds also cannot be gathered from the statement. For this reason we omit Hultsch's table of frequency for στέλλειν, πέμπειν and compounds, and state only that for ἐξαποστέλλειν 32 imperfects and 102 aorists ind. are recorded; for πέμπειν the figures are 22, 7; for ἐκπέμπειν 32, 48, and for διαπέμπεσθαι 13, 5. For the sake of comparison we append the following statistics for Thucydides and Demosthenes. The first two figures give the number of imperfects and aorists indic. (act. unless otherwise specified) for Thucydides and the following two numbers apply to Demosthenes. πέμπειν 16, 29; 6, 24; ἐκπέμπειν 2, 13; 2, 6; στέλλειν —, 4; —, —; ἀποστέλλειν 8, 20; 10, 8; μεταπέμπειν —, 2; —, —; μεταπέμπεσθαι (mid.) 2, 3; 6, 2. Comment on these figures is unnecessary.

Chap. XV. *ἄγειν* and compounds.—*ἄγειν* has a great variety of uses in Greek. Its use to express military movements was discussed above in chapter X. With a personal object, the imperfect is more common; with an inanimate object, the imperfect regularly expresses duration. The aorist in both cases expresses the successful conduct to a goal, or the successful transference from one state to another. *τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν* occurs frequently in the imperfect—never, as far as observation goes, in the aorist. *διάγειν* and *διεξάγειν*, like the expressions *τοὺς χρόνους, τὴν ἀγωγὴν, τὴν αἴρεσιν, τὴν εἰρήνην, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν*, are used in the imperfect to express a past duration. For *διάγειν* and other compounds of *ἄγειν* to express military movements, see chaps. X and XII. For the impf. of *ἄγειν* and compounds with adverbs of *haste*, see chap. VIII. About 50 examples of the imperfect to 23 of the aorist ind. of compounds of *ἄγειν*, exclusive of *διάγειν* and *διεξάγειν* above referred to and of such uses as have been considered in the previous chapters, are cited. Especially worthy of note are the 18 instances of the imperfect of *συνάγειν*, to which only 2 aorists indicative may be opposed. Compare this use with the use of *συνάγειν* spoken of in chap. X, where 11 examples of the imperfect, but none of the aorist, are recorded.

Chap. XVI. *ιστάναι* and compounds.—The treatment of *ἄγειν, ἰστάναι, πίπτειν, ποιεῖν, φέρειν* and compounds, and *συμβαίνειν*, is specially intended as a preparatory study for the investigation of *βάλλειν, γίνεσθαι, ἔχειν* and other verbs whose imperfect differs so slightly from the aorist in form that the two tenses may be readily confounded in the MSS. In the case of *ιστάναι, ποιεῖν* and *φέρειν*, it seemed sufficient for our purpose to treat at length the peculiar use of the imperfect, and only so far as absolutely necessary to touch upon the regular use of the aorist. In the case of *πίπτειν* and *συμβαίνειν*, on the other hand, the aorist forms the starting-point, and it is only in connection with this that the imperfect has to be treated. As for *ιστάναι*, the rather frequent use of the imperfects of *ἀφίστασθαι, συνιστάναι* and *συνίστασθαι* are to be noted.¹ The imperfects of *ιστάναι* and compounds cited are the following: *ἴστασθαι* 2, *ἀφίστασθαι* 7, *διασυνίστασθαι* (conjecture of H.) 1, *ἐνίστασθαι* 2, *καθιστάναι* (act. and mid.) 3, *κατανίστασθαι* 3, *παριστάναι* 3, and *συνιστάναι* (act. tr. and mid. tr. and intr.) 13.

¹H. states that the aorist of *ἀφίστασθαι* is more common than that of the imperfect, but in the case of *συνιστάναι* and *συνίστασθαι* he merely states that the indicative forms of *συστήσαι, συστήσασθαι* and *συστήναι* are common and require no further mention.

Chap. XVII. *πίπτειν* and compounds.—As is natural, the aorist is the prevailing narrative tense of *πίπτειν* and its compounds. Whatever the signification, the action in most cases will appear as concluded (*abgeschlossen*), and it is only for special reasons that the narrator would be likely to prefer the tense of duration or evolution. By the side of a string of aorists ind. of the simple verb are found only two imperfects. Of *ἀνα-*, *ἀπο-*, *δια-*, *ἐκ-*, *παρα-*, *προ-*, *συν-**πίπτειν* no imperfect has been found, though there is a respectable list of aorists. *ἐμπίπτειν* is no less common in the aorist than the other compounds, but it differs from them in having a large number of imperfects expressing duration or, more commonly, evolution. In addition to a number of imperfects of *εἰσπίπτειν* in the sense of ‘entering a fortress,’ there may be mentioned imperfects of *ἀντι-*, *μετα-*, *περι-*, *προσ-*, *συνεκ-**πίπτειν*.

Chap. XVIII. *ποιεῖν* and *ποιεῖσθαι*.—*ποιεῖν* is used to express activity in general, and so may act as a substitute for any verb of action. Hence when used to represent the imperfect of another verb, it will itself be placed in the imperfect, as in 3, 116, 4 τὸ παραλήσιον Ἀντίθας ἐποίει (sc. *παρεκάλει καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας*), and elsewhere. So when *ποιεῖν* has an object accompanied by a predicate modifier, or when it is used to form a periphrasis, the imperfect is not at all uncommon. Duration, evolution and description are the determining elements. Far more common is the use of *ποιεῖσθαι* to form verbal periphrases, and Polybios is very much more fond of these periphrases than earlier writers. More than 100 of them have been casually noted, and about half of these, so far from occurring only once or twice, are repeated over and over. Here only those are considered whose imperfect is tolerably frequent. *σπουδῇν*, *πυρεῖαν*, *πλοῦν*, *ἀνάπλουν*, *ἀπόπλουν*, *ἐπίπλουν* *ποιεῖσθαι* have been treated above, chaps. VII, XI and XII. *πρόνοιαν*, *φιλοτιμίαν* and *ἐπιμέλειαν* *ποιεῖσθαι*, which are closely related to *σπουδῇν* *ποιεῖσθαι*, prefer the imperfect. *ἔξοδον*, *ἐπάνοδον*, *ἔφοδον* *ποιεῖσθαι*, though related to *πορεῖαν* *ποιεῖσθαι*, are no less frequently used in the aorist than in the imperfect. Of the periphrases corresponding to *ἀναχωρεῖν*, *ἀποχωρεῖν* and *ὑποχωρεῖν*, the imperfect of *ὑποχώρησιν* *ποιεῖσθαι* is comparatively frequent, but forms of *ἀναχώρησιν* and *ὑποχώρησιν* *ποιεῖσθαι* are not common. The imperfect of *ποιεῖσθαι* τὴν ὁρμὴν is the favorite tense, and possibly it occurs oftener than that of ὁρμᾶν. The periphrasis of itself expresses a certain amount of circumstantiality, and this explains why the aorist of the periphrastic expression is so much less

common than that of ὁρμῶν, of which the aorist is almost the rule. The chapter closes with references to more than a score of characteristic imperfects of various other periphrases with ποιείσθαι expressing both military and non-military operations.

Chap. XIX. συμβαίνειν *with infinitive*.—A no less favorite periphrasis than ποιείσθαι with an accusative object is συμβαίνειν with the infinitive, which often degenerates into little more than a mere formula. The aorist of συμβαίνειν, as might be expected, is common enough, and the dependent infinitive is likewise commonly in the aorist, but the inf. of duration dependent on a συνέβη is not excluded. The imperfect of συμβαίνειν is also quite common. Duration, development, description underlie its use. Worthy of especial note are the combinations of συμβαίνειν with γίνεσθαι, εἶναι and ὑπάρχειν. εἶναι and ὑπάρχειν are found only with the present and imperfect of συμβαίνειν, but συνέβη γενέσθαι is no less frequent than συμβαίνει and συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι. 26 instances of συνέβη γενέσθαι are cited, 17 instances of συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, 7 of συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι (including one ex. of leading verb in subj.), 6 of συνέβαινε εἶναι, 6 of εἶναι συμβαίνει, and 4 of ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει or συμβαίνει ὑπάρχειν (including one ex. of leading verb in subj.). The rule for the choice of tenses in case of the dependent infinitive is undoubtedly this, that with the present, imperfect and perfect of συμβαίνειν the infinitive present or perfect is used, and with the aorist of συμβαίνειν the aorist infinitive is used, but this rule, like other rules, has exceptions. The following is a synopsis of the use of the tenses of the dependent infinitive with the imperfect and aorist indicative of συμβαίνειν. συνέβαινε occurs with pres. inf. 37 times in the first three books and proportionately just as frequently in the remaining books; with the perfect inf. 23¹ times in all; with the aorist inf. 3 times in all. συνέβη is used with aorist inf. 44 times in first three books and proportionately as frequently thereafter; with the present infinitive 11 times (including one ex. of συνέβη καὶ συμβήσεται w. pres. inf.) in all; with perf. inf. 3 times in all. It remains to be noted that συμπίπτειν and συγκυρεῖν are occasionally used with the infinitive in the same sense as συμβαίνειν w. inf.

Chap. XX. φέρειν and compounds.—φέρω and its compounds seem to belong to the class of verbs whose durative forms outweigh in point of frequency the aoristic forms, for twice as many instances of the former as of the latter were noted. Only the strictly narrative forms, the imperfect and aorist indicative,

¹ In Abh. 3, p. 88, *twenty-six* instances, comprising 33 infinitives, are given.

can here be considered. Only two examples of the aorist of *φέρειν* were found, but quite a number of imperfects, and among them the imperfects of *δυσχερῶς* and *βαρέως φέρειν*, which were referred to above, chap. VI. For the compounds of *φέρειν* the imperfect is the rule, the aorist being far less common than might be supposed. *ἐκφέρειν* alone forms an exception and shows a number of aorists.

Chap. XXI. *βάλλειν* and compounds.—In the case of the verbs treated in this and some of the following chapters, the durative forms differ but slightly from the corresponding aoristic forms. In consequence of this similarity there was always more or less room for error on the part of the copyist. But the tradition of good, old MSS, in this respect, is much better than might have been supposed from otherwise corrupt passages found in them. Of course, it is possible to see how here and there an error may have crept in, but in the majority of cases the forms in question have been handed down correctly, as is shown by comparison with other passages that contain the same verb in the same form. For whereas it is quite likely that a single peculiar imperfect may inadvertently have supplanted an aorist, it is not probable that the same mistake could have been made in three or four, or even more, precisely similar and yet wholly disconnected passages, where the uniform tradition of the best MSS favors the imperfect. Of course, the important thing to do is to watch the author's use of the tenses. The greater the number of the examples and the more varied the instances that can be adduced of a construction that might otherwise appear strange, the more certainly it can be proved to be genuine and to the point. Furthermore, the usage of synonymous verbs is to be noted, verbs whose imperfects and aorists were never confounded in the MSS. So, for example, in the case of the form *συνέβαλλον*, which has been restored in a number of cases in the description of military engagements, those passages must be compared in which *συνεπλεκόμεν* is used in exactly the same way, and if upon the basis of these examples, one should feel tempted to pronounce in favor of the exclusive use of the imperfect of *συμβάλλειν* in descriptions of battles, it would only be necessary to call attention to the occurrence of *συνεπλέκησαν*, which surely could not have been mistaken for *συνεπλέκοντο*. Moreover, the most difficult uses of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* find their analogies in the use of *ἐγχειρεῖν*, *ἐπιχειρεῖν*, *ἐπιβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι* and similar expressions—expressions that were used in the sense

of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι with the inf. and whose narrative tenses could not possibly have been confounded. Even the knotty problem of determining whether after τὸ μὲν πρῶτον the imperfect or the aorist of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι is the correct tradition has been solved by the comparison of similar uses of other verbs.

The simple verb βάλλειν is very rarely used. No imperfect or aorist indicative active of βάλλειν occurs in Polybios. The middle is represented by only one aorist indicative and one aor. ptc. Of the compounds of βάλλειν, the aorist is as a rule far more common than the imperfect. The following is a summary of the details. *a)* Of ἀποβάλλειν, προσαποβάλλειν, εἰσβάλλειν, καταβάλλειν, παρακαταβάλλειν, μεταβάλλειν, προβάλλεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν (act.) and συν-περβάλλειν the imperfect is not in use. As a matter of fact, the imperfect is occasionally met with in the MSS, but these instances have been changed to the aorist partly upon the basis of better MS authority and partly from internal evidence, and even if one or another instance of an *undoubted* imperfect should come to light, the rule would still hold good that the aorist is the regular narrative tense of this group of verbs. *δ)* In comparison with the rare imperfect of ἐκβάλλειν, ἐμβάλλειν, παρεμβάλλειν, ἐπιπαραμβάλλειν, ἐπιβάλλειν and περιβάλλειν, the aorist is quite frequent. *γ)* The imperfect of προσβάλλειν, συμβάλλειν, ὑποβάλλειν is somewhat more frequent, though the aorist is the prevailing tense. παραβάλλειν forms a separate category in revealing a greater frequency of durative than of aoristic forms.¹

Chap. XXII. ἐπιβάλλεσθαι with the infinitive.—The aorist, even in the non-indicative moods, is the predominant tense of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι, but the tense of the dependent infinitive is the present, not the aorist. There are 72 absolutely certain instances of the aorist indicative of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι with dependent infinitive. In 10 of these examples the aorist infinitive is used, in 61 the present infinitive occurs, and once both aorist and present infinitive are used. This array of evidence for the use of the aorist indicative of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι is followed by a defence of the aorist in a number of

¹ The writer regrets that lack of space does not permit him to give more than the above summary of the details that cover 20 pages of H.'s treatise, and to afford an idea of the value of Hultsch's work for purposes of textual criticism, this opportunity is seized upon to state that within the 20 pages referred to, very nearly three dozen passages have been discussed in which the conjectures of others have been confirmed, original conjectures established, or the reading of one or more MSS defended against the reading of other and at times superior MSS.

passages in which either the testimony of the MSS fluctuates or the aorist has been introduced contrary to all MS authority, and in 4, 37, 5, where Hultsch formerly read *ἐπεβάλλετο*, he would now, in the light of a better understanding, return to the MS *ἐπεβάλετο*. A comparison of the use of the tenses of synonymous verbs, such as *ἐγχειρεῖν*, *ἐπιχειρεῖν* and *τολμᾶν*, furnishes another support for the prevalence of the aorist tense in the case of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*. In all those verbs there is a preponderance of the aorist, though their imperfects are comparatively more frequent than that of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*. This is accounted for by the slight difference of meaning. 'To take in hand,' 'to lay hold of,' 'to have the courage' are better adapted to the expression of duration than *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*, *to undertake, resolve*. Note also the periphrasis *τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἔσχον*. But 5, 62, 7 οὐδ' *ἐπιβολὴν εἶχον* is found, and of *ἐπιβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι* there is only one aorist (an optative), over against several durative forms.

By the side of the large number of aorists of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* so few imperfects can be shown that one might feel tempted to make short metre of the matter, cut out the λ and thus reduce all such forms to the aorist. But it would be a serious mistake to do away with forms that are particularly appropriate in point of meaning and that are supported by the testimony of the MSS and by the analogy of other verbs. 6, 49, 7-9 may be mentioned as a particularly fine example of the imperfect of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*. The verb in question is frequently used in the first member of a period beginning with *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον*. To further show the peculiar fondness of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* for the aorist indicative, all the instances of *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον* periods are cited. These instances are separated into two classes, the first containing *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* in the *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον* clause, the second containing some other verb. Each class is in turn subdivided according to the following three categories: 1. Impf. in first clause, aor. in second. 2. Aorist in both clauses. 3. Aor. in first clause and impf. in second, whilst for the second class a fourth category, "Imperfect in both clauses," becomes necessary. The comparison shows that though, as a general rule, the imperfect indicative is far more common than the aorist in the antecedent clause of periods beginning with *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον*, yet, when *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* happens to be the verb, the aorist far outweighs the imperfect. The chapter closes with a list of all the passages containing any form of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* with infinitive, arranged with a view to showing the tense of the dependent infinitive. In dependence upon aoristic forms of *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι* were found 91

infinitive presents of 60 different verbs, and only 20 infinitive aorists of 17 different verbs; in dependence upon durative forms of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι was found only the present infinitive—12 instances belonging to 11 different verbs. A solitary instance of the perfect of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι with a present inf. ends the list. Among this large number of dependent infinitives there are only 5 verbs that are represented by both aorist and present infinitive.

Chap. XXIII. γίνεσθαι and compounds.—As in the case of the earlier historians, so in Polybios, the aorist is the regular narrative tense of γίνεσθαι.¹ Parallel with ἐγενόμην, Polybios uses the form ἐγενήθην without any essential difference of meaning. The imperfect of γίνεσθαι is very common in Polybios, and miscellaneous examples of the various categories of duration, evolution and description have been found. The expressions ἐγίγνετό τι περί τινα and ἐγίγνετό τις περί τι, πρὸς τινι or πρὸς τι are sufficiently important to require special treatment. γίνεσθαί τι περί τινα is a rare expression. Two imperfects, one present participle, one aorist indicative and one aor. ptc. are all the instances cited. The thought is more frequently expressed by the periphrases συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι and συνέβη γενέσθαι, of the latter of which there are quite a number of examples. Polybios is very fond of the expression γίνεσθαι περί τι "to be engaged at something, to be busy with." The expression is synonymous with σπουδάζειν and σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι, and, as with them, the imperfect is the customary narrative tense. About 50 examples of this tense are cited, while of the aorist, so far as known, there are only 4 examples in Polybios. Synonymous with γίν. περί τι is γίνεσθαι πρὸς τινι or πρὸς τι, and of this expression 14 examples of the imperfect, with but a solitary instance of the aorist, are cited. Of the imperfect of the parallel expression εἶναι πρὸς τινι or πρὸς τι, only the form with πρὸς τινι² happens to occur in Polybios, and 8 instances are mentioned. The compounds of γίνεσθαι are of no special importance.

Chap. XXIV. ἔχειν and compounds.—Almost all the examples of the imperfect of ἔχειν express duration in the strict sense of the

¹ In Thuc. there are 59 imperfects to 234 aorists ind., and in Demosthenes 51 imperfects to 122 aorists ind.

² Hultsch, p. 358, N. 2, discusses the vexed question of the use of the dative and the accusative with πρὸς in connection with εἶναι or γίνεσθαι. He finds that of all the objects of πρὸς, when used in this combination, 8 are datives plural, 11 datives sing. and 12 acc. sing., there being no accusative plural. A most careful consideration of the facts seems to him to warrant no uniform rule as to the use of the case with πρὸς.



word. This use of *εἶχον* prevails almost exclusively in the following categories: *ἔχειν* with a personal object, especially with an object designating troops or divisions of troops; *ἔχειν* in the signification of "being an occupant of a country, a city or a place"; *ἐντολάς, ἔτη, ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; οὐκ, οὐδέν ἔχειν; ἔχειν* (intransitive) with adverbs; *ἔχεσθαι, ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντέχεσθαι; ἀντέχειν, προσαντέχειν; ἀπέχειν* in the sense of local distance from; *ἐπέχειν* and *προσέχειν* "to pay attention to"; *παρέχειν* and *παρέχεσθαι; περιέχειν, προέχειν, συνέχειν, ὑπερέχειν*. The imperfect is freely used of *ἔχειν* w. *ἡσυχίαν, διάθεσιν, ἐλπίδας* and other objects, though the use of the aorist is not to be classed as exceptional. Both imperfect and aorist of *ἐπιβολήν, ὄρμην ἔχειν, ἀπέχεσθαι, κατέχειν* and *μετέχειν* are in frequent use. Only isolated examples occur of the imperfect of *τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν* with infinitive and of *προσέχειν* "to enter port." Among the imperfects of the above-mentioned verbs and phrases there are a few that express description and there is a clear instance of a *κατεῖχον* expressing evolution.

As for the aorist, it remains to be said that it is not confined to certain meanings and combinations of *ἔχω* to the same extent as the imperfect. The aorist, it is true, is the regular tense of *τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν* with inf., *ἐπέχειν* "to hold back, check oneself, break off a discourse," *κατέχειν* "to get into one's power, take possession of," and of *κατέχειν* and *προσέχειν* "to enter port." Furthermore, the aorist is not uncommon of certain periphrases expressing "to undertake, resolve," of *αἰτίαν συντέλειαν τέλος ἔχειν, ἀπέχεσθαι, παρακατέχειν* and *μετέχειν*. The deciding factor, however, is not the meaning of the verb, but the point of view that the narrator occupies in making his report.

Chap. XXV. *λείπειν* and compounds.—In the study of *λείπειν*, special difficulties arise. Whereas, in the case of the other verbs whose imperfect and aorist differ by only one letter, the MSS are for the most part trustworthy authority, they are very unsatisfactory in the case of *λείπειν*.¹ To be consistent with his usage in

¹ It is interesting to compare, in this connection, what Blass has to say on the subject in Rh. M. 44 (1889), p. 406: "Ganz im Gegentheil, wenn einmal die Handschriften eines Autors, was häufig genug vorkommt, zwischen *λαμβάνειν* und *λαβεῖν, λείπειν* und *λιπεῖν* schwanken: der Herausgeber wird meistens es bequemer und sicherer finden, die Handschriften entscheiden zu lassen als selbst die Verantwortung für eine Entscheidung zu übernehmen. Ich glaube nun wirklich, zumal bei *λείπειν* oder *λιπεῖν* bietet dies Verfahren keine grössere Sicherheit das Richtige zu treffen, als wenn jemand statt dessen Knöpfe zählen wollte."

the case of other verbs, Polybios cannot have used the aorist of *λείπειν* as rarely, or the imperfect as freely, as the MSS would indicate. The cause of the mistake is evident: *αι* for *ι* is only one of the large number of errors due to iotacism. The question next arises as to where the hand of the critic is to stop. It is quite likely that a few imperfects of duration may have been unjustly banished from our editions. For in our search for the correct form we are confronted by another difficulty. In the case of other verbs, the study of the tenses of synonymous expressions proved a great help in solving the problem; but *λείπειν* and most of its compounds have no such close synonyms, and hence the choice between durative and aoristic forms of *λείπειν* must be determined without the aid derived from such sources. The method pursued has been to study the passive forms first, there being no possibility of confusion between imperfect and aorist here. The durative forms of the passive of *λείπω* are frequently used in the sense of "to be inferior to." The present is especially frequent in the sense of being worsted in battle, and is then practically a perfect, being equivalent to *ἡττᾶσθαι* as opposed to *νικᾶν*. Like the simple verb, *ἀπολείπεσθαι* and *ὑπολείπεσθαι* are used in the sense of "to be inferior to." But the durative forms of the compounds of *λείπεσθαι* are more frequently used in the sense of "*to remain, be left*," and the perfect signification is quite marked in many examples, especially in the case of the articular participle. Durative forms of *παρλείπεσθαι* (*praetermitti, omitti*) also approach the signification of the perfect. Of course, in the case of all these verbs, actual perfect forms occur. As for the aorist, it may be said that fond as Polybios is of using the durative forms of *λείπεσθαι* and compounds, the aoristic forms are also used whenever occasion demands. Passing on to the tenses of the active voice of *λείπειν* and compounds, it is to be noted that the durative forms of the simple verb are found partly in the transitive sense of "leaving" and partly in the intransitive sense of "to fall short of." The participle is especially common. Of *ἀπολείπειν*, when used in combination with *οὐδέν* in the sense of '*leaving nothing undone*,' though there are one or two undoubted instances of the use of the aorist, yet the imperfect is the tense regularly used. But apart from this use of the imperfect of *ἀπολείπειν*, there are only a few other imperfects of the compounds of *λείπειν* about which there can be no doubt as to the correct tradition. In addition to these, however, the imperfect of *ἀπολείπειν, καταλείπειν, ἐγκαταλείπειν,*

ἐλλείπειν and παραλείπειν is to be restored in a number of cases upon the testimony of the oldest MSS. Over against the above-mentioned examples of the imperfect of λείπειν and compounds there can be adduced only a comparatively few aorists of undoubted transmission. There are, however, a considerable number of passages in which Polybios in all probability used the aorist, while the tradition of the oldest MSS favors the durative forms. This happens very frequently in the case of the participle, and there the mistake can easily be rectified. In the next place, there are a number of passages in which all editors agree that the durative forms of ἀπολείπειν or καταλείπειν which, without any special reason, happen to be intermingled with parallel aorists must be changed. The analogy of these examples in turn necessitates the restoration of the aorist in a few other cases, and after the pattern of such expressions as καθάπερ εἶπον, ὡς εἶπον, etc., the aorist of ἀπολείπειν must undoubtedly be read in such examples as ἀφ' ὧν Τίμαιος ἀπέλιπεν. In a few instances one or more MSS present durative forms of ἐκλείπειν τὸν τόπον, τὴν πόλιν, τὸ ζῆν, whereas the aorist should be read, as is shown by such passages in which all the MSS agree upon the aorist; and in the case of ἐκλείπειν τὸ ζῆν the aorist is rendered still more certain by the analogy of the synonymous expression τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. There remain a few examples in which the aorist of παραλείπειν should be read in spite of MS authority for the durative forms.

Chap. XXVI. μένειν and compounds.—μένειν contains the notion of duration, and hence it is perfectly natural to find that the imperfect is the prevailing narrative tense in Polybios, though the aorist is not uncommon. There is quite a string of examples in which the imperfect of μένω is parallel with other imperfects. In other passages the durative signification of ἔμενον is heightened by an accessory participle of duration. The imperfect and durative forms in general are the rule in expressions signifying "to cling to a resolution, opinion," as e. g. in ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήκοιτος ἔμενε λογισμοῦ 3. 85, 10. There are numerous examples of the imperfect of μένω in a μὲν clause followed by the aorist of another verb in the corresponding δέ clause; the imperfect is that of evolution. Lastly, there are two examples of the imperfect of μένω that belong to none of the above classes. The imperfect is that of duration. The use of the imperfect of μένειν is to be compared with the use of the imperfect of the kindred verbs διατρίβειν, ἐνδιατρίβειν, καρτερεῖν, προσκαρτερεῖν and ἀνέχεσθαι. "Whilst in all the

examples thus far considered, the action of awaiting, expecting or abiding was conceived as extended in time, as still continuing and in touch with other actions, we now come to the instances in which the writer views the period of waiting as complexive (in sich zusammengedrängt) and has reported such waiting like other actions in such a way as to express the conclusion of the action (in abschliessender Form).¹ This aorist of μένω is not only found parallel with other aorists within the same period, but it also occurs in a simple sentence. It is also to be noted that even in the sense of "clinging to an opinion," there are instances of the use of the aorist of μένω. In not a few instances the aoristic forms of μένω and its compounds with ἀνά, διά and ἐπί seem to approach durative forms, but the period of waiting is represented as having come to a close. Noteworthy are two examples of the aorist of μένειν and διαμένειν connected by καί with a clause containing the imperfect of some other verb. This change is quite common in μέν and δέ clauses. The reverse change also takes place, and the aorist of μένω follows the imperfect of some other verb. Of the various compounds of μένω, ὑπομένω is of the most frequent occurrence. It is used transitively and intransitively, and both imperfect and aorist are used, though the imperfect is the more frequent of the two. The other compounds of μένω follow the analogy of ὑπομένω and the simple verb in the matter of the narrative tenses.

Chap. XXVII. φεύγειν and compounds.—This verb is most frequently found in Polybios in the description of battles, skirmishes or other military engagements. As the flight of one party or the other determines the issue of the battle, it is quite natural that the tense of final report should often be used, though this is not the rule. The imperfect is frequently used to express continuance and to describe.¹ When φεύγειν is used in the sense of "being exiled," the aorist is used to express the fact that a person fled from a city or country and went into exile, while the imperfect refers to the duration of the exile (Dauer des Aufenthaltes im Exile). Of the compounds of φεύγειν, διαφεύγειν expresses

¹ H. calls attention to an explanation given by him on p. 25 with reference to ἐφευγον προτροπάδην 5, 69, 9. His words are: "und so wird auch die Haupt-handlung ἐφευγον προτροπάδην als eine *im Verlaufe eines gewissen Zeitraumes* sich entwickelnde und insofern dauernde angesehen." The expression in italics (the italics are the reviewer's) certainly suggests that the idea of length of time enters into the explanation of the imperfect. That this is the wrong conception has been abundantly shown above. As for the theory of description, see p. 154, note 2.

that the flight is crowned with success, and hence the aorist is the regular narrative tense. No imperfects of this verb are found in Polybios, for in 38, 5, 6 *διέφυγον* should be read, after the analogy of all other passages.¹ *καταφεύγειν* is used in the imperfect and in other durative forms as well as in the aoristic forms.² Of *προσφεύγειν* two aorists indicative are cited.

Chap. XXVIII. *The AORIST*.—The previous investigation has shown that the aorist, whether used of an action that occupied the briefest possible amount of time or of an action that extended over a longer period, whether used ingressively or to express completion,³ and whether this completion is specially emphasized or merely indicated by the context, is certainly the tense of *final report*. The following uses of the aorist may be mentioned by way of supplementing or recapitulating what has already been said. The aorist of *πείθειν* means *to persuade*, the imperfect expresses *the attempt to persuade*. The aorist is used with definite and indefinite expressions of time to show that the action extending over this period of time is regarded as fully settled (*völlig erledigt*), and that as in point of time, so in the order of narration, this action is followed by another action.⁴ The aorist

¹ The passage reads: *διὸ καὶ πᾶσιν οὐχ οἷον δνειδος ἡκολούθει τῶν ἀκληριῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα διέφυγον*. Hultsch states that the characters of the last word are somewhat effaced, so that it is impossible to determine the exact reading. In his edition he reads *ἔφευγον*, but would now read *διέφυγον* for the above-mentioned reason. Following Hultsch's readings in the rest of the passage, there seems to be no good reason why the impf. *διέφευγον* should not here be used as it is used in Thucydides.

² In Thucydides the imperfect indicative is not found, but the aorist ind. and other aoristic forms are common. Demosthenes furnishes an example of the imperfect ind.

³ Hultsch here uses the word *Vollendung*. It seems that at this point he has somewhat repented of his former view, with reference to which see p. 148 f.

⁴ H.'s words are: "Es wird dann ein gewisser, sei es nach Jahren, Monaten, Tagen, sei es durch ungefähre Zeitangaben abgegrenzter Zeitraum ins Auge gefasst und über eine diesen Zeitraum ausfüllende Handlung so berichtet, dass dieselbe als völlig erledigt gilt und anderes wie es thatsächlich jenes Frühere der Zeit nach ablöste, so auch in der Berichterstattung an den frei gewordenen Platz einrückt." "Dass dieselbe als völlig erledigt gilt" may be right or not, according to what is meant by these words; what follows, if it means anything, is positively wrong. There is a world of difference between actual occurrences and the narration of these occurrences. Actually, a number of dissimilar occurrences may go on contemporaneously, either partially or totally. In narration, only one predication can be made at the

is used when one expresses one's final opinion in regard to the merits of distinguished men. Characteristic is the use of the aorist of verbs like *ἀνύειν*, *ἀποτελεῖν*, *ἐπιτελεῖν*, and with such expressions as *τέλος*, *πέρασ*, *τὸ τελευταῖον*. When the imperfect of such verbs, or verbs accompanied by such expressions, is used, the notion of duration or of evolution is quite clear. Even in the few instances in which the notion of *ingress* is so sharp as to warrant the use of such a term as *ingressive* aorist, the notion of final report is maintained, and so we find that by the side of the imperfect of evolution of *ἀρχεσθαι* and similar expressions and the imperfect with *τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς*, etc., the aorist (*zusammenfassend und abschliessend*) is not at all uncommon. The aorist may also be used to designate time antecedent to the past (*Vorvergangenheit*). This was observed long since by Apollonios. Only Apollonios errs in making this use dependent upon the express or implied use of *πάλαι* in combination with this tense. For *πάλαι* may be used just as well with the imperfect. It is more correct to say that the aorist may be considered a substitute for the pluperfect when the difference of time is expressly mentioned. There are other instances in which the antecedence is indicated by other temporal expressions or must be gathered from the context. In every instance, however, the writer views the action as concluded.¹ While a few of the long list of examples of the

same time. Hence it often happens that the narrator, after reporting one fact in the aorist, may be obliged to report, subsequently, one or more other facts terminating at the same time as the first or even previously to it. Comp. Polyb. 37, 10, 2 (cited by Hultsch): (*Μασσανάσσης*) *ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτη πλείω τῶν ἐξήκοντα* with what follows. It is this difference between the possibilities of actual occurrences and the possibilities of narration that lies at the bottom of so many of the difficulties attaching to the use and to the understanding of the tenses.

¹ In treating of the relations existing between the aorist and the pluperfect, Hultsch, at the very outset, renders himself liable to criticism by giving assent to the statement that the aorist may *express* time antecedent to the past (*Vorvergangenheit*), inasmuch as that use has been denied by some even to the pluperfect. Whenever the aorist is used where according to another idiom or from another point of view the pluperfect might have been used, the idea of past completion previous to some other past time is an inference and nothing else. When Hultsch says that it is more correct to say that the aorist may be counted a substitute for the pluperfect when the *difference of time* is expressly mentioned, the statement is misleading, to say the least. The fact of the matter is that when the difference of time is mentioned, the aorist or the imperfect, as the case may be, is far more natural and certainly logically more

apparent pluperfect use of the aorist are found in independent clauses, the majority of instances occur in subordinate clauses, principally relative and temporal, but it must be borne in mind that the use of the aorist in subordinate clauses differs in no respect from its use in principal clauses.¹ In temporal sentences the aorist indicative may designate repetition. The following examples have been noted: *ὁσάκις ἐτόλμησαν* (I, 2, 2); *ὅταν ἐτράπησαν* (4, 32, 6); *ὅταν προσήρεισε* (13, 7, 10), and *ἐπειδὴν ἀνέστησε* (13, 7, 8).² Polybios' use of the so-called gnomic aorist is similar to that of Attic prose. G. Hermann (ad Vig., pp. 909 and 911; Opusc. II, p. 42) and F. Franke (Ber. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch. 1854, p. 70 ff.) are right in considering this aorist a narrative tense by means of which the narrator states a single observation formerly made by him, and leaves it over to the reader to deduct his own generalizations therefrom. The examples from Polybios show the narrative character of the tense. The

correct than the pluperfect would be, though the pluperfect is by no means excluded in Polybios, as H. shows later on, 3. Abh., p. 77; nor is it excluded in the classical times. In Latin, on the contrary, the pluperfect seems to be the rule. This is true at least for Caesar, if the writer remembers rightly.

¹ Granting all this, yet there is more than one interesting point regarding the use of the tenses in subordinate indicative clauses which might well have found a place in such an elaborate treatise as Hultsch's. Certainly after making the statement (p. 454, bottom): "Auch in Nebensätzen, die durch *ἐπεὶ* eingeleitet werden, ist die durch den Aorist gegebene abgeschlossene Handlung *sumeist* [the italics are mine] auch der des Hauptsatzes vorangegangen," the author ought not to have denied us at least a few examples in which the aorist was used of non-antecedent action. Our grammars do not seem to furnish such examples.

² The statement that the aorist can be used in temporal sentences to express repetition is not well chosen. Not the aorist, but the accompanying qualifying temporal expression designates the repetition. Furthermore, when Hultsch cites, without a word of comment, such examples as the last three of the four examples above quoted, he is certainly guilty of an error of omission. He might have told us whether these and *ὅταν—ῆσαν* (4, 32, 5) are the only examples in Polybios of *ὅταν*, etc., with the indicative, as one would suppose from Stich, de Polybii dicendi genere, Act. Sem. Erl. II, p. 202; and though himself convinced of their genuineness, he might have told us upon what his convictions were based, seeing that Stich, l. c., refuses to take any notice of 13, 7, 8-10, on the ground of its being extremely doubtful, and that Reiske, apud Schweigh., Polyb. VII, p. 153, says of this corrupt passage: "sed quid frustra laboro in emendando futili commento, non Polybii, (non potuerunt ab illo ingenio tam prodigiosae nugae proficisci) sed graeculi alicujus, cujus anilem fabellam vel ipsa conturbata inficeta soloeca dictio prodit," and even 4, 32, 5 f. has been questioned by some. Cf. Poppo, Thuc. III 1, p. 313.

only point to be noted about Polybios' usage is the close connection of the aorist with presents that refer to established customs and institutions. All else that has been said by Kaelker, *Quaest. de eloc. Polyb.*, Leipz. Stud. III (1880), p. 267, and J. Stich, *de Polybii dicendi genere*, Act. Sem. Erl. II (1881), pp. 168 f. and 206, with reference to the use of the gnomic aorist in Polybios, especially the alleged "neglegentia" of our historian, according to which "nonnunquam imperfecta, aoristi, perfecta, plusquamperfecta fere nullo discrimine rerum adhibentur neque infinitivi aut participii tempora religiose distinguuntur" and "aoristo utitur Polybius primus vel solus de rebus praesentibus" (Stich, p. 206) shows a complete lack of appreciation of Polybian usage.¹ The aorist and perfect may under certain circumstances exchange places. There is no room for the perf. in strictly historical narrative. Its proper place is in speeches and excursions. It is here that Polybios at times follows up a perfect or a number of perfects by an aorist or *vice versa*. This change, which occurs sometimes within the limits of the same sentence, is not due to any carelessness or ignorance of the correct use of the tenses, but is employed by our author to enliven his discourse, each tense retaining its proper signification. The perfect is also used with reference to something that has been previously mentioned, as e. g. 3, 10, 1 *καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βύβλοις περὶ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν*. But more frequently the author is satisfied with the mere statement of a past fact, and uses the aorist, e. g. 4, 1, 1 *ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ ἐδηλώσαμεν*. This variation, and especially the change from perf. to aor. and aor. to perf. in 3, 1, 1. 2. 8 *δεδηλώκαμεν, διεσαφήσαμεν, δεδηλώκαμεν*, caused Stich, l. c., p. 170, to formulate the statement: "ita frequentat perfectum Polybius, ut proxime accedat ad vim aoristi." This statement, however, is not meant to be as sweeping as it seems, but is intended to apply only to the speeches and to the references to former statements, and Schmid's remark in *Atticismus*, II, p. 52,² must be modified

¹ Hultsch expressly states that he cannot sanction E. Moller's theory of the gnomic aorist. We regret that lack of space prevents us from entering into a discussion of this interesting question. We cannot, however, refrain from giving the references to the passages cited by Hultsch as affording instances of the use of the gnomic aorist. They are: 1, 81, 6-9; 12, 4, 13 f.; 6, 19, 5-9; 6, 9, 3; 21, 6; 23, 1; 24, 1-6; 25, 1; 26, 1. 9. 10; 33, 3. 6; 34, 9; 41, 2. 6. 8; 8, 6, 4.

² Hultsch seems to be somewhat too charitable to Stich, but when Schmid, l. c., says: "*Den Fehler* [the italics are the writer's] *mancher späteren Schrift-*

accordingly. The fact of the matter is that this change from aorist to perfect and *vice versa* is not an innovation of Polybios', but is found in Attic writers, and it would be wrong to say that Polybios used the tenses in such cases without any difference of meaning. In the actual narration of past events—that is to say in the vast bulk of Polybios—the perfect ind. is never used for the aorist indicative, and even the perf. ptc., where it seems to approach the aorist, has not lost its peculiar signification.

Chaps. XXIX and XXX. *Shifting of Imperfect and Aorist.*—As a treatment of the shifting of all the narrative tenses would have transcended the limits of any ordinary treatise, the present chapters are limited to the change from Imperfect to Aorist and *vice versa*, and even with this restriction it has been found necessary to limit the treatment to arranging and commenting upon the most important examples treated elsewhere in this work, and to supplementing them by other striking passages. In the former chapter the change from imperfect to aorist is discussed, and in the latter the change from aorist to imperfect. In the arrangement of the materials, the long passages in which there are repeated changes of tense are treated first. Prominently among these figures the description of the battle of Cannae 3, 113–116, where the choice of the tenses, among other things, affords evidence of the elaborate care that Polybios bestowed upon the elaboration of the minutest details, so much so that the passage in question may be called a veritable masterpiece of style. The examples in which the change of tenses is confined to the limits of a single sentence are grouped according to the conjunctions connecting the clauses containing the tenses in question. The instances in which *καί* is the connecting particle first receive attention. Hereupon follow the sentences in which the clauses are contrasted by *μέν* and *δέ* or such in which there is a *δέ* clause without preceding *μέν*. Lastly, sentences with members connected by various other co-ordinating particles come up for consideration. The examples of the second group exceed those of the first both in point of frequency and in point of variety of verbs used.¹

steller (bei Attikern sehr vereinzelt, hie u. da bei Polyb.: Stich, Acta Sem. Erl. II 170) das Perfektum anstatt des Aorists zu gebrauchen," etc., it is perfectly evident that Stich is wholly irresponsible for such phraseology as '*Fehler*,' especially when applied to Attic writers.

¹ I count 54 passages in which the imperfect is followed by the aorist and 89 in which the aorist is followed by the imperfect with the connecting particle *καί*; 130 passages in which the imperfect is followed by the aorist, and 116 of

Another point of interest is the fact that the change of tenses, when studied as a whole, affords additional proof of the tendency of certain verbs or classes of verbs to prefer certain tenses.

Chap. XXXI. *Historical Present*.—The historical present is not very frequent in Polybios. It is found in book I 19 times; book II, 4 times; book III, 13 times; book IV, 10 times; book V, 10 times; remaining books (excluding book XL), 31 times. When J. Stich, l. c., p. 163, writes: "frequentissimus est autem usus praesentis, quod historicum vocant grammatici," and cites four examples in all, he affords but one of the many proofs of the haste and lack of reliability that characterize his work. In the first book there are about 1200 imperfects and aorists indic. against 19 historical presents. So it would be impossible even here to speak of an *usus frequentissimus*, not to say anything of the remaining books, in which the proportion of historical presents is still smaller. The 87 historical presents in books 1-39 belong to about 44 different verbs. Of these presents 43 must be regarded as representatives of the aorist, 33¹ are used in the sense of the imperfect, and of 11 it is uncertain whether they represent the aorist or the imperfect. It is further to be noted that the historical present is nowhere repeated a number of times within the same portion of narrative. Even the succession of two such presents is exceptional, being found in 1, 9, 2 f.; 55, 6; 10, 32, 4; 14, 4, 10 and fr. 81. Elsewhere this tense is found singly

the reverse with the clauses connected by μέν—δέ. The explanation of the figures seems to be evident. The contrast involved in μέν—δέ is not at all unfavorable to the shifting of the tenses, while copulative καί acts rather as a barrier. So much so is this true of καί that instances of a change from imperfect to aorist are considerably less common than those of the more easy change from aorist to imperfect, and the use of the imperfect in the former case is limited almost exclusively to such verbs as are by preference used in the imperf. As for the latter case—the shift from aorist to imperfect of verbs connected by καί—that is often important from a stylistic rather than from a grammatical point of view, it being possible in such cases to replace the first of the two co-ordinate clauses by an aor. ptc. or by a subordinate clause introduced by ἐπειδή.

¹ Hultsch gives the number 34. He has had the misfortune to place διαπέμπεται (8, 18, 1) both among the representatives of the imperfect and among those presents in the case of which there may be some doubt as to whether they represent the imperfect or the aorist, and this slip has been made not only in the table on p. 60, but also in the separate discussion of the passage on p. 51.

and intermingled with other narrative tenses. As for the use, it is to be remarked that the historical present is especially used to introduce the reader into a new situation—to shift the scene of the drama, as it were. Hence we find distinct sections of historical narrative introduced in a vivid manner by this tense, and it is immaterial whether in this case the present is used for an aorist or for an imperfect.¹

Chap. XXXII. *Pluperfect*.—Polybios uses the pluperfect in exactly the same way as the former historians, though it would have to be ascertained by a separate investigation as to whether he uses it somewhat more freely than the Attic writers. The participle of the perfect would also have to be taken into account in this connection. For when it is used in connection with a narrative tense, it designates an action completed in the past (die in der Vergangenheit vollendete Handlung), and is therefore equivalent to a pluperfect in a subordinate clause. As far as our observations go, the perfect participle is a favorite form in

¹This latter statement was quite timely. Hultsch has made entirely too much ado about the tense, whether imperfect or aorist, whose place the present is supposed to take. It is enough to know that at times the historical present may be replaced by the imperfect and at times by the aorist indicative without doing violence to the Greek idiom. As for the feeling of the tense, that is totally distinct from the feeling of either the imperfect or the aorist. In the theory of the tense, Hultsch (3. Abh., p. 43, foot-note) follows Kohlmann and Brugmann in believing that the speaker, when using the historical present, transfers himself to the time when the action took place and views the event as in a drama or in a picture. The commonly accepted view, and one that is advocated by Kühner, Krüger and Koch, is that the speaker views the past as present. Hultsch remarks that ultimately there is no great difference between the two views, and that may be true. It all depends on what is meant by viewing the past as present. But it does seem as though the former view got a little nearer to the real facts of the case. Only, the writer should like to add that the function of a tense used in historical narrative should be largely measured by the effect produced upon the hearer, and that the power of transferring the hearer to the past is a quality possessed not simply by the historical present, but by historical narrative in general; that is to say, by a narrative that is really a narrative and not simply a collection of statistics. The true *ἥθος* of the historical present must be sought elsewhere, probably in the direction pointed out by Prof. Gildersleeve, *Pind.*, p. cii, and regarding its occurrence in history, it must be noted that Hultsch in so far agrees with Rodemeyer (*Das Praesens historicum bei Herodot und Thukydides*, Basel, 1889; Leipzig, 1889) as to admit that at least one use of the historical present is that it forms the basis or point of departure for a narrative of greater or less length.

Polybios, and it is probably also used where Attic writers would have been content with the aorist. This would amount to a gradual encroachment of the pluperfect in subordinate sentences at the expense of the aorist. The pluperfect of verbs whose perfect is equivalent to a present is found in quite a number of instances. *εἰστήκει* and compounds, *κατεπέπληκτο* (= *ἐκπλαγῆς ἦν*), *ἐπέπειστο*, *εἴθιστο* and *εἰώθει*, and *ἔδεδίει* deserve especial mention. Of other pluperfects, those of *ποιεῖσθαι* (mid.), and those of *γίνεσθαι*, *λαμβάνειν*, *πίπτειν*, *τάττειν*, *τιθέναι* and compounds, are especially frequent. In most of these cases, however, the pluperfect is used of a past state of completion, though the idea of antecedence is often very strongly suggested. But in quite a large number of cases the notion of an action antecedent to some other past action is definitely expressed or is forced upon us by the context. This use of the pluperfect is a favorite one in *γάρ* clauses and in relative sentences, particularly the latter. In other subordinate clauses the pluperfect is less common, only five examples being cited. The close relationship of imperfect and pluperfect is shown by the fact that imperfect and pluperfect are very frequently associated with one another, most commonly when connected by *μέν—δέ*, less frequently when connected by *καί*, and least frequently when connected by *καί—καί, τε, τε—τε, πρῶτον μέν—εἶτα, δέ* and *οὐ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καί*. The shift from aorist to pluperfect or *vice versa* also occurs, but very much less frequently. Here again the majority of examples are found in clauses connected (contrasted) by means of *μέν* and *δέ*. The pluperfect is also found in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Five examples are cited. A favorite periphrasis of the pluperfect is *συνέβαινε* (26 times) with the perfect inf. (33 times) and *συνέβη* (3 times) with perf. inf. (4 times) (cf. p. 168). Even *συμβεβήκει* occurs 7, 3, 6 (with perfect infinitive followed by aorist inf.); 31, 7, 13 (with perfect infinitive); 3, 103, 4 (without inf.). Another not uncommon periphrasis of the pluperfect is the use of the perfect participle with the aorist or the imperfect of *τυγχάνειν*. As in the case of *συμβαίνειν* with the perf. inf., the imperfect is the rule for *τυγχάνειν* w. the perf. ptc., the aorist the exception. There are in all 293 pluperfects in Polybios, 21 being passive periphrastic forms consisting of *ῆν* and the perf. pass. ptc. A properly arranged list of all these pluperfects closes the chapter.

Conclusion.

At the close of this report of the facts of Polybian usage, the writer of this article would state that he has discussed in foot-notes only some of the many points that seemed to require a word of comment. He regrets very much that lack of space and time alike precluded any attempt at doing more. But, after all, the main object of this paper has been accomplished. Hultsch's elaborate treatise has received a portion at least of the attention it justly deserves. It is true, Hultsch has not been very successful in the treatment of the theoretical side of his subject. We find him dallying with theories and formulae that ought to be dead and buried, and when he does embrace more modern formulae, we are horrified to see that they are—ambiguous. But the subject is a very evasive one. Some of the best scholars have been deluded by its snares and will continue to be deluded, unless methods of investigation different from those in common vogue shall be pursued. What is needed in the first place is a broader study of the possibilities of Greek tense-usage by comparison with other languages, particularly the mother-tongue, and by that we mean more than simply defining a tense on the basis of a possible translation, or concluding that two tenses are practical-equivalents if the same translation happens to make good sense in either case. Too much of this has been done heretofore, to the neglect of the larger study of the principles upon which the tense-usage of any particular language rests, and hence the study of the tenses has often remained but a comparatively fruitless attempt. The next step to take is to engage in a most minute and exhaustive study of the facts of the use of the tenses in Greek. It is in this respect that Hultsch's work has been of inestimable service. Though not absolutely exhaustive on all points, it has nevertheless been conducted on a vastly more generous scale than more pretentious treatises, and though his theoretical reasonings and the inferences he draws from his statistics are in a large measure unsound, nevertheless the valuable addition made by Hultsch to our knowledge of the facts of the language will more than compensate for his shortcomings in other directions.

C. W. E. MILLER.

II.—DIMINUTIVES IN CATULLUS.

As is well known, a marked feature of Catullus' style is his frequent use of diminutive forms both of nouns and adjectives. It is of course impossible in all cases to determine from external evidence whether there was given to any such form in a particular case, a true diminutive idea, or in fact an idea differing at all from that of the ordinary word. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss each diminutive form, to ascertain, if possible, its probable value, and to see what conclusions can be drawn therefrom concerning Catullus' usage.

I. Adjectives. (a) Those found elsewhere.

(b) ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

II. Nouns. (a) Those found elsewhere.

(b) ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

I (a).

1) *albulus*.

29. 8 Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens
Perambulabit omnium cubilia
Ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus.

In 68. 125 Cat. writes *niveus columbus*. *Albulus* is used in Mart. 12. 99. 4 with *freta* and in Varro r. r. 3. 14. 4 with *cochleae*. There is no reason in the context for supposing that Cat. intended any difference between *albulus* and *niveus* as applied to a dove, and to translate the first 'a whitish dove' would be thoroughly unpoetical. *Albus* is used for the pallor caused by fear or excess often enough, and if Cat., in applying the epithet to the dove, was influenced by the looks of Caesar, surely no dim. was wanted. It is highly improbable that there is any difference in meaning between *albulus columbus*, *albula freta* and *albus columbus*, *alba freta*. *Albus* is used three times in Cat. with *homo*, *parthenice* and *aether*, where certainly no more perfect whiteness is meant than in this case.

2) *aureolus*.

2. 12 Tam gratumst mihi quam ferunt puellae
Pernici aureolum fuisse malum.

61. 163 Transfer omine cum bono Limen aureolos pedes.

Aureus occurs four times in Cat. The dim. is used by Plautus, Lucilius, Varro, Cicero and Martial; in most cases in the same sense as *aureus*. In the first of these two instances from Cat. there can be no possible difference in meaning between the dim. and *aureus*. In the second, an idea of endearment may be read into the adjective.

3) *bimulus*.

17. 13 Nec sapit pueri instar
Bimuli tremula patris dormientis in ulna.

The only other quotable case of this dim. is from Suet. Cal. 8. There can be no real difference between *bimus* and *bimulus* here, unless perhaps we translate 'hardly two years old,' giving an additional idea of youth and contempt. This, however, is one of the more doubtful cases.

4) *frigidulus*.

64. 131 Atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis,
Frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem.

Ariadne stands on the shore, looking out over the sea, having been abandoned by Theseus. *Frigidulos singultus* evidently means faint sobs—sobs made faint by the chill of fear and despair that has crept over the woman. Is there any difference between this and *frigidus singultus*? Cat. uses *frigidus* twice: 44. 13 me gravido frigida et frequens tussis Quassavit and 68. 29 frigida deserto tepefactet membra cubili. *Frigidulus* occurs twice in the Ciris: 250 frigidulam puellam and 348 morientis alumnae frigidulos ocellos. Evidently *frigidulus* in this passage in Cat. has a different meaning from that which it has in either of the places in the Ciris. *Frigidus* occurs several times in meanings akin to this, but *frigidus* could not be written in hexameter verse. Hence Cat. used the dim. form with no probable dim. meaning, but for other reasons.

5) *integellus*.

15. 4 Ut, si quicquam animo tuo cupisti,
Quod castum expeteres et integellum.

Harpers' Lexicon translates "pretty safe, tolerably uninjured," which is wholly wrong. The context shows that the boy in question is to be kept free from the lust of Aurelius, and hence

is to be wholly uninjured. There could be no intermediate degree. If any difference exists between this form and *integer* in this passage, it would be in the strengthened idea of security. But there is no reason for supposing any real difference in meaning between them. Cat. uses *integer* three times of boys and girls in just this sense. In the only other place in Latin where this dim. occurs (Cic. ad Fam. 9. 10. 2) it is likewise precisely equivalent to *integer*. Any implied idea of affection seems forced, as far as this adjective is concerned.

6) *lacteolus*. 55. 17 Num te lacteolae tenent puellae?

This adj. occurs once in Aus. Ep. 7. 46 with *viscus* = caro candida, once in Prud. *στέφ.* 11. 245 with *agni*, and ib. 3. 165 with *spiritus Eulaliae*. *Lacteus* is not used by Cat., but is by Vergil with *cervix*, *calla*, etc. In this passage we may well give to the dim. a sense differing somewhat from *lacteus*, but it will be in no way a primary diminutive idea. Rather will it imply an unusual degree of whiteness and beauty.

7) *languidulus*.

64. 331 Quae tibi flexanimo mentem perfundat amore
Languidulosque paret tecum coniungere somnos.

This adj. is quoted by Quint. 8. 3. 66 from Cicero with *coronae*, meaning drooping, and with *oculi* in Anthol. Lat. 33. 2 (621. 3). For its use in these three places any number of analogous uses of *languidus* can be quoted, and from the context here it does not seem probable that Cat. intended to make any difference in the meaning of *languidulus* and *languidus*. *Languidos* could not be used in a hexameter verse. Elsewhere Cat. uses *languidus*.

8) *misellus*.

35. 14 ex eo misellae Ignes interiorum edunt medullam
40. 1 miselle Ravide,
45. 21 Unam Septumius misellus Acmen Mavolt
80. 7 clamant Victoris rupta miselli Ilia.

The dim. occurs perhaps half a dozen times outside of Catullus. Cat. uses *miser* more frequently, and a comparison of the passages seems to show that there is probably no real difference in meaning between the two. There is at least no reason why these four cases should have the dim. and the others not, if there is any

difference of any sort between them. We may say, of course, that *misellus* conveys a stronger idea of wretchedness or contempt than *miser*, but there is nothing in these lines to prove it.

9) *molliculus*.

16. 4 Qui me ex versiculis meis putastis
Quod sunt molliculi parum pudicum.
16. 8 Si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici (versiculi).

This dim. occurs twice in Plautus with *escae* and *caseus*, and once in Charisius with *adulescentulus*. Cat. uses *mollis* more than twenty times, but nowhere with *versus*, nor in relation to poetry. The dim. form here would seem to be due mainly to the influence of *versiculus*, which precedes it in both cases, and to the assonance of the line rather than to any intended variation on the meaning of *mollis*.

10) *pallidulus*.

65. 6 Namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratris
Pallidulam manans adluit unda pedem.

This word occurs once in Juvenal 10. 82, applied to Brutidius Niger. Cat. uses the comparative of *pallidus* once, 81. 4 *pallidior* inaurata statua. *Pallidus* means 'having a death-like appearance' very often, if not usually, and it is very difficult to see any variation from this meaning in *pallidulus* here. The only way to get any additional notion into the dim. is to assign to it an idea of pity, but that seems far-fetched.

11) *parvolus*.

61. 212 Torquatus volo parvolus Matris e gremio suo . . .

Cat. uses *parvus* three times. In other writers the dim. form had come to be used as exactly equivalent to *parvus*, and there is no apparent reason for making any distinction here.

- 12) *pusillus*. 37. 16 omnes pusilli; 54. 1 caput pusillum.

Only one case of *pusus* can be quoted, and *pusillus* was ordinarily used, having lost all distinctively dim. value.

- 13) *tenellulus*. 17. 15 et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo.

This double dim. can be quoted only once elsewhere (Laer. ap. Prisc. 903). Cat. uses *tener* eleven times. Here again the Lexi-

con's rendering "somewhat tender" is manifestly wrong, for if there is any force whatever in the variation in form to affect the meaning, it must be, judging from the context, to increase that meaning. *Tenellulus* must mean 'very delicate or tender,' if it means anything besides 'tender.' Undoubtedly it does mean 'very tender' here, to enhance the force of the compliment.

14) *turgidulus*.

3. 18 Tua nunc opera meae puellae
Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.

The only other quotable case of this dim. is from Paul. Petr. 5. 450, and this is of little value because of its lateness. Cat. does not have *turgidus* at all. The dim. would seem to be due to the influence of *puellae* and *ocelli*, and the desire on the part of the writer to produce an affectionate effect from the sound of the two lines. There is no dim. idea here in the adj. *turgidulus* itself, and assonance probably had more to do with its use than any variation in meaning between it and *turgidus*.

15) *turpiculus*. 41. 3 ista turpiculo puella naso.

This dim. occurs with *res* in Varro l. l. 7. 97, and in a metaphorical sense in Cicero de Orat. 2. 61. 248. Cat. uses *turpis* six times, but undoubtedly we can see here a distinctly contemptuous notion in the dim.

16) *Vetulus*. 27. 1 Minister vetuli puer Falerni.

Cat. uses *vetus* frequently. *Vetulus* occurs in other writers with no different meaning from *vetus*, and certainly there is no reason for making such difference here.

I (δ). ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

1) *aridulus*.

64. 316 Laneaque aridulis haerebant morsa labellis.

Aridus occurs three times in Cat. Here again the Lexicon's rendering "somewhat dry" is wrong. There is no probability whatever of the dim. expressing a less degree of dryness than *aridus*. Whatever idea it may convey, it certainly is not that. There is no reason in the context for any but the simple meaning of *aridus*, but *aridis* could not be used in the verse. Assonance and metre are probably responsible for *aridulis*.

2) *eruditulus*.

57. 7 Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique
Uno in lectulo, erudituli ambo.

Cat. does not use *eruditus*. The statement in the Lexicon that this dim. means "somewhat skilled (in love)" cannot be true. If the adj. is applied to Mamurra and Caesar, in relation to their love-affairs, the dim. must imply something more than *eruditus* rather than less. This is evident from the context. The probable explanation is that both men might lay claim to the title of *eruditus* on ordinary grounds, and that Cat. coins a dim. to ridicule them by transferring the application of the adjective from literature to disgraceful love-affairs. The dim. idea then would be found in the object of their knowledge, not its amount. According to Catullus' own poem, they were both thoroughly well versed in all the arts of disgraceful love, and he desires to express contempt for their kind of learning.

This dim., then, possesses a real force in its meaning.

3) *floridulus*.

61. 189 Uxor in thalamo tibist
Ore floridulo nitens.

The simple form occurs four times, with *ver*, *corolla*, *ramulus* and *puellula*, twice in this same poem. Here too the Lexicon's rendering "somewhat blooming" is ridiculous, for under the circumstances the bloom on the bride's face would be intensified rather than diminished. There is therefore no primary dim. significance in this form. Some idea of endearment may be involved, but it is doubtful if *floridulus* differs here from *floridus*. If the dim. has any force it must be intensive, like *tenellulus*.

4) *imulus*.

25. 2 Cinaede Thalle mollior cuniculi capillo
Vel anseris medullula vel imula oricilla.

Imus does not occur in Cat., and *infimus* only once. There is evidently no difference in meaning between *imus* and *imulus*, and there is not much doubt but that its use and perhaps coinage was brought about by the influence of the other diminutives in these two lines and the assonance produced by the constantly recurring *l*-sound.

5) *lassulus*.

65. 35 Itaque ut domum Cybebes tetigere lassulae
Nimio e labore somnum capiunt sine Cerere.

Lassus occurs three times. Once more the Lexicon's translation "somewhat wearied" is wrong, for the context shows that a considerable amount of weariness is meant. None of the ordinary significations of the dim. seem to be in place here, and hence we conclude that none such is probably intended.

6) *mollicellus*.

25. 10 Ne laneum latuscule manusque mollicellas
Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent.

As this form is an ἀμ. λεγ. beside *molliculus*, and as the context seems to require it, an additional idea of contempt is to be assigned to this dim.

7) *perlucidulus*. 69. 4 Aut perluciduli deliciis lapidis.

Perlucidus does not occur in Cat. This dim. cannot express any less of the quality described—if anything, quite the contrary. There may possibly be some allusion to the costliness of the stone, but, on the whole, the impression made by the passage is that there is no perceptible difference in meaning between the dim. and *perlucidus*.

8) *uvidulus*.

66. 63 Uvidulam a fletu cedentem ad templa deum me
Sidus in antiquis diva novom posuit.

Cat. does not use *uvidus*. Here at least is a dim. in which we can see a very decided gain in meaning. The picture is that of Ariadne. She has been weeping sorely, and the dim. of the adj. calls especial attention to the wretchedness of the woman in the midst of her tears.

In 15 cases, then—*albulus*, *aureolus* (1), *frigidulus*, *languidulus*, *misellus*, *molliculus*, *pallidulus*, *parvolus*, *pusillus*, *turgidulus*, *vetulus*, *aridulus*, *imulus*, *lassulus*, *perlucidulus*—the dim. form seems to convey no variation in meaning.

In 2 cases—*lacteolus*, *tenellulus*—there seems to be a distinct intensive idea.

Locky?
Peregrine
!!

In 3 cases—*turpiculus*, *eruditulus*, *mollicellus*—the dim. adds a stronger notion of contempt, and in one—*avidulus*—of wretchedness.

3 cases—*bimulus*, *integellus*, *floridulus*—seem very doubtful: no strong evidence either way.

Compare now the substantives.

II. (a) Those found elsewhere.

(b) ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

II (a).

1) *amiculus*.

30. 2 Alfene immemor atque unanimis false sodalibus
Iam te nil miseret, dure, tui dulcis amicali?

As Cat. regularly uses *amicus* (15 times), there is no reason for refusing *amiculus* a true dim. sense, especially as the context and the use of the word elsewhere seem to require it. The dim. idea here is one of pity.

2) *articulus*. 99. 8. Too common to need comment.

3) *auricula*.

67. 44 ut pote quæ mi
Speraret nec linguam esse nec auriculam.

This dim. occurs frequently, often in the sense of the outer ear. Cat. uses *auris* several times, and no distinction in meaning seems to obtain in his use of the two forms.

4) *brachiolum*.

61. 177 Mitte brachiolum teres,
Praetextate, puellæ.

Cat. uses *brachium* three times, and here there is very plainly a primary dim. meaning given to *brachiolum*, besides the notion of softness and beauty. The word is found only here in this sense. In Vegetius it is the name of a muscle in the horse.

5) *capsula*. 68. 36 Huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.

Cat. does not use *capsa*. *Capsula* is found in Fab. Pictor, Pliny, Seneca, etc., and seems to have had regularly a proper dim. meaning.

6) *catulus*. 42. 9 Ridentem catuli ore Gallicani.

The ordinary word with true dim. meaning. *Catus* is extremely rare.

7) *codicilli*. 42. 11, 12, 19, 20, 24.

Very common in this sense. Originally a true dim., but probably that had been lost sight of.

8) *corolla*.

63. 66 Mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erat.

64. 283 Hos indistinctis plexos tulit ipse corollis
Quo permulsa domus iocundo risit odore.

Cat. uses *corona* twice. *Corolla* is found in Plautus, Prop. Petr., and Pliny (21. 2. 3) says that it was applied to a particular sort of garland, first on account of its lightness. Hence it had its true dim. value, and is probably so used in these two places.

9) *flagellum*.

25. 11 Ne laneum latusculum manusque mollicellas
Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent

62. 52 Iam iam te contingit summum radice flagellum,

This word, originally having a true dim. meaning, is quite common, while *flagrum* itself is rare. In the derived meaning which it has in the second passage, it is also not uncommon in writers on horticulture. It is probable that by Catullus' time all diminutive meaning had been lost sight of.

10) *flosculus*. 24. 1 O qui flosculus es Iuventiorum.

This dim. in this metaphorical sense is used by several writers. Cat. uses *flos* five times—twice in just this sense: 63. 64 ego gymnasi sui flos, 100. 2 Flos Veronensium depereunt iuvenum. One hardly sees why the dim. here should have any different a meaning from *flos* in the two cases just quoted. There is no particular affection expressed.

11) *furcilla*. 105. 2 Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt.

This is a sort of a proverb to express forcible expulsion; cf. Cic. ad Att. 16. 2. 4 quoniam furcilla extrudimur, Brundisium cogito, and Hor. Ep. 1. 10. 24 Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurrit. It is quite evident, therefore, that there is no difference in meaning between the two forms.

12) *gemellus*.

4. 27 Gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris

57. 6 Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique.

This dim. is common enough in poetry. Cat. also uses *geminus*. In the second of these two passages the dim. may perhaps be regarded as conveying an idea of contempt, but in the first it means precisely the same as *geminus*.

13) *hortulus*.

61. 88 Talis in vario solet
Divitis domini hortulo
Stare flos hyacinthinus.

This is a rare word. Juvenal 3. 226 uses it in a true dim. sense; Pliny 35. 105 *suburbano hortulo hoc est Demetrii castris*, where a dim. sense is doubtful; Columella makes use of it to designate a part of a vineyard; Cicero uses it for 'garden-grounds,' where it appears to have lost its dim. signification, and once with a derived meaning in N. D. 1. 43. 120. Cat. uses *hortus* once. In the present passage an idea of smallness would seem out of place, and it is not easy to see that any other of the usual dim. ideas is particularly in place. Probably there is here no distinction in meaning.

14) *labellum*. 8. 18, 61. 216, 63. 74, 64. 104. 316, 80. 1, 99. 7.

Cat. uses *labrum* only once, and it is plain that a dim. of this word would be most suitable to express endearment and affection.

15) *lacrimula*.

66. 16 anne parentum
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis.

In the three cases where this dim. occurs (Ter. Eun. i. i. 22 and Cic. Planc. 31. 76) it means a 'crocodile tear,' easily derivable from the first dim. meaning. Doubtless the proper dim. idea had vanished.

16) *lapillus*.

23. 21 Nec toto decies cacas in anno
Atque id durius est faba et lapillis.

In this nauseating passage it is probable that attention is directed to the small size.

17) *latusculum*.

25. 10 Ne laneum latusculum manusque mollicellas
Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent.

This word occurs once elsewhere, in *Lucr.* 4. 305 *latuscula speculorum*. Here it has a decidedly contemptuous and derisive meaning, for which both lines are remarkable.

18) *lectulus*.

57. 7 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique*
 Uno in lectulo, erudituli ambo
 64. 88 *quam suavis expirans castus odores*
 Lectulus in molli complexu matris alebat

Lectulus is of course a common word, and in many cases in other writers it appears to mean precisely the same as *lectus*. *Cat.* uses *lectus* five times. In the first of these two passages it is quite likely that *Cat.* used *lectulus* not as differing in the least from *lectus* in meaning, but to give a sort of diminutive cast to the whole sentence. In the other case the dim. may perhaps allude to the youth or beauty or virginity of *Ariadne*, though that seems sufficiently far-fetched.

19) *libellum*. ^{1, 4} 11. 8, 14. 12, 55. 4. Too common to need any note.

20) *lucellum*.

28. 6-8 *Ecquidnam in tabulis patet lucelli*
 Expensum, ut mihi, qui meum secutus
 Praetorem refero datum lucello
 "O Memmi . . ."

Cat. does not use *lucrum*. *Lucellum* is found in *Cicero*, *Horace* and *Seneca*, sometimes with an unmistakable dim. meaning, but in one or two cases without it. *Cat.* here twits *Verannius* and *Fabulla* on the stinginess of *Piso*, and the contrast between the considerable profit they expected to make and their actual loss. Hence the most general idea of 'gain' or 'profit' seems to be required, and the dim. idea is lacking.

21) *munusculum*.

64. 103 *Non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula divis*
 Promittens . . .
 68. 145 *Sed furtiva dedit muta munuscula nocte*
 Ipsius ex ipso dempta viri gremio.

Cat. uses *munus* fifteen times. The dim. occurs twice in *Cicero*, in *Vergil*, *Juvenal* and *Horace*. *Cat.* does not use *munus* of gifts

sent by a woman, and it is a probable inference that the dim. is used for such gifts. Otherwise no difference in meaning would be easily discernible.

22) *ocellus*. 3. 18, 31. 2, 43. 2, 45. 11, 50. 10, 19, 64. 60.

Oculus Cat. uses fourteen times. In 3. 18, 43. 2, 45. 11, 50. 12, 64. 60 *ocellus* means the eye literally.

In 3. 18 Tua nunc opera meae puellae
Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.
43. 2 Salve, nec minimo puella naso
Nec bello pede, nec nigris ocellis
45. 11 At Acme leviter caput reflectens
Et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos

it is applied to the eyes of a lover, and the dim. is expressive of affection undoubtedly.

In 50. 10 Nec somnus tergeret quiete ocellos

Catullus is speaking of his own anguish, inability to sleep and desire to see Calvus. The dim. is equivalent to 'my poor eyes.'

In 64. 60 Quem procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis
Saxea ut effigies bacchantis, prospicit, eheu.

it is applied to Ariadne's eyes, and probably denotes very much the same thing as in 50. 10.

In 31. 2 Paeninsularum, Sirmio, insularumque
Ocelle

it is applied to the promontory of Sirmio, in the sense of jewel, and in

50. 19 Oramus, cave despuas, ocelle,

it is addressed to Calvus, in the sense of 'dear heart.'

Plainly, then, in all but two cases it has a distinct dim. idea, and hence it is best to assign a similar meaning to it in these two.

23) *palmula*.

4. 4 sive palmulis Opus foret volare
4. 17 Tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore

Palmula meant first the oar-blade, but Vergil seems to have used it for *remus*. Cat. has *remus* also twice, but here it is altogether likely that any original dim. notion has vanished from *palmula*.

24) *papilla*. 55. 12, 61. 101, 64. 65, 66. 81.

Used frequently of a woman's breasts. *Mamma* is not found in Cat. at all, and probably *papilla* was the regular term in poetry of this sort. A dim. would be quite in place, although it is, on the whole, probable that most of the dim. signification of this form had been lost.

25) *ponticulus*.

17. 3 O Colonia, quae cupis ponte ludere longo,
Et salire paratum habes, sed vereris inepta
Crura ponticuli assulis stantis in redivivis.

This dim. occurs once in Cicero, Columella and Suetonius. *Pons* is frequent in Cat., and here the dim. has its idea of worthlessness.

26) *puellula*. 57. 9, 61. 57. 178. 184.

This occurs once elsewhere in Latin literature proper: Ter. Phor. 81. Cat. uses *puella* continually, and this noteworthy double dim. probably expresses an additional idea of fondness and endearment.

27) *pupula*. 63. 56 Cupit ipsa pupula ad te dirigere aciem.28) *pupulus*.

56. 5 Deprendi modo pupulum puellae Trusantem . . .

Both of these diminutives occur a few times elsewhere, *pupula* more frequently than *pupulus*. *Pupus* and *pupa* are not found in Cat. To the diminutives there seems to be attached a real dim. signification in these two passages.

29) *ramulus*.

61. 22 Floridis velut enitens
Myrtus Asia ramulis.

This dim. occurs in Cato, Cicero, Pliny. In Cat. we find *ramus* once. There seems to be no reason for not assigning to the dim. form a true dim. meaning—twigs.

30) *sacculus*.

13. 8 nam tui Catulli
Plenus sacculus est araneorum.

This dim. is not uncommon, and other writers seem to use *saccus*, *sacculus* and *sacellus* oftentimes as synonymous. It would

seem here—at least from one point of view—that there should be no dim. idea, for the larger the purse, the greater its load of emptiness, and the more forcible the figure. Probably therefore *sacculus* = *saccus*.

31) *salillum*. 23. 19 Quod culus tibi purior salillost.

This dim. was formerly read in Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 91, but later editors read *vatillum* or *scintillula*. If it is removed from Plautus, it remains *ἀπ. λεγ.* Cat. does not use *salinum*, and there does not seem to be anything in the passage to show the slightest variation in meaning between that and this dim. form.

32) *sarcinula*.

28. 2 Pisonis comites, cohors inanis
Aptis sarcinulis et expeditis.

This dim. occurs several times. Cat. does not use *sarcina*. It appears to be quite impossible to tell here whether there is any dim. signification or not.

33) *solaciolum*. 2. 7 Ut solaciolum sui doloris.

The only other case of occurrence of this word is in CIL. 8. 7427 *solaciolum vitae*. Here there is doubtless a real diminutive meaning intended.

34) *suaviolum*.

99. 2 Suaviolum dulci dulcius ambrosia
99. 14 Suaviolum tristi tristius helleboro.

This is found twice in Apuleius. *Suavium* is found twice in Cat., and here he intends to convey the dim. notion of added sweetness in the first line, and kept the same form in the antithesis.

35) *tabella*. 32. 5 Nequis liminis obseret tabellam.

An exceedingly common word in various meanings. Just what it means here is not certain, and hence any inference about its dim. force must be vague. The probability is that there is no particular dim. notion, even if Bährens' explanation be accepted.

36) *tantillum*. 99. 6 Tantillum vestrae demere saevitiae.

Rather rare as a subst., but its dim. sense is always apparent.

37) *tigillum*.

67. 39 (ianua) sed hic suffixa tigillo
Tantum operire soles aut operire domum.

A common word, used quite regularly of such a piece of wood, for instance, as that from which a door-jamb is made. Originally a true dim., though in Catullus' time men were hardly conscious of that idea, in using the word.

38) *versiculus*.

16. 3 Qui me ex versiculis meis putastis
16. 6 Ipsum, versiculos nihil necessest
50. 4 Scribens versiculos uterque nostrum

Very common, and used with dim. signification of disparagement. Cat. uses *versus* twice only.

39) *villula*.

26. 1 Furi, villula nostra non ad Austri
Flatus oppositast.

Occurs in Cicero, Horace and Apuleius; and has a regular dim. meaning. *Villa* is found once in Cat.

40) *zonula*.

61. 53 tibi virgines
Zonula solvunt sinus.

Found in Serenus ap. Non. 539. Cat. uses *zona* twice, and as a small waist was not regarded as an object of beauty by the Romans, *zonula* can hardly be explained as meaning a short girdle. If there is any distinctive idea in this form here, it must lie in the general affectionate turn of the whole thought.

II (b). ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

1) *femella*.

55. 7 In Magni simul ambulatione
Femellas omnes, amici, prendi,
Quas vultu vidi tamen serenas.

Cat. uses *femina* four times. It is quite probable, as Ellis suggests, that *femellae* here means 'light women.' That suits the context and there is no other good way of making any difference in meaning between *femella* and *femina*.

2) *medullula*.

25. 2 Cinaede Thalle, mollior cuniculi capillo
Vel anseris medullula vel imula oricilla.

There is a dispute about the meaning of this word. Voss suggests the inner feathers, which are the softest; Bährens, the fat or liver; others, the pith inside the feather. There is, however, no doubt that the force of the dim. ending is to intensify the idea of softness, as *medulla* is found in each of the senses given above.

3) *oricilla*. 25. 2 (just quoted). For *auricilla*, corresponding to *auricula* 67. 44. The explanation of this dim. is the same as that of *medullula*, although in it the idea is not so readily suggested. Cat. probably intended to produce the desired effect by the combination of words rather than by assigning a definite dim. meaning to the individual words. }

4) *scortillum*.

10. 3 Varus me meus ad suos amores
Visum duxerat e foro otiosum,
Scortillum, ut mihi tum repente visumst,
Non sane inlepidum neque invenustum.

Cat. uses *scortum* once. Here one may suppose that there is a primary dim. signification, or one of contempt, or one of endearment. It is impossible to say with any certainty. It is not by any means evident that it has any of these ideas, nor that it differs in the least from *scortum*.

5) *sicula*.

67. 21 Languidior tenera cui pendens sicula beta
Numquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam.

Cat. does not use *sica*, and the dim. sense of *sicula* is obvious.

In looking over these nouns it appears that there are some, perhaps seven or eight, like *articulus*, *codicilli*, *flagellum*, etc., whose original dim. meaning had probably been lost sight of. Taking these out of the whole number, the ratio between those nouns in which we can see a plain dim. signification of some kind, and those in which there appears to be no such significance, is about three to one. Of course, exactness is impossible, for the

purpose of the reader enters into the question very largely. It is difficult to keep one's mind absolutely or even reasonably free from preconceptions about the matter. From going through these words I have come to these conclusions: (1) In many cases the lexicons fail entirely of giving the real meaning of the dim.; cf. *tenellulus*. (2) In the adjectives in the majority of instances there is no apparent difference in meaning between the dim. and regular form. (3) In nouns the case is exactly reversed, and for most of these the dim. sense is plain. (4) Catullus was unusually fond of the dim. form as well as meaning, and though in most cases of nouns and some adjectives the meaning is prominent, in the other nouns and most adjectives he uses the dim. form for itself, through analogy, or for reasons of rhythm and metre.

It is indisputable that in a true poet like Catullus form and meaning go together, and can hardly be separated, but it is nevertheless true that oftentimes the student can see which has been most powerful in its action on the poet's mind.

It is quite likely that in some of these words the true sense has been missed, but on the whole the conclusions seem justified.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

III.—ON A LEGEND OF THE ALBAN LAKE TOLD BY DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

The methods used by the ancient writers in dealing with the early history of the Roman Commonwealth are now too well understood to require any comment in detail. The final result of their labors as seen on the pages of Livy and Dionysius, however interesting it may be to the student of folklore, national character or literature, brings small comfort to the admirer of history as a truthful record of events. The early Roman annalist found himself in a position peculiarly difficult. His own lack of training in the investigation of materials for history was only equalled by the poverty in such materials. Furthermore, while the legends of Rome distinctly connected her with the old mother-city of Alba Longa, while the story of Romulus and Remus was a national inheritance, it was perfectly evident that the tale of Aeneas was a stranger. But the tale of Aeneas could not be set aside by the patriotic historian, for at the close of the second Punic war it assumed, as Nissen has observed,¹ a distinctly political importance. Hence the early annalists were confronted with the problem of so adapting it as to agree with and form a part of the native legends, which were too well known to be ignored. The task was difficult and constantly grew more so as the years went on and investigation developed in scope and accuracy. One of the most vexatious arose when chronology began to assert its claims. It was then discovered that between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome was a gap of over three hundred years. To bridge the chasm was devised the list of Alban kings from Ascanius to Amulius, in its finally accepted form the latest and most evident forgery in the whole story. The investigators who first discovered this formidable hiatus perhaps contented themselves with the statement that there had been a royal house at Alba through which the blood of Aeneas was transmitted to the founders of

¹ Jahn's Jahrb. 91, p. 384; Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. I, p. 305 ff.

Rome. It is a significant fact that the list of Alban kings, fully equipped with names and dates—and not much else—does not emerge until the fortunes of the Roman State were bound up with the personal interests of a family which claimed descent from Anchises and Venus. Mommsen¹ is undoubtedly correct in his conjecture that the person most responsible was Alexander Polyhistor; his literary habits are plainly reflected in the list of Alban kings as we now find it in the surviving writers.

The general consensus of critics that this list is a pure invention and probably originated in Greek literature rests on a number of proofs of which the integrity can scarcely be questioned. The names themselves are, most of them, palpably strangers to their surroundings, and "sehr wohlfeil zusammengebettelt," as Schwegler says (*Röm. Gesch.* I, p. 343, n. 2). A great deal of variation in the different lists is to be observed, the number 330 has a suspiciously ritualistic appearance, the unusual exactness in dates is coupled with a noticeable reticence of historical details. Historical details are, in fact, limited to brief notices attached to the names of three kings. Tiberinus was drowned in the river Albula, after which it was called the Tiber. Aventinus was buried on the Mons Aventinus: hence its name. Both of these stories are, of course, aetiological and may be summarily dismissed. The third king, variously named, was an impious tyrant. He imitated thunder and lightning; therefore the god slew him with a real thunderbolt. It is this story which I wish to examine in detail, taking as a basis the narrative of Dionysius, who in prose is the chief exponent of the Aeneas legend. His account (*Antiq. Rom.* I 71, 3 ff.) is as follows: "And after Agrippa came Allodius, who reigned nineteen years, a monster of tyranny whom the gods hated: for, scorning the divine powers, he fashioned imitations of lightning and loud noises resembling claps of thunder, with which he thought to terrify men, as if he were a god. But tempests and thunderbolts rushed down upon his dwelling and, the lake having risen to an unwonted height, he and all his house were overwhelmed and destroyed. And to this day, if the lake is clear in a certain quarter, whenever the flow of

¹ *Röm. Chron.*, p. 156. Polyhistor was afterwards abetted by Castor. There was also a considerable mass of tradition in the time of the Caesars originating in certain private families, not to mention other matters suggested by grammatical and antiquarian research. Fragments are still visible in the Servian Commentary to Vergil. See Cauer, *Röm. Aeneassage*, p. 144 ff.

water from the source subsides and the depths are undisturbed,¹ the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling are still visible."

The fragment of Diodorus Siculus (Book 7, Frag. 5) which relates this story was preserved in the Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius. The narrative is the same, except that the king is named *Arramulius* Silvius and that his method of imitating thunder is described: "Sometimes, when at harvest time the rolling of thunder was loud and continuous, he would order his troops, at the word of command, to beat their weapons in unison upon their shields, thinking that the sound so produced could surpass the very thunder itself." It is interesting to compare this version with the abbreviated form of the same passage found in the *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*.² The excerptor calls the king *Romulus* Silvius, but tells briefly the same story until the king imitates thunder. He then closes with a curt *διὰ κεραυνωθῆναι*. The omission of all which follows in his original is characteristic of the moralizer as opposed to the story-teller, and illustrates the readiness with which a legend is altered or modified to suit the purposes of the narrator.

Zonaras (7, 1, D.) calls the king *Amulius*, the son of Tiberinus. "He dared to assume the attributes of a god and was so vain-glorious as to artificially rival thunder with thunder, to rival lightning with lightning and to hurl thunderbolts. Wherefore he perished utterly, for the lake by which he dwelt rose suddenly and destroyed both him and his palace."

The *Origo Gentis Romanae* (18, 2) calls the king *Aremulus* Silvius, follows the account of Diodorus in the description of his sin, and then says that "he was struck by lightning, swept away by a whirlwind and cast into the Alban lake, as we are told in book VI of the Annals and the Epitome of Piso, II. Aufidius, however, in his Epitomae, and Domitius, book I, say that he was not struck by lightning, but that it was an earthquake which cast

¹ ὅταν ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ σταθερὸς ὁ βυθὸς γένηται. Usually translated "when the lake is low, recedes from its usual height," etc., as though νᾶμα here were used simply as a variant of the more usual λίμνη, which occurs in the same sentence. But the Alban lake is entirely fed from the bottom by gushing springs. From this point of view νᾶμα in its usual sense becomes perfectly intelligible and the term σταθερός is eminently proper, as every hill-dweller who is familiar with such pools would be aware. Hence Cobet's emendation (Obs., p. 134) to φανερός is quite unnecessary.

² See Diodorus, Book 7, Frag. 7.

him and his palace together into the Alban lake." Jordan (*Hermes*, 3, 421 ff.) shows that this work is a forgery of the fifth or sixth century and that the author got most of his materials from the Vergilian commentators. The alternative here proposed of an earthquake is perhaps too summarily dismissed by Jordan, but, of course, the parade of references is not to be taken seriously. This is merely Ancient Learning in her second childhood.

Livy, with more than usual caution, has reduced the story to the lowest terms compatible with existence, contenting himself with the bare statement "*fulmine ictus*." His name for the king is *Romulus Silvius*.

Ovid tells the story twice, each time with a different authority before him. In the *Metamorphoses* (14, 616 ff.) he says that Tiberinus had two sons, *Remulus* and Acrota. "*Remulus the elder perished by the lightning—he had imitated it. Acrota, who was more temperate than his brother, left the sceptre to Aventinus*." In the *Fasti* (4, 49) he tells of Tiberinus, of his son Agrippa, and of *Remulus*, his grandson. "They say," he adds, "that thunderbolts were cast at Remulus. After these came Aventinus," etc. These passages are one of the many proofs which show how uncertain and conflicting were the various lists of Alban kings. To be sure, Ovid wrote poetry, not dissertations, but it would be dangerous to adopt Cauer's suggestion (*Röm. Aeneassage*, p. 149) that metre in this case had anything to do with even a change of names. Metre never prevented Ovid from telling a story as he desired. Taking into consideration Ovid's surpassing ability as a story-teller, the omission of any reference to the rising of the lake, etc.—from the poet's point of view certainly the most telling portion of the story—would lead us to believe that there was no mention of it in either of the authorities which he consulted.

All we learn from the version of Dion Cassius is the name *Amulius*, registered by Tzetzes (*Scholia ad Lycoph.* 1250). Appian is only quoted by Photius, and is represented by the statement that *Romulus* was struck by lightning.

The Chronicle of Hieronymus and the probably mutilated account of Syncellus (p. 148) agree in calling the king *Aremulus Silvius*, and in saying that he reigned 19 years and was blasted for impiety. Cassiodorus calls him *Aremulus* and the "*Χρονογραφείον Σύνομον*," *Ἐρεμούλιος*. The *Excerpta Latini Barbari* says: "*Tar-cyinius Silvius regnavit annos XVIII*," a statement chiefly valuable

as showing how readily these people identify one tyrant with another better known.¹

How much and in what way the narrators of these different versions depend upon each other or their predecessors is a matter not pertinent to the present enquiry. For this, reference is made to Mommsen, *Röm. Chron.*, p. 150 ff., and especially to Fr. Cauer, 'Die röm. Aeneassage von Naevius bis Vergilius,' 15. Supplementband der Jahrb. f. class. Philologie.

When we compare the different statements of the legend, we notice, among other things, the variation in the name of the king. There is really less variation, however, than would appear at first sight. *Romulus*, *Remulus* and *Aremulus* are practically identical.² *Amulius* (like *Tarcyinius* of the *Excerpt. Lat. Bar.*) was doubtless suggested by another tyrant better known. *Arramulius* (Euseb., *Armen. Vers.*) and 'Ερεμούλιος (*Χρον. Συγγ.*) are probably the result either of bad text or a combination of the names *Amulius* and *Remulus*. The identity of *Allodius* (occurring only in *Dionysius*) and *Amulius* has lately been pointed out by Trieber, 'Die Königstafel von Alba Longa,' *Hermes*, 29, 130. It would be time lost to seek for any name in these variants better than the rest, since none of them appear to have had any historical foundation.

Comparison of versions also shows that the different narrators felt that the important point in this story was the fact that the king, whatever his name was, was struck by lightning. It is the one thing which they have in common.³ *Livy*, indeed, has nothing else. Others, again, add the reason why he was blasted. He was impious. He defied the gods. One need not confine himself to the classics for parallels to this part of the story. In all countries and times the signal retribution of blasphemy or impiety has always been thought to be the thunderbolt. The writer recollects two or three such anecdotes which were told him in boyhood, while within a few months the idea has again come to the surface in an article entitled 'The Strange Fate of Major Rogers, a Buddhistic Mystery,' *Arena*, Dec. 1894, p. 71 ff. Still a third class specify the sort of blasphemy of which the Alban

¹ On the *Chron.* of 354 and the willful alterations there, see Mommsen, p. 649.

² See Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythol.* 2, 336, n. 2, and 283, n. 4.

³ Except Zonaras, with whom, as he is an epitomizer, the omission scarcely counts.

king was guilty. He imitated thunder and lightning. Here the likeness to the legend of Salmoneus (Apoll. 1, 7) is, of course, plainly visible.¹

But Dionysius and Diodorus relate the most interesting part of the story in telling us how the lake rose and overwhelmed Allodius and all his house, and how, to this day, ruins of that house are sometimes to be seen at the bottom. Every one will at once be reminded of those legends of submerged cities and palaces told of in all parts of the world, some of them, like the famous *Vineta*, so well known as to have become the common-place of folklore. *Sipylus*, *Helice* and *Bura*² are examples from classical antiquity. Thirlwall³ many years ago drew attention to the kinship of the Allodius story with this group of legends, but, so far as I have been able to discover, no one since then has either mentioned his name in this connection or, indeed, made the slightest reference to the same point in this version.

Did Polyhistor or Castor or their like invent this portion of the Allodius story on the analogy of something similar in Greek, for it should be observed that Tantalus, also punished for impiety, was closely connected with Sipylus, a city which was overtaken by a similar fate? If the Allodius story had such an origin it would be current only among those who had read or copied the author. Or, on the other hand, is it an ancient folk-legend of the Alban lake fitted into this portion of so-called Roman history? If we really needed to be convinced that the truth lay in the second alternative, we might appeal to the legend, which is still current in the neighborhood of the Lago Albano. Thirlwall had it from his young guide, who told it as follows: "Where the lake now lies there once stood a great city. Here, when Jesus Christ came into Italy, he begged alms. None took compassion on him but one old woman, who gave him two handfuls of meal. He bade her leave the city; she obeyed: the city instantly sank and the lake rose in its place."

¹ Although C. Robert seems to have been the first to mention it. See Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythol.* 2, 338, note.

² Ovid alone (*Met.* 15, 293) has the form *Burin*, probably from the analogy of the Latin word *buris*. See Burmann ad loc. Legends of this sort might be cited indefinitely. Reference may be had, among many others, to Grimm, *D. M.* 981 ff.; D. S., Nos. 22 and 131; Gerstäcker's *Germelshausen*; Bassett, *Legends of the Sea*, with references, etc.

³ *Literary Remains*, vol. III, pp. 189-210.

No one, I am sure, will claim a literary origin for this story, however remote. It has lost much of the pomp and circumstance which it probably once had, it has been outwardly affected by the habits of mediaeval Italy, but investigation will show it to be nearer the original than Dionysius is. The Lago Albano lies in the crater of an extinct volcano and has no visible natural outlet. It is surrounded by an unbroken ring of rock, the lowest point of which is 240 feet above the present surface of the lake, itself nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea. It is six miles long and nearly 500 feet deep. How did such a large hole get here, and how did there come to be a lake in it? The primitive philosopher usually answers such questions as these with a story. And judging from similar stories, we may be sure that in this case it was not, as Diodorus and Dionysius tell it, an incident connected *with* the lake, but that, like the modern legend, it accounted for the very existence of the lake itself and the peculiar configuration of the surrounding country.

"Here was once a table-land," said the old story, "and upon it a city. This city or some king of it was impious: the land sank with it, making a great hole: a lake rose and covered it up. The ruins of that city or palace may still be seen at the bottom when the water is clear." These would appear to have been the main outlines of the legend before it entered the domain of literature, but long after the age of savagery, if indeed this particular story connected with the Alban lake originated in a period of such low culture. The idea of sinking land might easily be suggested by the observed effects of volcanic action. The legend of M. Curtius (Livy 7, 6), the *Campus Ignifer*, the *Ludi Tarentini*, certain details of ritual to the infernal gods, etc., show how late was the cessation of such activity in the old Roman territory.

That the lake was in the habit of rising from time to time is abundantly shown by traces of its action upon the surrounding banks, and that it sometimes overflowed and did much injury to the adjacent slopes and lowlands is proved by the famous *Emissarium*, by which, to this day, the lake is prevented from rising above its present level. The work is doubtless prehistoric, for the story of its origin, the soothsayer, the fall of Veii, etc., told by Livy (5, 19) as occurring A. U. C. 358, B. C. 396, is probably merely a folk-tale to account for the origin of a work about which the Romans really knew nothing. Every one knows the inveterate habit the Roman annalists had of rationalizing the legends

with which they had to deal. It seems to me that the observed fact of an ancient rise and fall of the Alban lake has determined the direction in which this story of Allodius was rationalized by the authorities of Diodorus and Dionysius. They set the palace of the impious king on the *banks* of the lake, which was reasonable enough; they made the water rise and engulf him and his palace, which experience had shown was quite possible: but in saying that the porticoes, etc., of that palace may still be seen in the *bottom* of the lake, they were inconsistent with the story they had started to tell. In this oversight a hint of the original version is perhaps preserved.

In most of these legends of submerged cities it is to be observed that the immediate cause of submersion, if any is alleged, is divine retribution for blasphemy or impiety. The same has already been pointed out with reference to the thunderbolt. This leads us directly to one of the most common phenomena in popular legends, but one which is often overlooked by students of folklore: I mean the justifiable inference that the narrative of Diodorus and Dionysius is a *contaminatio* of two stories originally distinct, but both of them consecrated as recounting the signal vengeance of heaven for impiety, and hence their juxtaposition here. The portion still current in the modern version is a local folk-legend of the Alban lake, going back to an immemorial antiquity, and imperfectly rationalized in the version of Dionysius. The story of the lightning, especially when we recollect that the activity of Polyhistor lies largely in the period when it first appears, has a very suspicious resemblance to the legend of Salmoneus. But while both of these stories are alike conventional instances of divine retribution, the one is never more than local, the other is known the world over, among all men and at all times. This is perhaps the principal reason, besides characteristic perversity, why the Roman writers selected the cheap invention of a third-rate annalist and rejected the not less improbable and perhaps the only fragment of genuine Italic tradition, relieving the deadly barrenness of the list of Alban kings so religiously repeated by all loyal supporters of the imperial house of Caesar.¹

KIRBY F. SMITH.

¹ The legend told by Dionysius has been utilized by Baffico in a short story: 'Fascino Arcano,' Nuova Antologia, 47, p. 244. I have not yet discovered it anywhere else in literature.

IV.—LYSIDEM POST A. 394 A. CHR. N. COMPOSITUM ESSE.

Platoniorum series dialogorum magnae semper fuit res controversiae neque, quando quemque auctor dialogum composuerit, satis constat, si parvum modo numerum exceperis. Huic plerumque numero Socraticos quos dicunt aut minores dialogos docti ascripserunt minimaque de his quidem exarsit contentio. Verum enimvero, etsi ingratum atque importunum videtur, bello iam satis superque acerbo novam subicere materiem, tamen, variis atque ut opinor validis rationibus compulsus, ne in Socraticis quidem dialogis comprobendam esse consensionem quasi universam censeo ac Lysidem certe ei numero eximere conabor. Omnes prope adhuc scriptores ducibus Schleiermachers et Zellero, sequentibus recenti tempore Windelbandio¹ atque Hammondio,² Lysidem circa a. 404 a. Chr. n. compositum esse contenderunt, solus Weiszäcker, bellicosus ille Tubingensis professor, a. 387 eundem attribuit dialogum, ut qui proxime ad Symposium a. 387 editum accedat. Ego igitur Tubingensem non multum a vero aberrasse iudicaverim, sed cum ille levibus tantum atque infirmis argumentis usus sit, denuo et acrioribus armis rem esse gerendam existimo.

Minoribus dialogis singulas Plato virtutes tractat, sapientiam fortitudinem moderationem iustitiam pietatem, plano utique stilo negotium aggreditur, nullam idearum facit mentionem, philosophos qui in eadem via antecesserunt non consulit. At longe alium disserendi modum idem auctor in Lyside usurpat. Non singulas excerpit virtutes, sed unam statuit bonum consecrandi esse virtutem, summi illius boni ita definit qualitatem, ut ideae locum occupare videatur,³ philosophos denique sui aut vetustioris temporis non ille quidem nominatim appellat, at certe quos in quaestionem advocet, dilucide indicat. Cuius rei nonnulla iuvat exempla afferre. Multus est Plato de similium cum similibus aut familiaritate aut contentione (Lys. 214 c); notum illud *αἰεὶ τοι τὸν*

¹ Editio sec. 1894.

² Harvard Studies, III (1892) 135 and 137.

³ Hammond, 137.

ἄμοιον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ἄμοιον cum argumenti loco usurpasset, ut similibus inter se amicitiam comprobaret, rursus dubitat num similes quicquam similibus auxilii afferre possint. Nam cum mali nullo modo familiares possint fieri, similitudinem nonnisi in bonis ad formandam valere amicitiam, atqui bonis et strenuis, cum sibi ipsi sufficiant ad vitam bene beateque instituendam, nullam ex amicis crescere utilitatem, neminem igitur esse, quem desiderent, quem amare opus habeant: quare effici, ut nulla inter similes familiaritas aut amor exsistere videatur. Subtilis admodum Platonis est parumque comprobata dissertatio, utpote quae similitudinis nimis premat notionem, sed quare in minutias eas descenderit, facile explicabimus, si vetustius quoddam dictum hic ab eo explosum crediderimus. Adest Democritus, vir sane non contemnendus, qui circa a. 400 a. Chr. n. scripta condidit philosophica¹; is duodecimo quod superest operum fragmento de similitudine ita agit, ut difficillimae quaestioni minime par fuisse perspiciatur. Hoc quo manifestius sit, locum Democriti, quem interpretes Mullachius parum, credo, intellexit, infra adiciam. Dicit igitur Theophrastus in libro quem de sensibus edidit hunc fere in modum²: "Democritus, utrum contrariis sensus fiat an similibus, non definit; quatenus enim mutatione sensum existere iudicat, diversis hunc fieri existimaverit, neque enim (ait Theophrastus) similia mutantur similibus. Rursus autem sensum atque omnino mutationem patiendo fieri censet (Democritus); atqui fieri posse negat, ut dissimilia patiantur, et ut ea quae dissimilia sint, dissimilia illa quidem faciant, eadem vero quae similia patiantur." Ergo, adiciat quispian, Democrito similibus potius inter se actionem placuisse apparet, quod secundo eiusdem fragmento confirmatur.³ Sextus enim Empiricus: "Vetus quaedam, ait, et iam pridem recepta inter physicos versatur opinio, similia similibus cognosci, eiusque opinionis etiam Democritus rationes videlicet attulit probabiles tetigitque eam etiam Plato, ut visum est, in Timaeo. Sed Democritus de animatis et inanimis quaestionem instituit. Animantia enim, inquit, simul congregantur cum eiusdem generis animalibus, ut columbae cum columbis . . . utpote rerum in his similitudine habente vim quandam congregandi." Talem aut similem locum Plato respexerit, cum quidem sapientissimorum commemorat scripta virorum (vid. Lys. 214 a), in quibus hoc invenerit, simile simili necessario semper esse amicum. "Haec est, ait,

¹ Mullach, Fr. philos. graec. I 331.² Ib. 359.³ Ib. 357.

eorum sententia, qui de natura deque universo colloquuntur et scribunt." Ac paulo post, reiecta similibus inter se amicitia, ubi dissimilibus temptavit familiaritatem, ad eosdem rursus philosophos, Ionicos dicos, se refugere fingit meminisseque aliquem disserere ait de eadem re, qui simili simile quam possit maxime esse inimicum contenderet. Quae inter se sint simillima, ea invidia aemulatione contentione abundare, quae vero dissimillima, ea amicitia repleti. Eundem addidisse auctorem oratione usum magnificentiore: Unum quodque non simile sed contrarium appetere, aridum humida, calida frigidum, dulcia amarum, contrarium enim contrario alimentum praebere. Haec nimirum collaudans Plato eloquentiam scriptoris, quem excerpserat hoc loco, admodum extollit, ut videlicet facundiae inanitas dictionis refutatione quae sequitur sententiae magis ridicula videatur. Nam dissimilium quoque inter se amorem Plato repellit. Facile autem est conicere, de quo potissimum scriptore Plato cogitaverit, nam quasi sua sponte se praebet Heraclitus, cuius doctrinae multa in Platonis cogitationes redundasse constat. Heracliti enim per orbem terrarum notum est illud bellum omnium rerum patrem esse, quae sane sententia cum loco quem apposuimus Lysideo mirum quantum consentit; idem sublatiis gravibus et acerbis, sublata feminae et maris differentia, pulcritudinem ex natura rerum tolli ex diversis vero concordiam formosissimam oriri affirmavit.¹ Secutus est Heraclitum Empedocles Siculus; amore et odio cuncta explanare conatus, qui cum mutationis et generationis arcana solvere temptaret, separationem atque divisionem in natura rerum fieri statuit, mutationem negavit veteremque illam de similibus dissimilibusve quaestionem ita composuit, ut utrumque usu venire contenderet; modo enim amore coniuncta, inimicitia modo disiuncta tamen eadem semper naturae elementa manere sibi constanter docuit.² Via non multum ab Empedocle discrepante Diogenes ingressus est Apolloniates, Democriti fere aequalis et Empedoclis; is enim³: "Mihi videntur, ait, res cunctae ab eodem elemento variatione oriri atque idem esse. Nam si mundi huius alia ab aliis suapte natura differrent, neque multifariis etsi modis mutata et variata, eadem tamen esse manerent, neque misceri inter se neque aut commoda aut incommoda invicem sibi inferre possent. Nec vel planta e terra nasci vel

¹ Zeller, A Hist. of Greek Philos. II 32.² Ib. II 123.³ Mullach, I 254, 2.

animal aliudve quicquam procreari posset, nisi eadem cum isdem consistent; quin haec omnia ab eadem origine abalienata alia aliam speciem induunt rursusque in idem recedunt.

Talia igitur reiecturus Plato tertium quoddam statuit, quod neque simile neque dissimile esset, notionem videlicet superterrestrem, cuius res terrestres etiamsi toto genere distantes partem tamen arriperent. Prius autem quam ad novam illam doctrinam accederet, levibus argumentis Ionum placita philosophorum dissuit, quae quidem argumenta "dialecticis sapientissimis" (216 *a*) attribuit. Dubium esse non potest, quin Antisthenem atque Megaricos his verbis notaverit Plato, qui acerrimam in illos inimicitiam exerceret. Atque etiam verbum *οἰκείον* (221 *e*), quod frequenter Socrates in Lyside usurpavit, valde primum, ut videtur, isto vocabulo gavisus, vel maximi apud Megaricos momenti erat. Quod cum Antisthenis prima opera ad annum fere 395 a. Chr. n. referenda sint, Lysidem quoque post Socratis mortem compositum accipiemus, eo magis quod in dialogis ante dictam mortem editis Ionum quae in Lyside deteximus vestigia nusquam apparent.

Ludicrum sit, ex stili perfectione aut idearum, quarum sane animadvertimus in Lyside initia, certi quicquam asserere; quod ad tempus dialogi accuratius constituendum valeat; alia enim aliis tali in quaestione videri satis superque constat. Illud tamen liceat afferre, miram inter Lysidem et Symposium et propositi et idearum exsistere similitudinem. Uterque dialogus in amore definiundo versatur, utroque bonum idem atque *οἰκείον* declaratur summique boni amore stare amicitiam efficitur, denique *ἔρως τοῦ μὴ παρόντος* atque *ἐνθυμείν οὐ ἐνδεές ἐστι* et similia utroque opusculo pariter occurrunt.¹ Huc accedunt etiam aliae observationes. Nam cum minorum dialogorum exordia idem fere loci occupent, quod argumenti ipsius tractatio cumque posteriorum exordia nullum paene spatium impleant, rerum in Lyside enarratio duabus fere totius dialogi septimis constat, et quinque colloquium de amicitia institutum eademque rerum gestarum ac propriae dissertationis in Symposio ratio invenitur. Docti autem quidam cum particulae *ἄν* frequentia quo quisque tempore dialogus scriptus sit, indagare inceperint, ne hoc quidem contemnendum argumentum ipsum quoque Lysidem quam potest proxime cum Symposio coniungit, eadem particulae istius demonstrata frequentia. Sed haec, quamquam infiniti fuit opus laboris, leviter strinxisse sufficiat.² Neque

¹ Cf. Lysid. 218, 221; Sympos. 200 sq., 206.

² Vide etiam Lysidis cum Gorgia relationem apud Schleiermacherum, II 1, 17.

enim his solis quamvis copulatione valentibus argumentis uspiam satis effici arbitratus, tamen ad viam muniendam haec aptissima fuisse iudico.

Omnes fere consentiunt, exstitisse inter Platonem et Xenophontem inimicitiam locoque praeclaro Protagorae convivium Xenophontem vituperari. Mihi ergo etiam in Lyside locus esse videtur, qui manifesto ad Xenophontis sententiam deridendam valeat. Quaerit enim in Memorabilium libro secundo (VI 17) Critobulus, quemadmodum amicum caperet, Ὅπως θηρατέος; eique respondetur: Μὰ Δι' οὐ κατὰ πόδας ὥσπερ ὁ λαγῶς οὐδ' ἀπάτη ὥσπερ αἱ ὄριθες οὐδὲ βία ὥσπερ οἱ κάπροι. ἄκοντα γὰρ φίλον εἶναι ἐργῶδες . . . εἶναι μὲν τινὰς φασιν ἐπιδάς, ὡς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπιδόντες οἷς ἂν βούλωνται φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. . . . Ἄ μὲν αἱ Σειρήνες ἐπῆδον τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ . . . τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμουμένοις οὕτως ἐπῆδον. Si non adulationes, at certe dulcia verba eis offerre, quorum quis amicus fieri vellet, hoc Xenophon optimum ad venationem faustam esse auxilium significat, cantibusque ut praedam demulceant venatores manifesto suadet. Quid Plato ad hoc? Ποῖός τίς σοι, αἰτ, δοκεῖ θηρευτῆς εἶναι, εἰ ἀνασοβοίη θηρεύων καὶ δυσαλωτοτέραν τὴν ἄγρην ποιοίη; Δῆλον ὅτι φαῦλος. Καὶ μὲν δὴ λόγους τε καὶ ψδαῖς μὴ κηλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐξαγριαίνειν πολλὰ ἄμουσία· ἦ γάρ; Hippolochum, qui cum laudibus atque cantibus amasium capere temptasset, difficiliorem eum ac minus placidum reddidit, stultius se gessisse apparet, at in Hippolochō Xenophontis ostenditur atque refutatur stultitia. Propositum enim, de quo agitur, idem est, nempe amicitia, simile autem utrumque, quod in Memorabilibus occurrit, venationis atque cantationum, redit in Lyside, immo etiam eadem interdum usurpantur vocabula, venationis denique praecipue imaginem Xenophonti, venandi inter primos studioso, curae fuisse loci insequentes (§§28 et 33) arguunt, ubi mentio eius iteratur, atque cantationes valde eidem placuisse repetitio ostendit earum §32, qua ita fertur: τὰς δὲ γε Σειρήνας ὅτι . . . πᾶσι πόρρωθεν ἐπῆδον, πάντας φασὶν ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν κηλεῖσθαι. Exquisitissimum videtur Platonis esse acumen atque in adversario discerpando eo magis eum desultasse putabimus, quia Xenophontem hominem ambitiosum, qui omnibus studiis campestribus se facile primum fore confideret, ut pessimum quasi venatorem depingendi occasio ei oblata est. Quanta esset ad iocandum alacritate, Plato paulo post iterum ostendit, nam cum Critobuli dubitationibus effete Xenophon hisce obviam iret (§22): ἀλλ' ὁμως διὰ τούτων πάντων ἡ φιλία διαδυομένη συνάπτει τοὺς καλοὺς τε

κάγαθούς, argute Plato et praeclare (τὸ καλὸν) ἔοικε, αἰτ, μαλακῶ τινι καὶ λείφ καὶ λιπαρῶ, διὸ καὶ ἴσως ῥαδίως διολισθάνει καὶ διαδύεται ἡμῶς.

Placitorum cognitione Ionicorum, Megarici mentione vocabuli, notionum denique profunditate Lysidem reliquis praecellere dialogis minoribus supra demonstravimus, grammatica ratione et divisione et argumento invenimus proxime eum ad Convivium accedere: huc adicias Memorabilem locum, qui maximi est ad amicitiam cognoscendam momenti, in Lyside commemorari. Atqui Memorabilia non ante a. 394 a. Chr. in lucem prodierunt, ergo Lysis ad a. 394 vel infra reiciendus est. Iam Convivii, quo amicitiae causa atque origo profundiore et prope divino indagatur ingenii flatu, quasi symphoniae aut concentus cuiusdam maioris pleniorisque Lysis sicut exordium fuerit et praeludium.

A. WIRTH.

NOTE.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

In my essay on 'The Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive' in the Amer. Journ. of Phil., vol. XV, part 2 (July, 1894), pp. 194-216¹ [with respect to which it may be mentioned that Mr. W. M. Lindsay, The Lat. Language (August, 1894), ch. VIII, §§94, 95 (cf. also the Addenda et Corrigenda on p. 660), holds an identical view with that which I there put forward], I gave in support of my theory a list of compounds from Sanskrit, Greek, Italic, etc., in which the first member is in the accusative case, governed as object by the second member (Class IV of Noun Compounds in Brugmann, Grundr. II, §10). Inasmuch as Brugmann (ib., §§32, 36) has given scarcely a single example of this sort of compound in Italic, and only about four in Greek, and considering that such compounds are a distinct support to my theory on the origin of the gerund and gerundive, it will be well to add the following examples to those already given (in A. J. P. ib., pp. 204 sqq.).

¹ Addenda et Corrigenda: p. 201, after *κόρυ-δο-ς* omit the word 'supra'; for *υῆ-ῖ κῖ-ῖ* read *υῆ-ῖ κῖ-ῖ*; after "*πρᾶ-σι* 'fill'" add "and many more in Whitney, Skr. Gram., §624"; p. 203, note 1, after "Skr. and Balto-Slavonic" add "see Brugmann, Gr. II, §108"; p. 205, after "Schweizer-Sidler, Latin Gr.²" add "§48, f), p. 39"; for *vendex* read **vendex*; p. 206, after "Skutsch, De nominum Lat. compositione" add "p. 13, note 1," and see further below, p. 220; after "is qui aliquid semel arripit" add "v. Forcellini (edition 1871)"; p. 207, read **kred* for **kred*, and *mr̥gd-ti mr̥gdika-* for *mr̥gd-ti mr̥gdika mer̥dika*, and on the etymology of the three latter words, see further below, p. 221, note 1; p. 208, for *mirsz-ti* read *miřsz-ti*; p. 211, add to "*sāntvayāmāsa* 'he hushed, soothed'" the following note: "With the formation of *sāntvayāmāsa* and the like we may perhaps compare the Homeric ἀκῆν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ, where ἀκῆν is certainly the fossilised acc. of ἀκή (Il. III 95; VII 92, 398; VIII 28; IX 29, 430, 693; X 218, 313; XXIII 676; and Od. VII 154; VIII 234; XI 333; XIII 1; XVI 393; XX 320); from the frequency of its occurrence we should imagine that this Homeric phrase was older than the analogous ἀκῆν ἴσαν, which occurs, I think, only once (Il. IV 429)"; p. 215, for *ἐλ-ο-μαι* **Fel-o- μει-άω* read *ἐλ-δο-μαι* **Fel-δο- μει-δ-άω*; p. 216, for "**da-om*, **dhə-om*" read "**da-om* (or **dhə-om*, in case the Latin gerund and gerundive contain Idg. *dh*, a view which is extremely unlikely, v. supra, pp. 198, 202 and 202, note 3)."

GREEK:

ξιφη-φόρος 'sword-bearing' beside ξιφοφόρος (: Lat. *ensifer*); cf. A. J. P. ib., p. 202.

καρᾶ-τόμος 'head-cutting, beheading' from καρᾶ + τέμνω (cf. κερη-κομῶντες, A. J. P. ib., p. 205).

τερασκόπος from *τερασ-σκοπος (cf. Lat. *iustitium* from **ius-stitium*, A. J. P. ib., p. 205) beside τερατοσκόπος.

δικασκόπος, on a Lesbian inscription [Cauer, *Delect. Inscr. Graec.* (1883), No. 428, p. 266, = C. I. G. 2166], possibly from *δικασ-σκοπος (cf. τερασκόπος above) from *δικανσ-σκοπος (cf. δικασπόλος from *δικανσ-πολος, A. J. P. ib., p. 204), or just conceivably from *δικα, accus. sing. of *διξ [: Skr. *diḥ*- (v. Brugmann, ib. II, §161), cf. Lat. **dicem*, gen. *dic-is* (seen in the phrases *dicis causa*, *dicis gratia*, *dicis ergo*), from nominative **dix* (all from √ *deik̑h̑*- 'to point out'))] + -σκοπος.

θυοσ-κόος from θύος (accus. sing.) and κο(Ὶ)έω, lit. 'the man who heeds the sacrifice,' hence 'the sacrificing priest.' Osthoff, in Hübschmann, *Das Idg. Vocalsystem* (1885), *Nachträge*, p. 190, Brugmann, *Gr. I* (1886), §§439, 578, 589, G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*² (1886), §248, and Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*³ (1890), §15, Rem., p. 264, divide θυοσκόος differently—θυοσ-κόος—regarding -σκόος beside κοέω as parallel to Idg. √ *steg*- beside Idg. √ *teg*- 'to cover' (v. Brugmann, ib. I, §589).¹ If θυοσκόος could be considered by itself, there might perhaps be no objection to this explanation, for the form with *s* is established by Germanic: Goth. *us-skáu-s* 'provident, prudent,' O.H.G. *scouwōn* 'to look, view,' O.Icel. *skyn* 'insight' (beside the *s*-less form, which is represented by Skr. *kanī-s* 'seer,' *ā-kuvati* 'intends,' Gk. κο(Ὶ)έω 'I mark, heed, observe,' Lat. *caveō*), but θυοσκόος must be considered in the light of our next example, θυη-κόος, which seems to prove conclusively that my division of the word—θυοσ-κόος—is correct.²

θυη-κόος (= θυοσκόος Hesych.) contains θύη, the accus. plur. of θύος; so also

¹ The passages in which Liddell and Scott (7th edition) mention this word are inconsistent, for on p. 686 we find θυοσ-κόος (s. h. v.), whereas on p. 820 the word is written θυο-σκόος (s. v. κοέω).

² It should be observed also that all the other Greek words preserving this root show the *s*-less form; e. g. ἀμνοκῶν, εἰρνοκῶσα, ἀ-κοίω, and the proper names Δηϊκόων, Δημοκόων, Εἰρνοκῶσα, Ἰπποκόων, Λαφοκόφω [preserved by Priscian (v. Brugmann, ib. II, §60, p. 113, Engl. ed.)] Λαοκόων, Λαοκῶσα.

θυ-δόχος beside θυοδόκος,
 θυ-πάλος, with which cf. δικασπάλος above,
 θυ-φάγος.

ITALIC:

Latin: *torunda*, Corp. gloss. 2, 202, No. 34 (v. Georges, Lexicon der Latein. Wortf., s. v. *turunda*), and *turunda*, Cato, R. R. 89, Varro, R. R. 3, 9, 20, 'a ball of paste (for fattening geese),' from *torum*, accus. sing. of *torus* 'a swelling, protuberance,' + the suffix *-do-* from √ *dō-* 'to give' (cf. *kalendae kalandae* in A. J. P. ib., pp. 206, 207), so that *torunda turunda* would strictly mean 'that which gives a swelling, fat-giving.' For *torunda* : *turunda* beside *torus*, cf. *rotundus* : *rutundus* (cited e. g. from Varro, R. R. 2, 7, 5; 2, 16, 19; v. Georges, ib., s. v. *rotundus*) beside *rota*.

merenda f. 'an afternoon luncheon' from **merēm*, possibly an old infinitive of *merco* (cf. A. J. P. ib., pp. 195, 196; and Lindsay, The Lat. Lang., ch. VIII, §95) + the suffix *-do-* from √ *dō-* 'to give.' *merenda* (s. c. *cēna*) might thus mean literally 'the meal which gives the reward, deserts, earnings'; cf. Forcellini, s. h. v.: "*Scalig. ad Varron. de R. R. dici putat a merendo, quod sit proprie cibus, qui datur aere merentibus, h. e. mercenariis.*" But this would scarcely be an attractive explanation. In considering *merenda* we must remember that it is an old word (v. the dictionaries), indeed a *very* old word, belonging to at least the fifth century B. C., if, as is probable, it is the same word as the Roman surname *Merenda*; we hear of T. Antonius Merenda, decemvir 450-449 B. C.; Q. Antonius T. f. Merenda, tribunus militum with consular authority, 422 B. C.; and also later (but still in the pre-literary period of Latin) Servius Cornelius Merenda, consul 274 B. C. Now, according to J. Schmidt, Pluralb., p. 432, the primary meaning of Lat. *merco* is 'to get a (proper) share' [': Gk. μείρομαι (from *μερ-ιομαι μέρος, etc.; v. Liddell and Scott (seventh edition), s. v. μείρομαι)]. It would seem, then, that *merenda* was formed from *merco* at a time when *merco* still had its primary sense of 'share.'¹ Thus this word,

¹ That Lat. *merenda*, which thus literally means 'share-giving,' should have developed a meaning 'meal' may be closely paralleled by the Skr. compound *bhāga-dhēya-*, n., literally 'something to be placed or set as a share,' from Skr. *bhāgd-*, m., 'a share' [from Skr. root *bhāj-* 'divide, share' from Idg. √ *bhag-* 'to

handed down from a very old time, supports the remark of Lindsay (ib., ch. VIII, §95) that the surviving Latin compounds which show the first member in the accus. case governed by the second member 'may be relics of a mode of expression that prevailed much more widely in the pre-literary period of Latin.'¹

legiscrepa has been already mentioned in A. J. P. ib., p. 206, but without sufficient comment. *legiscrepa* = 'is qui legis (= leges) crepat,' just as *Lariscolus* = 'is qui Laris (= Lares) colit,' A. J. P. ib., p. 206; cf. Skutsch, *De nominum Lat. compositione*, p. 13, note 1. Compare Plaut., *Mil. Glor.* 3, 1, 56, i. e. l. 652 (not in the MSS, but reintroduced here from Servius ap. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 738; v. Lindemann on Plaut., l. c.), 'neque ego ad mensam publicas res clamo neque *leges crepo*.'

The following may be added to the instances of the accusative case compounded with the *finite verb*, A. J. P. ib., pp. 207 sqq.:—

distribute' (v. Brugmann, *Gr. I*, §450)] + Skr. *dhēya-* 'to be placed or set' [the so-called 'gerundive' or 'future passive participle' from Skr. root *dhā-* 'to place, put' (v. Whitney, *Skr. Gr.*, §§961 sqq., and *Skr. Roots, Verb-forms, etc.*, p. 82) from Idg. **dhē-* 'to place, put'], which is found in RV. with two meanings, the earlier of which is 'the *share* which men offer to the gods,' i. e. 'the sacrificial *meal*,' RV. 262, 4; 878, 1; 940, 3; 1028, 1. [The second meaning, which may be mentioned in passing, is 'the share which the gods give to men,' i. e. 'prosperity, blessing,' RV. 705, 8; whence later the more general meaning 'lot, fate,' e. g. MBh. *Nala*, viii 6 *Api nō bhāgadhēyam syāt* 'also would it were our lot (sc. to save the king)' (Kellner), or 'our own fate is now in peril' (Monier-Williams).] Thus in both the compounds under consideration, though totally unconnected in form, we see the same development of meaning: in both the prior member of the compound (Lat. **merēm*, Skr. *bhāgd-*) originally meant '*share*,' and in both cases the compound has developed a meaning '*meal*.' Compare also the development of meaning in the actual Idg. **bhaga-* 'to distribute' as represented in Greek, viz. *φαγ-εἶν* 'to eat' (Brugmann, *Gr. I*, §450). A similar transference of meaning may be seen in the following Greek forms: Gk. *δαίζω* 'I cleave asunder, divide,' *δαίωμα* mid. 'I distribute,' pass. 'am divided' (: Skr. *d-yā-ti* 'divides,' *dā-ya-tē* 'divides,' Brugmann, *Gr. II*, §707 ad fin.), whence *δαίρπός* 'one who carves and portions out (esp. meat at table),' *δαίς* 'meal, feast' (cf. *δαίς* *τίσις*, which is explained by some scholars as '*an equally divided meal*, because each guest got his share,' Hom. *Il.* XV 95, etc.), *δαίρην* 'meal, feast,' *δαίνυμι* 'I give a meal, feast some one.'

¹ If Lat. *torunda* and *merenda* are rightly thus derived as in the text, they afford, together with *kalendae kalandae*, A. J. P. ib., pp. 206, 207, a close parallel to Lat. *venundō pessundō*, on which v. A. J. P. ib., pp. 208, 209.

ARYAN:

Sanskrit *namas-kṛ-* 'make a salutation, do homage,' originally two separate words, *nāmas* 'homage' + the Skr. root *kṛ-* 'to make' [cf. RV. x 34 (= 860), 8 *rājā cid ebhyō nāma iḥ kṛṇōti* 'any king, whoever he be, to them does homage indeed'], became so entirely regarded as a single word that it came to be used as such and fell under one accent (compare the note on Lat. *crēdo*, Skr. *grād+* *dādhami* in A. J. P. ib., p. 207). This is proved by the so-called 'gerund' *namas-kṛtya* (AV.), *namas-kṛtya* (MBh. Nala, iv 1 and 14), the general rule being that the 'gerund' from the *simple* root is formed with *-tvā* (whence *kṛtvā*), while the *compounded* root adds *-ya* or (if the root ends in a short vowel, as here) *-tya* (*-kṛtya*). Consequently *-kṛtya* is only found in compounds (v. Whitney, Skr. Roots, Verb-forms, etc., s. v. $\sqrt{\text{I}}$ *kṛ-*, p. 21), e. g. *aram-kṛtya* (RV.), *akḥkhalī-kṛtya*¹ (RV.). Thus *namas-kṛ-* has become a genuine compound just as much as if it had been a compound of *kṛ-* with a prepositional prefix, e. g. *vi-* (cf. Whitney, Skr. Gr., §§990, 990 b, 992).

GREEK:

θυοσ-κέω 'burn a sacrifice, make a burnt offering,' Hesych. Cf. the compounds cited above: *θυοσ-κόος* *θυη-κόος* (*-κόος* from *κέω*) *θυη-δόχος* *θυη-πόλος* *θυη-φάγος*. Mr. A. Sidgwick on Aesch. Agam. 87 [where, in place of the MSS *θυοσκινείς* (the first *ι* of which is in an erasure, according to Dr. A. W. Verrall on Aesch. Agam., l. c., critical note), he accepts *θυοσκεῖς* (from *θυοσκέω*), the emendation of Turnebus, a reading which has, I think, more to recommend it than

¹ In discussing Skr. *mṛd-d-ti* *mṛdīkd-*, Avest. *meršdika-*, A. J. P. ib., pp. 207, 208, I did not express my meaning with sufficient clearness; I should more correctly have written: Skr. *mṛd-d-ti* 'is gracious, pardons,' *mṛdīkd-*, n. 'grace, pardon,' Avest. *meršdika-*, n. 'grace, pardon' are to be referred back to an old syntactical combination, either (1) **mṛṣ* (from $\sqrt{\text{mṛṣ}}$ 'to wipe off': Skr. *mṛj-d-ti* 'wipes off, cleanses from guilt,' Avest. *marš-aiti* 'wipes, cleanses') + *dō-* 'grant a purity from sins,' or (2) **mṛs* (: Skr. *mṛṣ-ya-tē* 'forgets,' *marṣyatē* 'bears patiently, excuses, pardons,' Lith. *miṛs-ti* 'to forget') + *dō-* (by assimilation **mṛṣ dō-*) 'grant a forgetting, excuse' (v. Brugmann, Gr. I, §404, 1, and in Idg. Forsch., vol. I, pp. 171, 172; and note that the English translation of the former passage by Joseph Wright is incorrect and misleading).

² By a printer's error this word is written *akḥkhalīkṛtya* in Whitney, Skr. Gr., §990 b.

θύος κινεῖς (the reading of Prien, accepted by Dr. Verrall)] considers -κέω (: θυοσ-κέω) to be very closely connected with καίω 'I burn.'

In conclusion it will be well to touch on Prof. Fay's theory of 'The Latin Gerundive -*ndo*-' which was published in A. J. P. ib., pp. 217-sqq. Prof. Fay there assumes **dhāi* as the original form from which we are to derive Lat. -*dae*, e. g. in Lat. *ferendae* from Idg. **bherndhāi* (: Skr. **bharadhāi*). But such a view takes no account whatever of the Umbr.-Osc. forms, which cannot possibly represent Idg. *dh* (cf. my remarks in A. J. P. ib., pp. 198, 202 and 202, note 3); unless, therefore, we are to regard the Umbr.-Osc. gerundive as borrowed from Latin (a view which does not seem very probable), Prof. Fay's theory must inevitably fall to the ground.¹

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March, 1895.

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¹ Since the above was written, Prof. Fay, in the A. J. P., vol. XVI, part I (April, 1895), has referred to my view on the representation of Idg. *dh* in Italic (A. J. P., vol. XV, pp. 196, 202 and 202, note 3) as being against his theory of the origin of the Latin gerundive, and, in order to maintain his own view, has endeavoured to prove that Idg. -*ndh*->Osc.-Umbr. -*np*->-*nd*->-*nn*-|-*n*-. But the examples adduced do not seem at all convincing. The -*de* of Lat. *inde*, *unde* and (I may add) O.Lat. *quande quande* are almost certainly to be referred to Idg. **de*, together with Gk. -*de* in δ-*de* ἐνδ-*de* and ἐνδ-*de* (cf. Per Persson in Idg. Forsch., vol. II, pp. 219, 223, 238, 241; Lindsay, The Lat. Lang., ch. IX, §10, p. 570). Supposing that this (to my mind the most probable) view is correct, it follows that Umbr. *enom* | *ennom* 'then,' if kindred with Lat. *inde*, Umbr. *pone* | *ponne* 'cum,' if identical with Lat. *unde*, Umbr. *pane*, if identical with O.Lat. *quande*, contain not Idg. *dh*, but Idg. *d* (cf. Per Persson, ib., pp. 219, 240, 241. Brugmann also, in his Grundr., vol. I, §207, IV, §1103, 3, Rem., seems to regard O.Lat. *quande* Umbr. *pane* as containing Idg. *d*). The *d* of Lat. *endo* | *indu* seems beyond all doubt to represent Idg. *d*, not Idg. *dh*; cf. Gk. ἐνδο-*bi* ἐνδο-*θεν* ἐνδον (Brugmann, Gr. Gr.², §201, p. 221; id., Grundr., vol. IV, §1103, 3, Rem.; Lindsay, ib., ch. IX, §27, p. 582). The same is the case with Lat. *quandō* (cf. Per Persson, ib., pp. 219, 219 note 3 ad fin., 238; Lindsay, ib., ch. X, §12, p. 608). I therefore feel compelled to regard Prof. Fay's suggestion, that Idg. -*ndh*- gave Osc.-Umbr. -*np*->-*nd*->-*nn*-|-*n*-, as unproven. Nor, I think, does his concluding observation, that "there was an Aryan doublet to *ndh*, viz. *nd*, represented in Greek πνθμην | πνθδαξ," give him much help; for it is thereby implied that the gerundive, which was purely an Italic development (v. A. J. P., vol. XV, p. 195), may have had two quite separate starting-points—one in Latin, the other in Umbr.-Osc.; this view seems very unlikely, especially when the identity of the gerundival construction shewn by Early Latin and Oscan (v. A. J. P., vol. XV, pp. 202, 203) is brought into consideration.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Plato's Republic. Edited with Notes and Essays by the late B. JOWETT and LEWIS CAMPBELL. Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. Essays. Vol. III. Notes. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

The history of this edition, as recounted in Professor Campbell's preface, is exceedingly interesting. It was originally undertaken by Professor Jowett about the year 1855 for the series in which Professor Campbell's editions of the Theaetetus, Sophist, and Statesman appeared. Diverted from his task by the publication of Essays and Reviews, Professor Jowett returned to it in 1863, only to conceive the design of a translation first of the Republic and then of all the Platonic dialogues, which occupied him until 1871 and was followed by his translations of Thucydides and the Politics of Aristotle. The commentary on the Republic was never wholly abandoned, however, but had been gradually brought to completion and copied out, when in 1875 Professor Campbell was taken into partnership by the author. During the ensuing 18 years a text was adopted, and the commentary, after repeated revisions, by each of the editors, was made ready for its final transcription. But before the work could be published, Professor Jowett died, solemnly commending to his associate the completion of the undertaking which had occupied him at intervals for forty years.

Is the result proportionate to all this labor, to the expectations aroused by the association of two such names, and, if the sordid suggestion may be pardoned, to the ten dollars which these three sumptuous volumes demand from the scholar's scanty purse? It would be ungracious, in view of all that is here offered us, to press these questions. And yet one must confess to a slight sense of dissatisfaction. The work is too costly and ponderous to meet the long-felt want of a convenient textbook for college classes, and despite its many excellencies, the scholar and historian of thought cannot feel that it is a definitive and monumentally 'exacted' achievement, when they compare it with Munro's Lucretius or with Jebb's Sophocles.

One naturally turns first to the essays. It would be unfair to insist on a certain feeling of disappointment that accompanied their first perusal. The announcement that the Jowett and Campbell Republic would include a volume of essays led us to expect a series of studies embodying the life-long reflections of the master on the great work which had preoccupied his attention for so many years—philosophical studies that should bring out the relation of the speculations of the Republic to Hellenic and to universal ethics and politics, historical studies that should trace in some detail the unparalleled influence that this book has exercised through the ages on the minds of thoughtful men. But the successive postponements of this edition to other tasks, till the work was finally interrupted by death, have reduced Professor

Jowett's contribution to one slight essay 'On the Text of Greek Authors,' and it is no disparagement of the useful and interesting studies with which Professor Campbell has filled the breach to say that they do not quite meet the measure of those earlier anticipations.

What can be said of Professor Jowett's entertaining essay 'On the Text of Greek Authors'? It is a strong plea for conservatism in the admission into the text of readings unwarranted by good manuscript authority, a subtle and impressive statement of the inherent limitations of human faculty in divinatory criticism, a vigorous warning against the extravagances of conjectural emendation and the futilities of collations of the punctuation and spelling of third-rate manuscripts. It is interesting reading for the scholar, and would be instructive though somewhat misleading to the tiro. Here and there it offers one of those sage *sententiae* with which the master never failed to adorn any subject he touched; e. g. "An art or kind of knowledge which is attractive and at the same time wanting in certain tests of truth is always liable to fall into the hands of projectors and inventors"; or this: "A labour which is wholly disproportioned to the result is apt to infect the judgment and to pervert the wider comparison of other branches of knowledge, which is the safeguard against the errors of exclusive study." It is stimulating, suggestive and useful as a corrective to extreme views. But its scientific value for practical guidance is *nil*. For the admissibility of any given proposed emendation is a matter of particular probability slightly affected by plausible generalities or analogies derived from the blunders of Bentley or the difficulties of emending Shakspeare, but hinging on niceties of Greek scholarship with which Professor Jowett's acquaintance remained imperfect to the end.

Professor Campbell's first essay is a rather loose and rambling study of the structure of the Republic and its relation to other dialogues. He begins with an enumeration of the main subdivisions of the Republic as indicated by Plato himself, and a brief résumé, allusive rather than lucidly expository, of the plot. He then takes up and refutes Krohn's view that the metaphysical digression in books V-VIII was composed later than the Socratic books I-IV and VIII-X, and inserted with junctures which the Teutonic critical eye can still detect. I do not propose to take this controversy seriously. Common sense tells us that the Republic was a long time composing, and may have been often interpolated and revised by Plato before his death. Those who have a competent intelligence of Plato's thought know that, while his moods and the stress of emphasis laid on particular aspects of truth varied at different periods of his life, there are few, if any, important Platonic conceptions of which distinct traces cannot be found in the Republic. The essential unity of the Republic is best brought out by a positive exposition of its central thought, such as I have attempted elsewhere. The possibilities of misinterpreting Plato are infinite. It is idle to try to lop off the Hydra heads of ingenious misapprehension by controversy. The remedy lies in broader philosophic and literary culture and in closer study of text and context. For the rest, the opinions concerning the Platonic philosophy of a critic who (like Krohn) maintains that the Republic is the earliest genuine extant dialogue may be safely disregarded.

Professor Campbell's remarks on the unity of the Republic are sensible and convincing. I fail to see the point, however, of his concession (p. 8): "nor in

the series νοῦς διάνοια πίστις εἰκασία is there any recognition of the other series νοῦς θυμός and ἐπιθυμία." What of it? One might as well observe that in Sully's *Psychology* the series cognition, feeling, will contains no recognition of the series reasoning, judgment, imagination, sensation. If a connecting link is needed, however, Phaedo 83 C D supplies it. Plato held that pleasure, pain and desire (ἐπιθυμία) constrain mankind to take their objects, the objects of πίστις and εἰκασία, for the primary realities. Professor Campbell's suggestion that ἐμπεπτώκαμεν (IV 435 C) and διανευέκαμεν (441 C) are anticipations of the image of the wave in the disputed books is, I think, fanciful. They are unconscious anticipations, at the best, and prove nothing as to date of composition.

By way of supplement to this discussion, Professor Campbell takes up the interpretation of the allegory of the cave at the beginning of book VII. Many of his isolated remarks are of interest. But he has not grasped the main clue—the truth that the Idea of Good is not primarily an ontological but an ethical conception, and that it is therefore idle to bring it into relation with an assumed ontological scale of the ideas. Not recognizing this, he falls into the usual error with regard to Plato's mathematical illustrations, and fails to perceive, although it is explicitly affirmed by Plato, that the intermediate place occupied by mathematical conceptions here is in the educational and propaedeutic, not in the absolute ontological, scale. As I have elsewhere illustrated this point more fully, I will here confine myself to another but kindred topic. Professor Campbell, like many others, finds difficulty in reconciling the ontology of book X with the "more advanced ontology" of books VI and VII, and thinks (p. 27) that the clear conception of Being, etc., "as ideas of relation which comes out at Theaetetus 184, 185 could hardly have been possible while Plato held the doctrine of ideas in the crude and undeveloped form which is still implied in the Republic, and which the Parmenides for the first time showed to be unsatisfactory." But I am unable to find any thought in the Parmenides not distinctly foreshadowed in the Republic. In both dialogues it is a postulate of dialectical method that every conceptual unit of thought expressed or capable of expression by a general term should be an absolute 'idea,' whether it represent a relation, a 'natural kind,' an ethical ideal, a manufactured, or a mean and sordid object. In both it is recognized that this is a hard doctrine, involving us in modes of speech that strike harshly on unaccustomed ears, and, when we attempt to crystallize it into ontology, in paradoxes and antinomies. More particularly the seeming incompatibility of the absolute unity of the ideas with their intercommunion (1) with concrete things, (2) with each other, is expressly remarked upon in the Republic. The famous argument of the 'third man' which is supposed to mark the 'crisis' of the Parmenides and the necessity for a reconstitution of the doctrine of ideas is explicitly stated in the tenth book of the Republic. What other interpretation is it possible to put upon the words (597 C) ὁ μὲν δὲ θεός, εἴτε οὐκ ἐβούλετο, εἴτε τις ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ μὴ πλεόν ἢ μίαν ἐν τῇ φύσει ἀπεργάσασθαι αὐτὸν κλίνην, οὕτως ἐποίησε μίαν μόνον αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ὃ ἐστὶ κλίνην· δύο δὲ τοιαῦται ἢ πλείους οὔτε ἐφυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε μὴ φυνῶσιν. Πῶς δὲ; ἐφη. 'Οτι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰ δύο μόνας ποιήσεις, πάλιν ἂν μία ἀναφανείη, ἥς ἐκείναι ἂν αὐ ἀμφοτέραι τὸ εἶδος ἔχουσιν, καὶ εἴη ἂν ὃ ἐστὶ κλίνην ἐκείνη, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἱ δύο? Compare

with this Parmenides 132 E: οὐκ ἄρα οἶόν τε τι τῷ εἶδει ὁμοιον εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἄλλῳ· εἰ δὲ μή, παρὰ τὸ εἶδος ἀεὶ ἄλλο ἀναφανήσεται εἶδος κτλ. I do not see how it is possible, after attention has been called to these passages, for scholars to affirm that the discovery of the argument of the 'third man' drove Plato to a revision of the entire doctrine of ideas. Lastly, there are at least two passages in the Republic which contain the germ of all the antinomies of the Parmenides concerning the one. (1) The passage in 436 E where such quibbling ambiguities are anticipated in a tone of weary familiarity and deprecated, and (2) the passage on ideal numbers, 526 A: *περὶ ποίων ἀριθμῶν διαλέγεσθε, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἐν οἷον ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦτέ ἐστιν, ἴσον τε ἕκαστον πᾶν παντὶ καὶ οὐδὲ μικρόν διαφέρον, μῦθόν τε ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐδέν.* With which compare, e. g., Parmenides 159 C: *οὐδὲ μὴν μῦθιά γε ἔχειν φαμέν τὸ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν.* The Parmenides, then, is simply the attempt to sum up once for all, in compact, symmetrical form, those inherent ambiguities of language or ultimate ἀπορίας of metaphysics which Plato was always aware of, but which he chose merely to indicate and dismiss when engaged in predominantly ethical or sociological discussions.

Professor Campbell's discussion of the relation of the Republic to the other Platonic dialogues, the most important topic of which has just been considered, makes no claim to system or completeness. The analogies between the Gorgias and the Republic are clearly, though not very subtly, indicated. But surely it is over-refining to quote the playful remark *οὐ δὲ πλεονέξيان οἷε δειν ἄσκειν, γεωμετρίας γὰρ ἀμελεῖς* (Gorg. 508 A) as evidence that "the Gorgias also agrees with the Republic in assigning an intellectual or scientific basis for morality" (p. 22). The discussion of the relation of the Republic to the Parmenides, Theaetetus and Sophist is vitiated, as I have said, by Professor Campbell's failure, in common with many other critics, to grasp the simple meaning of the doctrine of ideas. He sees in the concluding passage of Republic VI an ascending scale to an absolute *ἀνυπόθετον*, instead of a dialectical method of coordinating all ethical and social conceptions by the systematic regression on the part of disciplined minds to some ideal of good and happiness postulated as final. The image, frequent throughout Plato and Aristotle, by which the universal is spoken of as a whole and its subordinated species or concretes as parts, presents a serious problem of ontology to him. He asks whether the ideas are Forms of Thought and the higher related to the lower as the Ideas of the Reason to the Categories of the Understanding, with no apparent recognition of the utter irrelevancy to Plato's real thought of the decorative Kantian literary analogies, or of the fact that the best modern thought regards these distinctions as purely artificial, and is therefore pleased not to find them in Plato. He says that Plato is nowhere distinctly conscious of the difference between a genus and a category, but has not entertained the thought that Plato's freedom from futile distinctions which ultimate psychological analysis cannot verify is one of his chief titles to honor.

This essay is supplemented by a long and interesting excursus in which Professor Campbell sums up, not without legitimate complacency, the cumulative evidence brought by the statistics of Dittenberger, Schanz, Ritter and others in support of the position defended, against Stallbaum and Zeller, in his editions of the Theaetetus, Sophist and Statesman, that these dialogues,

together with the Philebus and the Parmenides, form a group later than the Republic and intermediate between it and the Laws.

Essay II on the text may be considered later. The essay 'On Plato's Use of Language' fills nearly 200 pages. Nothing beyond a brief characterization of it can be attempted here. A short, well-written introduction brings out one of the distinctive features of Plato's style as a whole, the peculiar combination it presents of conversational liveliness and freedom with punctilious dialectical precision. Then follows a long chapter in grammar constructed much on the lines of the Introductory Essay on Language in Professor Campbell's *Sophocles*. It is a convenient, though not exhaustive nor especially illuminating, presentation of the more notable peculiarities of Plato's syntax and idiom. The material is in the main a résumé of the grammatical notes in the commentary supplemented from Riddell's *Digest* and Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*. The present reviewer is incompetent to discuss it in detail, as he has never been able to comprehend the infinite gusto with which Greek scholars discuss and record for the hundredth time, with individual innovations of terminology, the 'aorist of the immediate past,' the 'philosophic imperfect,' the 'perfect of fixed habit,' the 'assimilated optative,' the 'expegegetic infinitive,' the 'inner accusative,' the 'dative of the person interested,' the 'predicative adverb,' and other familiar syntactical specimens which to his duller sense have been sufficiently embalmed or stuffed and set up for inspection once for all in the indispensable collections of Kühner and Goodwin. Exhaustive historical statistic such as laborious Germany gives us, the delicate observation of neglected niceties of usage such as we find in the notes of Prof. Jebb's *Sophocles*, the penetrating analysis of conventional syntactical categories for which we look to Professor Gildersleeve,—these are different matters. But the miscellaneous yet incomplete collections of familiar constructions and idioms with which so many editions of the classics are now introduced merely dishabituate the student to the intelligent consultation of his grammar.

These strictures apply only in part to the essay before us. The treatment of the particles offers much which the student could extract from his grammar or lexicon only with difficulty and by inference, if at all. And the section on imperfect constructions, changes of construction and anacoluthon will greatly lighten the task of the teacher of the Republic.

Part II, *Platonic Diction*, begins with a laborious, though necessarily incomplete, study of Plato's vocabulary. Tables constructed like those in Schmid's *Atticismus* are given of Plato's new derivatives or compounds, with appended citation from Stephanus of the authors (without chapter and verse) who employed them after Plato. These are followed by columns of vernacular words (partially illustrated from Aristophanes and the older comedy), of picturesque terms borrowed or imitated from poetry, of philosophic metaphors and of etymological puns. Such collections are interesting and suggestive, but they prove nothing that Macaulay's scholar would not learn in a far more natural way by "reading Plato with his feet on the fender" for a day or two, and they are not exact or complete enough to supply a basis for a final treatment of Plato's style. Lastly we have a section on Plato's philosophical terms, subdivided into metaphysical, psychological and dialectical words. It

is not really possible to expound the terminology of a thinker like Plato apart from the systematic analysis of his philosophy or of some portion of it. For his terms take their meaning from the context, and the possibilities of misapprehension when they are studied in isolation are infinite. With this reservation, Professor Campbell's somewhat desultory observations will be found helpful. I fear, however, that in the eleven pages devoted to *εἶδος* and *ἰδέα* the student will be unable to see the wood for the trees. Why not say at once that *εἶδος* means (1) concretely the 'look' of a thing, the typical aspect, "the look that expresses a single meaning of nature" (Martineau), or (2) abstractly the hypostatic objective reality postulated as underlying every general term or conceptual unit, or (3) the logical class or genus, or (4) any shade between these meanings?

The discussion of *εἶναι*, *ὄν*, *οὐσία*, etc., is superior to that found in Peipers' *Ontologia Platonica* in that it fills two pages instead of two hundred. A tacit refutation follows (but this is slaying the slain) of Mr. Jackson's 'Later Theory of Ideas' in the guise of a review of Plato's indiscriminate employment, at all periods, of the manifold terms for 'assimilation to' or 'participation' in the ideas. The footnote on p. 313 is an excellent illustration of the misconceptions that are likely to arise when Platonic passages are taken in falsifying isolation. It runs: "In *Parm.* 133 D there are two stages in the descent from the ideas to individuals, (1) *ὁμοίωσις*, subsisting between the idea and its *ὁμοίωμα* or concrete type, and (2) *μέθεξις τοῦ ὁμοιώματος*." A literal and mechanical interpretation of the passage referred to would seem to confirm this interpretation. It would, nevertheless, seriously mislead the student. Parmenides is arguing that, in the case of relative terms, ideal relatives will correlate only with ideal relatives and concretes only with concretes. Jones is (slave) of Smith. Smith is (master) of Jones. But Jones has no relation to master in the abstract (ideal), nor has Smith to the abstract or ideal slave. The expression of the thought is rendered more vivid by the personification inherent in Greek style. Absolute *δεσποτεία* is in heaven and has no communication with the *δεσποτεία παρ' ἡμῖν*. In this last statement the necessities of language have driven Plato into apparent contradiction. His hypothesis is not really stateable in language. It is impossible, as the *ῥέοντες* of the Theaetetus are admonished, to banish general terms from the most concrete forms of expression. The statement 'Smith is (master) of Jones' not only affirms a relation between the concretes Jones and Smith, but predicates the general term 'master' of Smith, or in Platonic languages makes Smith participate in (*μετέχειν*) *δεσποτεία*. But this, on the present hypothesis, necessitates a doubling of *δεσποτεία*, since ideal *δεσποτεία* stands aloof in incommunicable isolation. It is a mistake to crystallize into rigid metaphysical dogma this concession to the exigencies of language. But no critic who possesses a sense of humor will care to run down and analyze in this pedantic fashion many such misconceptions. Plato can be rightly interpreted only by a positive systematic exposition of his thought, with its entire logical and emotional setting.

Professor Campbell's remarks on the 'psychological' terms *αἰσθησις*, *φαντασία*, *διάνοια*, etc., require no comment. The discussion of *ὑπόθεσις* under dialectical terms seems to owe a debt to the note on *Συλλογισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως* in A. J. P.

X 4. Professor Campbell has apparently changed his mind with regard to Theaet. 157 B C: ὃ δὲ ἀθροίσματι ἀνθρωπὸν τε τίθενται καὶ λίθον καὶ ἕκαστον ζῷον τε καὶ εἶδος. In his edition of the Theaetetus he prefers to understand the ἀθροίσμα of the union of many predicates in the universal. Here (p. 337) he takes it to mean that "each substance is a bundle or aggregate of transient attributes or presentations." A passage in Sextus Empiricus (p. 457, Bekker) favors this latter interpretation: εἰπερ οὖν ἐστὶ τι ὅλον οἷον ἄνθρωπος ἵππος φυτὸν ναῦς (ταῦτα γὰρ ὅλων ὀνόματα) ἦτοι ἕτερόν ἐστι τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν νοεῖται, ἢ τὸ ἀθροίσμα τῶν μερῶν λέγεται τυγχάνειν ὅλον.

The text of this edition was originally based on that of Baiter's edition of 1881, but has been gradually revised into closer conformity with the text of Hermann. The various readings given in the footnotes are taken mainly from Paris. A, which Professor Campbell has recollated himself, and from which he has gleaned a number of hitherto unnoticed details; Venetus II, collated with Bekker's text for the purposes of this edition by Professor C. Castellani, of the Library of St. Mark, and Cesenas M, collated for this edition by Professor Enrico Rostagno.

Professor Campbell's laborious essay on the text begins with a description of the chief manuscripts. This is followed by an elaborate argument based on the agreements and divergencies of M, A and II, in support of the position that M is the best of the inferior MSS, and that where it differs from the first hand of A and agrees with II it has not been emended, as Schanz held, from a MS of the family of II, but is an independent witness. A short treatise on the chief causes of textual errors is then given, with ample illustration from the MSS of Plato. He then takes up the subject of textual emendation, discussing in order the still doubtful passages of the Republic, the passages in which this text rests on emendations, the most important conjectures of Cobet, Madvig and others not received into the present text, and certain suggestions and recommendations of his own. The essay closes with some interesting remarks in the vein of Professor Jowett's Introductory Essay, though less extreme in tone, on the difficulties and dangers of textual criticism generally. Four appendices give, first a collation of the present text with Paris. A, second a list of the errors of the first hand in Paris. A with the source of their correction, third a correction of the errors and omissions in Bekker's collations of II and Ξ, and fourth a discussion of Cesena MS M by E. Rostagno. There is something disheartening in the exiguity of the outcome of all this toil, and one is tempted to repeat Professor Jowett's heretical dictum, that "such enquiries have certainly been carried far enough and need no longer detain us from more important subjects." There is really not much to be done with the text of Plato. The game must be played strictly according to the rules, but when it is played out we feel that it was hardly worth the midnight oil. The text of this edition must have cost Professor Campbell a considerable portion of the leisure hours of the last two or three years. Yet, as he himself says at the close of his interesting, if discursive, essay: "Were the corruptions and interpolations of the text of the Republic as numerous as recent scholars have imagined, the difference of meaning involved would be still infinitesimal. Some feature of an image might be obscured, or some idiomatic phrase enfeebled, but Plato's philosophy would remain uninjured."

Of the twelve passages which Professor Campbell regards as still open to suspicion (vol. II, p. 115), only two affect the sense even slightly. 387 C *φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ ὥς οἰεται*, for which our editors read *ὥς οἶόν τε* (which they refer to *q*, and the correction of Par. A by *q*, not to Par. A, as hitherto), rejecting Hermann's more vigorous *δο' ἐτη* and not venturing to insert in the text L. C.'s suggestion, *ὥς ἐτεά*. In IX 581 E. *τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πᾶν πόρρω*, there is no real difficulty if we accept, with nearly all editors, Graser's *τί οἰώμεθα* and place interrogation-points after *μανθάνοντα* and *πόρρω*. Professor Jowett would retain *ποιώμεθα* and take the words *τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πᾶν πόρρω* as ironical. I do not care to try to convert any one whose perceptions of Greek style do not tell him that this is impossible. Professor Campbell's suggestion, *τῆς ἀληθινῆς*, of which he thinks *ἡδονῆς* a substituted gloss, does not affect the meaning and supplies a plausible remedy for the seemingly objectionable repetition of *ἡδονῆς*. But it is, I think, unnecessary. The Platonic philosopher thinks that sensual pleasures are no pleasures. Cf. Philebus 44 C *ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν γοήτευμα οὐχ ἡδονὴν εἶναι*. The difficulties in 388 E, 359 C, 567 E, 590 D, 603 C, 615 C, are too trifling for further debate. 439 E *ποτὲ ἀκούσας τι πιστεύω τοῦτω* is certainly awkward. L. C.'s suggestion, *οὐ πιστεύω τοῦτω*, with changed reference of *τοῦτω*, equally so. 533 E *δ' ἂν μόνον ὁλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν σαφηνεία δ' λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ* is impossible, and the ingenuity is wasted that is spent upon it in the commentary to this result: "An expression which may indicate with a clearness proportioned to the mental condition that of which it speaks as existing in the mind." All we want is the thought of Charmides 163 D *ὅλου δὲ μόνον ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν φέρης τοῖνομα ὃ τι ἂν λέγῃς*, and that is given by the only tolerable text yet proposed, that of Hermann: *ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον ὁλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἔξω σαφηνείαν δ' λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ* (*ἀρκέσει*), which is ignored by our editors and which is indeed too remote from the MSS to be susceptible of proof. In 562 B the unwarranted *ὑπερπλουτος*, which B. J. defends *more suo*, may be emended by deleting *ὑπερ* or by L. C.'s plausible suggestion, *πὺν πλοῦτος*. In 568 D, L. C.'s suggestion, *πωλουμένων*, is as easy a way as any of securing the required meaning which grammar forbids us to extract from *ἀποδομένω*.

Of the 29 passages in which the present text relies on conjectures by various hands, none affects the sense except possibly the obvious *παισιν* for *πᾶσιν* (494 B and 431 C), Schneider's palmary *καὶ ἐτίμα μάλιστα* for *καὶ ἐτι μάλιστα*, 554 A, Graser's *τί οἰώμεθα*, 581 D, Vermehren's *χαίρων καὶ δυσχεραίνων*, which restores concinnity in 401 E, and L. C.'s *διὰ τοῦ* bis, 440 C, for *διὰ τὸ*, an emendation which was pencilled on the margin of my Teubner text some years ago. The others restore a paragogic *ν* or a dropped *ἂν* or an iota subscript, or smooth out an anacoluthon. Professor Campbell himself suggests some fifteen emendations in addition to the one admitted to the text (vol. II, p. 123). Three or four of these have already been considered. Of the others the most important are the (in the context) cacophonous *ἀξίως*, 496 A, for *ἀξιον*, which is better omitted altogether, with Hermann; *ἐγγύς τι τείνειν τῶν τοῦ σώματος* for *εἶναι*, 518 D, which is clever and would commend itself but for a lingering doubt whether the phrase had not a half-humorous suggestion in Plato's usage; and *ἡ οὐκ* (sic *q*) . . . *ἀλλοίαν τε* [Stallb. for *τοῖ*] *φῆσεις*, 500 A. It is unnecessary to follow Professor Campbell in his recension of the superfluous emendations of

Cobet, Madvig and others not admitted into the text. The man who prints an emendation that is not required but is merely possible Greek in the context is a thief of our time and should be suppressed by a conspiracy of silence. I could wish, however, that our editors had followed Hermann in admitting Nägelsbach's *ἐτι ἀδυναμία*, supported by a quotation from Iamblichus, for *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* in 532 B C. *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία βλέπειν* 'to look powerlessly,' i. e. 'to be without the power to see,' as our editors construe, after Schneider, makes large demands on our faith in the flexibility of Greek idiom, and Stallbaum's "bei dem Unvermögen zu sehen" is not much better. Moreover, the *ἐτι* adds a touch that is needed; cf. 516 A *πρῶτον μὲν*, etc. For the rest, all this matter, with much besides, is conscientiously repeated in the commentary, though exhaustiveness is after all not attained, and many useful readings recorded in Stallbaum or Hermann are ignored. I have noted the following points, which might (without much profit) be indefinitely added to. In 332 E no notice is taken of the plausible *προπολεμῆν* approved by Ast and Stephanus. In 365 B *ἐὰν μὴ καὶ δοκῶ*, which has sufficient MS authority, is better than *ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δοκῶ*. The thought is: 'I shall profit nothing from *being* just unless I also seem' rather than 'I shall profit nothing from being just (even) if I seem the opposite.' What our editors mean by saying that *ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δοκῶ* is more idiomatic I cannot guess. In 365 D *καὶ (οὐδ' Jowett and Campbell) ἡμῖν μελητέον τοῦ λανθάνειν*, I think the consensus of the MSS can be defended, despite the necessity for a negative that nearly all editors have felt here. The argument of the entire passage runs: There exist (1) political clubs *ἐπὶ τὸ λανθάνειν* and (2) teachers of persuasion who will enable us to evade punishment if detected. But, you will say, we cannot (1) elude or (2) constrain the gods. The answer is (transferring the question to the higher sphere), as for gods, perhaps (1) they do not exist or are careless of mankind, or (2) can be persuaded or bought off by prayers and ceremonies. Accordingly, we must either (1) try to escape detection, as on the previous supposition, before the gods were introduced into the argument, or (2) invoke priests and hierophants as in the former case teachers of the art of persuasion. The logic of *καὶ ἡμῖν μελητέον τοῦ λανθάνειν* is loose, but it is quite as good as that of *εἰ μὴ εἰσὶν* as an answer to *θεοὺς οὐτε λανθάνειν δυνατόν*, and there is no need of reading *οὐδ', οὐκ οὖν, τί* or *ἀμελητέον*. The *καὶ* of *καὶ ἡμῖν* indicates an illogical but perfectly natural antithesis between 'us' on the present supposition and the members of the political clubs above. In 378 D our editors follow Baiter in punctuating after *γρᾶσι*. The antithesis thus secured between *παῖδια εὐθὺς* and *πρεσβυτέροις γιγνομένοις* (*ἀν γενομένοις*?) favors this. The awkwardness of the four times repeated ambiguous *καὶ*, and the difficulty of the dative with *λογοποιεῖν* and the emphasis thus lost of the triplet *καὶ γέρονται καὶ γρᾶσι καὶ πρεσβυτέροις γιγνομένοις*, are against it. 397 A, L. C. accepts Madvig's (Schneider's?) *μυθήσεται* for *διηγῆσεται*, *adversante* B. J., but *διηγῆσεται* seems to be required by the balance of the sentence: *πάντα τε μᾶλλον διηγῆσεται καὶ . . . οἰήσεται ὥστε πάντα ἐπιχειρήσει μμείσθαι*. 442 C *σοφὸν δέ γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ σμικρῷ μέρει, τῷ δ' ἥρχει τ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ταῦτα παρήγγελλεν ἔχον αὐτὸν κάκεινο*, etc. Our editors seem to feel no difficulty in the *τῷ δ*, etc., nor do they note the omission of *τῷ* by Par. K and Mon. A simple remedy would be to omit the *τῷ* before *δ* and insert it after *παρήγγελλεν*, reading *τῷ ἔχειν*. In 451 E, in

reading *ὥστε εὖ* (for *οὐ*) *με παραμυθεῖ*, our editors, here as elsewhere, overestimate the possibilities of Socratic irony. 500 A. In arguing against the repetition of *ἀλλοίαν* in a different sense, our editors should not have ignored the reading of M, *ἀλλ' οἴαν* (recorded, it is true, in the footnotes to the text), which, with the pointing and interrogation-marks of Hermann, yields a much more vivacious and idiomatic text than that adopted here. Moreover, *ἀλλὰ ἀποκρινεῖσθαι* fits the defiant *οὐκ αὖ δοκεῖ* above much better if taken in the sense 'contradict us' than in the sense 'change their reply.' In 521 C Hermann's *οὔσα ἐπ' ἀνόδοσ* (after Iamblichus) is the only readable idiomatic text here. Only desperate ingenuity can construe the others. In 606 C the text or footnotes should indicate Hermann's *δῆ* (for *δὲ*), which the commentary rightly prefers.

The most notable feature of the commentary is the excellence of its literary form. The translations given are felicitous and the expression is always just and vigorous, whether in the paraphrase of an idiom, the elucidation of the exact force of a particle or the discrimination of Platonic synonyms. Very interesting, too, are the little sermonizing, reflective paragraphs, in the style of the essays that accompany Jowett's *Plato*, scattered here and there throughout the notes. They are the kind of remark that a judicious teacher would wish to be able to address to his class in occasional digressions, by way of relief to the stricter interpretation of the text. One may call attention especially to the observations on casuistry, p. 12, on Plato as a political economist, p. 85, on psychology, p. 202, on ridicule as the test of truth, p. 217, on international law, p. 244, on metaphysics, p. 268, on the philosopher in the world, p. 287. These little essays are full of quoted or quotable things, as for example, p. 30: "Mankind are rightly jealous of their principles being reduced to the level of their practice"; p. 174: "The habit of mind which has been acquired in making necessary distinctions may go on to make unnecessary ones"; p. 245: "A great nation's little wars are commonly the least creditable part of her history"; p. 281: "There are two classes not marked in the vocabulary of party and found in all parties—the inferior minds and the superior."

These qualities lend the commentary an educational usefulness in excess of its strictly scientific value. In a complete commentary on the *Republic* we should look, after the text had been settled and the few antiquarian or historical allusions explained, first for notes on the particles, on Platonic synonyms and idioms, and for illustration of the thought and language from other Platonic dialogues—and all this we find admirably done here. But we should also demand illuminating philosophic interpretation of the thought in relation to Plato's system as a whole and to similar modern speculations, and erudite illustration of the influence of the *Republic* on later Greek literature, and here we should be disappointed. The conscientiously explicit notes on the particles in the earlier books studied in connection with the corresponding sections of Professor Campbell's essay would almost enable the student to dispense with a teacher. The delicate implications of the various uses of *ἀλλά*, the use of *δῆ* or *καὶ δῆ καὶ* in the special application of a rule, the resumptive *δ' οὖν*, the *μέντοι* of meditative transition or challenged assent to an admitted fact affecting the argument, the *ἀρα* of disclaimed responsibility, and

other familiar friends are described with a precision somewhat surprising to the reader of Jowett's translations.

It is perhaps hypercritical to miss notes on the difference between *οὐ δῆτα* and *οὐ δῆπου*, on the *αὖ* of impatience or exasperation, 393 D, on the *οὖν* of reluctant concession, 440 A, on *ἄρα* = 'if it so be that,' 361 A, on the ironical *δή*, 561 B, 562 E, on the frequent intensifying use of *οὐδέ* *ne—quidem* 'neither,' on the *καί* of 387 D, on the slight touch of the oratorical style in the *καίτοι* of 360 C, on the *δή* that calls attention to an etymology in 365 A.

The shading of Platonic synonyms and the eulogistic or dyslogistic suggestions with which his words are charged are carefully noted; e. g. *ὑμνεῖν* 329 B, *δρος* 331 D, *οιομένον* 336 A, *ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι* 336 B, *δεινός* 337 A, *ἀναπέφανται* 350 B, *εὐχερώς* 364 A, *φορτικῶς* 367 A, *σκυτοτόμον* 369 D, *χορτάζειν* 372 D, *κομψός* 376 A, *συχνός* 376 D, *δοκοῦντες* 420 A, *καλινδεῖσθαι* 479 D, *κάθηνται* 559 D, *δγκον* 373 B, *λεγόμενων* 431 C.

The notes also serve as admirable stage-directions to the comic by-play of the dialogue. Cf. especially 338 C, 341 A B, 348 C, 351 C. And the mechanism for the dialogue and the countless minor felicities of Plato's style are analyzed with fine literary sense and not infrequently illustrated by pertinent parallels, especially from Shakspeare.

Positive errors of interpretation are few and slight. The notes occasionally call attention to trifling mistakes in the last edition of Jowett's translation. A number of corrections to that translation made in this Journal (XIII 364 foll.) seem to have been silently accepted; e. g. in 464 E *ἀνάγκην σωμάτων ἐπιμελεία τιθέντες*, formerly rendered "we shall make the protection of the person a matter of necessity," and in A. J. P., loc. cit., "compelling them (by the indirect effect of our legislation) to develop their muscle" is now interpreted "in this way we shall oblige them to keep themselves in condition." In 473 A no explicit notice is taken of the correction in A. J. P. of the very confused translation, but our phrase ad loc.: "Plato is inverting the familiar Greek antithesis of word and deed and challenging the Democritean *Λόγος ἐργον σκῆ*," appears in the note: "*κὰν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ*] i. e. though it may seem an inversion of the recognized opposition between *λόγος* and *ἐργον*." So at 498 A the criticism in A. J. P.: "The point is not that they are frightened away, but that they wrongly begin with the hardest part of the subject," is virtually accepted in the note: "That is to say the study of Philosophy as at present pursued begins too early at the wrong end and ends too soon." In 525 B the structure of the sentence is now correctly given, in accordance with the criticism in A. J. P. The rendering of *ἢ μὴδέποτε λογιστικῶ γενέσθαι* "and therefore he must be an arithmetician" has been changed to "because without emerging, etc., he can never become an arithmetician." The true force of *λογιστικῶ* ('an adept in the calculations of the higher reason') is still ignored. Plato is playing with the double meaning of *λογιστικός*. It is a most lame and impotent conclusion to affirm that the philosopher must study arithmetic or he can never become an arithmetician. In 597 C our suggestion that *τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς* is the dative of the measure of excess is given as an alternative construction. It is the only one allowed by the context. In 581 C our correction of *λέγωμεν τὰ πρῶτα* "we may begin by assuming" to "the three primary classes," etc., is adopted. In 607 A our interpretation of *τοῦ ἀεὶ δόξαντος*, etc.,

as prospective, i. e. "the rule that the common reason shall from time to time have pronounced to be the best" is given as an alternative version in the form "that reason which from time to time appears best to the majority." It is the only possible rendering. In 611 B our reference of *ὡς νῦν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη ἡ ψυχὴ* to the apparent complexity of the soul rather than to its demonstrated immortality is preferred by L. C. as an alternative interpretation. The notes on *δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς* 500 D, on *πολιτικὴν γε* 430 C, and on *ὡς πλῆθει* 389 D embody the substance of our remarks in A. J. P. XIII 3, p. 362.

Of what seem to me reaffirmations of errors the following may be noted. In 341 C *οὐδὲν ὧν καὶ ταῦτα* is rendered by L. C. (apparently) "though here again you are nobody, i. e. with as little effect as ever," *καὶ ταῦτα* being thus taken in antithesis to former occasions when Thrasymachus attempted the same game. A note signed B. J. substantially repeats the rendering of the translation "and you failed" in the form "although you make a fool of yourself at that too," i. e. at cheating Thrasymachus as you would also have done at shaving a lion. But the obvious meaning to my mind is: "and you did attempt it, and that too though you are a thing of naught." Compare the absolute use of *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι* in Anterast. 134 C, and the idiomatic *καὶ ταῦτα οὐσαν* "and that too though it exists" of Kleitophon 408 E. In 344 E the editors persist in rendering *ἤτοι* "or rather" instead of "or else." It is a trifling matter, but the evidence is against them. The word occurs again in 400 C *ἤτοι ξυναμφοτέρων τι*, and is there rendered by the editors themselves "or *perhaps* the combined effect of both," and in 433 A *τοῦτό ἐστιν ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἤτοι τοῦτον τι εἶδος ἡ δικαιοσύνη*, where they render "this or rather some form of this is justice." But Jowett's translation reads "now justice is this principle or a part of it," and that is the most natural version, in view of the tentative, undogmatic tone of the paragraph. In the passage in question (344 E) our editors err in dropping the interrogation-point after *ἔχειν*. Thrasymachus says sullenly: "Do I think otherwise?" (of the importance of the issue). To which Socrates replies: "you appear to, or else to care nothing for us." There is nothing in the context to justify "or rather."

I am loth to renew the discussion of the image of the mutinous ship's crew in 488 E. As I have said already, "the text here will always be doubtful, . . . but it is certain that it is the true pilot, not the mob, who doubts the possibility of combining the pilot's art with the politician's knack of seizing the helm, whether other people like it or not." Our editors' rendering makes the thought run: (1) They (the mob of sailors) call the man who is clever at seizing the helm the true pilot. (2) They do not know that the true pilot must study navigation, (3) but to get the helm into one's hands in defiance of opposition is an art and study which they imagine to be irreconcilable with the acquisition of the science of navigation. The real Platonic sequence of thought is: (1) They call the grasper of the helm the true pilot. (2) They do not know that the true pilot must devote himself to the study of navigation, and (3) that he does not believe that *there is any art of seizing the helm*, or practice of it, whose acquisition is compatible with mastery of the true pilot's art. In the italicized words I have imperfectly indicated a subtlety of the original generally missed. Plato chooses a form of expression which, while explicitly denying the compatibility of the helm-seizing (the politician's) with

the pilot's (the statesman's) art, hints that the former is no art at all. This is effected by the isolated position of *μήτε τέχνην τούτου*, 488 E; cf. 493 B and especially 518 D with Gorgias 462 B.

In 534 A *τὴν δ' ἐφ' οἷς ταῦτα ἀναλογίαν καὶ διαίρεσιν διχῇ ἑκατέρου, δοξαστοῦ τε καὶ νοητοῦ, ἔωμεν*, the precise point is, I think, still missed by the version "the exact proportion to each other of the things to which these terms apply, and the division of the spheres of opinion and reason severally." The *δοξαστόν* and *νοητόν* are the objective realities corresponding to *δόξα* and *νοῦς*. Plato proposes to pass over the quadripartite division of them, corresponding to the division already indicated of the subjective faculties. *ἐφ' οἷς ταῦτα* then means not "the things to which these terms apply," but the objective correlates of these subjective faculties (cf. 477 D, 480 A). One reason for passing them over, as I have shown more fully elsewhere, is that there is no objective correlate for *διάνοια*. In 574 C *Σμικρά γ' ἔφη κακὰ λέγεις ἐὰν ὀλίγοι ὦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι*, the rendering of the translation, "a small catalogue of evils *even* if the perpetrators of them are few in number," is ingeniously defended by the assumption that *σμικρά* is intended ironically, but that it is taken up seriously in Socrates' reply: *τὰ γὰρ σμικρὰ κτλ.* But the 'even' is not in the text, and it is a waste of ingenuity to read it in.

In other difficult or doubtful passages the editors often resort to the device of alternative renderings, so much employed in Professor Campbell's Sophocles, and not infrequently argue against each other in little polemical paragraphs signed L. C. or B. J. Thus in 331 C for *ἀπλῶς οὕτως* we have our choice of "thus absolutely" and "just absolutely." The former is preferable. In 333 E they read *λαθεῖν ἐμποῖῃσαι*, rejecting Schneider's *ἐμποῖήσας*, and the piety of Professor Campbell has preserved a note of Professor Jowett objecting to the impression "that *λαθεῖν νόσον* 'to dodge a disease' is not good Greek." This, like the utterance at 412 D, "that it is not probable that *δταν* is ever followed by the optative mood," has a purely biographical interest. In 334 D *δοσι διημαρτήκασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων* the rendering of the translation, "many a man who is ignorant of human nature" suits the context and Platonic usage better than that of the notes: "that is to say those of mankind who are in error."

In 339 E *ἄρα τότε ὦ σοφώτατε*, etc., L. C. joins *αὐτὸ* with *δικαίον*, after Ast and Madvig. B. J. puts a comma after *οὕτως*, making *αὐτὸ* indefinite. The former would be more idiomatic and Platonic if Socrates were making the point for the first time. But he is repeating it for Thrasymachus' unwilling comprehension, and *οὕτως* pauses to recall the previous statement at the beginning of 339 D; cf. 360 A *καὶ αὐτῷ οὕτω ξυμβαίνειν* of a verification. In 348 E *τοῦτο ἤδη στερεώτερον* the second version, "this is harder to make an impression upon," is better than the first, "this new position is firmer," etc. *στερεός* connotes stubbornness, and Thrasymachus' position is not really firmer in the opinion of Socrates, but only harder to deal with dialectically. In 371 A the alternative version of *ὧν ἂν δέωνται* 'whatever the things may be that they require' is obviously wrong and should be suppressed. In 377 B and 378 A *ῥαδίως οὕτω* means (1) "thus lightly," not (2) "lightly as is now commonly done, though the second meaning may be injured."

In 387 E the words *ισως εὖ ἔχει πρὸς ἄλλο τι* refer to the aesthetic effects of the poetry, whose moral teachings are deprecated, as proved by 390 A. It is

overrefining to see an allusion to the moralizing influence of the fear of the last judgment, as is suggested also in the essays, vol. II, p. 20. In 395 B the emphatic "or else" meaning of *ἢ* would assume a linguistically impossible ellipsis. 395 D *ἀνδρί*, obviously her husband, not a man.

397 B *πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν*. L. C. argues at length for the interpretation *πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν*, sc. *χορδὴν*, but is unable to cite a parallel. It is by no means certain that Plato was himself distinctly conscious of the ellipsis in such a phrase. The editors diverge widely on the syntax of the loose sentence 407 D. L. C. seems right in taking *τὰ—σώματα* in pendent construction similar to *τοὺς μὲν* above. But B. J. is right in making *μὴ οἰεσθαι δεῖν* depend on *φῶμεν καταδεῖξαι ἱατρικὴν . . . μὴ οἰεσθαι δεῖν* would be too harsh. The editors do not remark on the necessity of reserving the *τε* in *φαρμάκοις τε καὶ τομαῖς* for *προσάττειν*.

In 411 C *εὐχῆται εὐ μάλα* is not to be taken "fare sumptuously," but rather with L. C. "if he take his fill of it."

In 415 B refer *αὐτοῖς* to *ἐκγόνοις* and *τούτων* to the various metals, with B. J.

422 B. The meaning "perhaps" for *πολλάκις* is out of place here, and is rendered extremely improbable by the distance of *πολλάκις* from *εἰ* and the absence of a warning *ἀρα*.

425 B. L. C.'s suggestion that *κατακλίσεις* should be taken actively is to be approved. In 437 C it will be hard to find a parallel for *ἐπινεύειν . . . πρὸς αὐτὴν* in the alternative sense suggested: "beckon them with a nod towards herself." It obviously refers to the soul's internal dialogue.

458 A. It is more idiomatic to construe *καὶ* with *ὑστερον*, with L. C.

472 C. B. J. is right in arguing against L. C. that *εἰ γένοιτο* is not seriously inconsistent with *τούτου ἔνεκα*, infra. The *εἰ γένοιτο* is the necessary accompaniment of *οἷος ἂν εἴη γενόμενος*, and does not prejudge the question of the probability of actual realization.

478 C *μὴ ὄν γε*. L. C. is right in pressing *γε* and rendering "not-being since non-existent."

494 D *τῶν λόγων* is general—"reason," "dialectic." In 484 A the suggestion is hazarded that *αὐτοῖς* is to be supplied and that *διεξελθόντος* is to be taken transitively, "which has discussed them."

503 C. The second interpretation is the only admissible one. *νεανικοί* and *μεγαλοπρεπεῖς*, in spite of their position, belong with *μνήμονες* and *ὀξεῖς* as constituents of the impetuous, ardent temperament opposed to the *κόσμοι*. Plato's uniform usage leaves no doubt on this point.

506 A. B. J. is right in interpreting *πρότερον* "before he sees how they are good." Plato is not arguing that the ideal statesman must know the good before others, but that he must know the good before he can understand the essential nature of justice and the virtues.

507 E. L. C. is right in supplying *παραγενομένου* with *τινός*.

554 C. B. J.'s alternative, "by some virtuous restraint which he puts upon himself," is obviously mistaken.

558 A. (2) "the meekness of some of the condemned" is preferable.

560 B. (2) is right.

563 C *γίνονται*; there is no need of supplying *ἐλεῖσθαι*, or of supposing a word dropped (L. C.), or of construing *γίνονται* with *εἰδισμένοι*. The predicate

with γίνονται is οἰαίπερ, the τε δὴ is loose conversational repetition of τε above, and εἰθισμένοι, etc., is loose expexegetic apposition to οἰαίπερ, though of course literally inapplicable to δέσποιναι. This sounds complicated, but is simple enough if we follow Plato's toying with the proverb in the order of the Greek.

A few miscellaneous observations may be added here.

440 D νικᾷ καὶ οὐ λήγει τῶν γενναίων is rendered "does not desist from noble efforts," and so Stallbaum: "generoso opere." τῶν γενναίων means "in the case of the truly noble" and is to be taken with θυμός "understood." It is one of the characteristic parenthetical Platonic suggestions of the class to which the statement is applicable, and corresponds in this function to ὅσῳ ἂν γενναίωτερος ᾖ above. νικᾷ is awkward, and no good remedy has been suggested. φιλονεικεῖ is obvious, but not very probable.

465 C κολακείας τε πλουσίων πένητες, etc. Why not take πένητες as subject of ἴσχυονσι, displaced to mark antithesis with πλουσίων?

469 A. It is surely misleading to say that τιθέναι is used absolutely for ἐς τὰς τιθέναι, though that is the meaning.

529 A οἱ εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἀνάγοντες. Is not this simply "those who introduce their pupils to philosophic studies"? It seems to be so taken in L. and S., s. v. ἀνάγειν. For the tone of the passage cf. Protag. 319 D E.

In 573 D ὅρται γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς κτλ., our editors say that ὦν is governed by ἐρως, "whatever things are the objects of the tyrant passion that lives within." Take ὦν rather with τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς as resumptive of αὐτοῖς above, and render: "feasts and carousals and revellings arise among them—among those, that is, all the concerns of whose souls are swayed by the tyrant ἐρως within." ὦν ἂν makes a class or limitation fittingly with αὐτοῖς. It cannot properly do so with ταῦτα πάντα, which is sufficiently explained by what precedes and needs no further definition. The thought is "revels, etc., arise among men of this sort whose souls are swayed by a ruling desire," not "revels arise and such things whatsoever they be the love of which," etc. The passage is unconsciously rendered rightly by Jowett in the translation: "Love is the lord of the house within him, and orders all the concerns of his soul."

The problem of the 'number' is valiantly attacked by Professor Campbell, but no convincing solution is reached, and until this is done it seems idle to print more on the subject. The same may be said of Mr. Craigie's contributed note on the "order of Plato's enumeration of the planets in Rep. X 616 E ff." Nor is there anything especially new or significant in the brief discussions of Plato's banishment of the poets, unless it be the somewhat captious observation that in 472 B and in 501 ff. Plato talks of painters as copyists of the Idea, while in book X he speaks of them along with poets as mere copyists of the copy.

Of the quality of the commentary on the philosophic side, it is not needful to add much to the remarks already made on Professor Campbell's essays. Elaborate philosophic interpretation of the Platonic ontology was, as the surviving editor explicitly says, beyond the scope of the work. The drift of particular passages and the evolution of the argument from page to page are clearly indicated. But there is a deplorable tendency here and there (e. g. 379 B, 435 A, 477 A) to read Plato lessons in elementary logic which no man

ever needed less, and to measure and interpret him by inapplicable modern canons or fanciful analogies. For example, it is a bit of pedantry unworthy of our editors to label Plato's literary procedure in 427 D sqq. "the method of residues," and then solemnly demonstrate that it does not strictly conform to Mill's canons. And one hardly knows how to characterize the fantastic suggestion (505 D) that the argument that men may acquiesce in sham virtue but desire the reality of 'good' "is in some degree like that of Anselm and Descartes, that the highest perfection involves existence."

Again, the unity of the central argument is nowhere sufficiently emphasized, nor is there any clear appreciation of the art with which the thin strands of ethical, sociological and psychological argument are twisted into one. The few ontological passages are too strongly contrasted with the doctrine of the professedly ontological or metaphysical dialogues, and the significance of the Idea of Good in relation to the structure of the Republic, to Plato's thought as a whole and to modern ethics is missed.

These matters could be set forth adequately only in a continuous positive exposition* such as I have attempted elsewhere. Here I will merely note a few isolated points by way of illustration of my meaning.

In 505 A, instead of references to 438 A, we should have been referred to Charmides 174 B C, Laches 199 D, Euthyd. 291-2, and in lieu of the remark "are all these meanings of 'good' the same?—would have been the question of Aristotle," it would have been more profitable to show that the keenest ethical writers of recent times, Sidgwick and Leslie Stephen, concur with Plato in the demand that all social and ethical conceptions be referred ultimately to some final ideal of 'good.' Much the same may be said of the vague note on 508 E: "The intense reality of all beauty and all truth, when seen according to the divine idea, is perhaps as near as we can come to the meaning of Plato."

509 A *τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξιν*. Even if we grant that the phrase = *τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὡς ἔχει* in its first intention, it certainly carries with it the purely ethical connotation of the "habit of goodness."

516 A. The supposition that the moon and stars may symbolize the ideas of Being, Truth, Sameness, Difference, etc., is purely fantastic.

524 C *διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦτου σαφήνειαν*. The construction indicated by the version, "But with a view to clearing up this chaos of sense," is right. The philosophic note illustrating Plato's meaning by the theory of vision is a misconception of Plato's simplicity. The confusion of which Plato speaks is the apparent contradiction between sense-perception accepted as a complete unanalyzed whole, and the abstractions denoted by language. The problem of the modern theory of vision is to analyze out and discriminate the purely sensuous and the intellectual elements in sense-perception. We cannot properly speak of Plato's 'error' in relation to a problem which he did not contemplate at all and which was irrelevant to his main purpose.

530 B *προβλήμασιν ἅμα*, etc. The reference to Phaedo 97 D E is out of place. There Socrates yearns for an explanation of the order of the universe through beneficent design. Here he affirms that we must study the relations of quantity and force in abstractions, and not attempt to extract them by induction from their imperfect, concrete embodiments.

533 B. The statement that mathematics have a scientific basis only when referred to the Idea of Good is a half truth which is practically a falsehood. Plato's thought, as I have elsewhere shown, is: (1) All social and moral institutions can be understood only in their relation to an ultimate ideal of good. (2) They can be related to that ideal only by a mind disciplined in abstractions and the severest dialectic. (3) Mathematics affords the best preliminary discipline in abstractions, but is not the highest dialectic, because the mathematician cannot, like the dialectician, go behind his premises when required to do so, till ultimate acceptable postulates are reached. This conception of dialectic in no wise contradicts that of Philebus 58 A, that it deals with *ὅν* *qua* *ὅν* in Aristotle's language. (4) As applied to the material world, the Idea of Good is an ultimate *ἀρχή* only as faith sees it embodied in the beneficent designs of God. Its operation cannot be traced in detail, and it is not in this sense an essential part of the thought of the Republic.

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Geschichte des Plusquamperfekts im Lateinischen von Dr. H. BLASE. Giessen, 1894. Pp. 112.

The author, one of the collaborators upon the new historical grammar, is well and favorably known through his dissertation on conditional sentences and his admirable *Geschichte des Irrealis*. The present pamphlet deals with the pluperfect in both indicative and subjunctive. As to the indicative, the whole question, in Blase's opinion, has been confused rather than clarified by the introduction of the 'absolute' and 'relative' notions. The true question is, 'What is the relation of the pluperfect to its temporal environment?' Foth, in Böhmer's *Romanische Studien*, 1876, has shown from the Romance languages that the Latin pluperfect underwent a shifting of meaning. The indicative became a preterite in French, a conditional in Spanish, Portuguese and Provençal; the subjunctive became an imperfect. Foth's results are in the main correct, but his division of Latin verbs into two classes, in one of which the perfect, because of the meaning of the verb, acquires the force of a present, Blase thinks erroneous. He therefore examines the facts of usage in Plautus, with these results: (1) The plupf. in early Latin is often used in its proper sense when the past act to which it is related is not mentioned in the immediate context. (2) In about ten cases the perf. and the plupf. are coordinated; this may be explained by metrical convenience. (3) The plupf. is also used rhetorically in anticipation of an immediately following past tense. (4) There are no 'absolute' uses of the plupf. (5) Shifting occurs only with *fuera*m, *a*) alone, *b*) with *aequom*, *par*, etc., *c*) with perf. pass. etc. In all these cases it is equivalent to *eram* or *fui*. This shift of tense-force is due to the combination of *fui* and *eram* (Combinationsausgleichung), while e. g. *dixi* and *dicebam* could not unite into *dixeram*. This explains the occurrence with *fuera*m only.

In the classical Latin the usage widens to include a few cases of *habueram* and verbs meaning *can* and *ought*, perhaps under the influence of *aequom fuerat*. The rhetorical use (3 above) is common in Vergil and the historians.

The tendency to shift continues down to the fourth century and then shows a great extension among the African writers, no doubt because of the incompleteness of the Semitic tense-system. The use of *fuera*m for *era*m with perf. ptc., which the more accurate writers like Cicero and Caesar avoid, became very frequent and in some late writers predominant. See table on pp. 60-1.

As to the plupf. subjunctive, it is assumed that its original temporal meaning was the same as that of the plupf. indicative, but the cause of the shifting of tense-force was a different one, which Blase had already discussed in his *Geschichte des Irrealis*. The Latin had at first no form for unreal conditions, but used sometimes the present subjunctive for present conditions and the imperfect indicative for the past. When the impf. and plupf. subjunctive assumed this function, beginning about the time of Plautus, they necessarily assumed also the tense-force of such conditions, the impf. becoming a present and the plupf. a preterite. This use, however, was almost confined during the classical period to conditional and optative sentences, and extended itself more slowly, though in the end more evenly, than the corresponding shift in the indicative. The indicative became partly a preterite, partly a conditional, showing by the variation that the process was not complete in Latin, but the subjunctive became a preterite in all branches of the derived languages.

This is a valuable presentation of facts which have either not been observed or not collected before, and it is also a good piece of scientific work, in which causes and effects are well brought out. There are certainly great advantages in a method which traces a single phenomenon through many authors over the method which follows out all the usages of a single author, and Blase has used the opportunity well. The pamphlet must be read by all students of the history of modes and tenses.

I must, however, say that I have not been convinced by Blase's explanation of the origin of the shifting. In the first place, what Ziemer calls 'Combinationsausgleichung' results in the combination of two constructions, but I do not know any case where it results in the use of a third and different word. *impertio alicui salutem* and *dono aliquem salute* may give *impertio aliquem salute*, but it does not follow, without more proof, that *fui* and *eram* could draw *fuera*m away from its ordinary sense to a tense-force somewhere between *era*m and *fui* or could create a new word *fuera*m. Second, in order to explain the origin in this way, Blase has to show that the shifting in early Latin is found only with *fuera*m, not, e. g., with *dixera*m. The reasoning by which he seeks to do this (pp. 18-20) seems to me insufficient and even wrong in method. For example, of Merc. 975 *ille quidem illam sese ancillam emississe dixerat*, he says, "Das war schon v. 390 geschehen"; of Capt. 194 . . . *quo ire dixeram* . . ., "Das hat er v. 126 gesagt, also = bevor alles das geredet wurde, was zwischen v. 126 u. 194 steht." But the same reasoning might be used of *dixi* Capt. prol. 59; it was in v. 24 that he had spoken of the war, and meanwhile he had been speaking of the argument of the play. So *dixi* Capt. 558 refers back to 547, before Aristophontes had interrupted the talk. And, generally, it is plain that half the perfects would refer back to something said before some other event had occurred. Some sharper test than Blase uses is needed to disprove the whole of Lübbert's doctrine. And even in the modified form in which Blase uses it, the explanation of the coordination of *dixi* and *dixera*m by metrical convenience is not

satisfying. In the third place, Foth's suggestion that the meaning of the verb influences its tense-force is too good to be dropped. It rests upon and explains too many facts, e. g. the use of *habui* and *fui* 'I had (was), but have (am) not now,' the use of the same perf. form for inchoatives and for simple verbs, the Plautine *adstiti* = *adsto*, and others. It would explain also the very important fact, which Blase's theory does not explain, that, however the shifting may have begun, it spreads along the line of verb-meaning, from *aequom fuerat* to *debuerat* and *oportuerat*.

To point out flaws in so good a piece of work as this is an ungrateful task, but what I have said touches at most only a small part of the book.

E. P. MORRIS.

Was ist Syntax? Ein kritischer Versuch von JOHN RIES. Marburg, 1894. Pp. 163.

The author is a Germanic philologist and his illustrations are drawn largely from this field, but his arguments and conclusions have a general application and deserve the notice of classical philologists. The outline of the argument is this:—

The meaning of syntax and its relation to other parts of grammar call for new definition. Three systems have hitherto been followed. First, the mixed system, in which the arrangement is partly logical, partly formal; second, the system of Miklosich, which avoids the confusion of the mixed system by confining syntax to the doctrine of the meaning of words and classes of words, omitting all study of the clause; third, the system which makes syntax the science of the sentence. The mixed system is condemned by its nature, and the system of Miklosich by its exclusion of the most important part of syntax. The third doctrine, that *Syntax ist Satzlehre*, is now somewhat widely held, but is also open to serious objections. The sentence is a logical rather than a linguistic unit, the definitions of a sentence vary greatly, and phrases and clauses can be treated only as parts of a sentence. Difficulties therefore arise in the application of the doctrine. Schmalz, in Müller's Handbuch, vol. II, under the heading Simple Sentences, treats cases, modes, tenses, i. e. falls into mixed syntax, and, still worse, he treats these under declarative sentences, as if they did not belong equally to interrogative sentences.

The way out of all this confusion is to substitute the series *sound—word—combination of words* for the series *sound—word—sentence*, as descriptive of the three kinds of objects treated in grammar, and to recognize the fundamental distinction between *form* and *meaning*. This gives (omitting sounds, which have no corresponding meaning and can be treated only from the formal point of view) a cross-division, according as we classify by the object treated or by the method, thus:

	<i>Words.</i>	<i>Word-combinations.</i>
<i>Form.</i>	Inflection.	Syntactical Forms.
<i>Meaning.</i>	Semasiology.	Syntactical Functions.

The chief difficulty of the system lies in the fact that it is impossible to draw a perfectly clear line between the meaning of inflectional forms and their use in sentences. In fact, inflection does not exist in isolation, but only when the word enters into combination with other words. The difficulty, however, is one of logic rather than of practice, for in all grammars the distinction is actually made, though not always clearly, the form and a simple definition of the genitive, for example, being given under the head of inflections, while the uses are reserved for syntax. Grimm and Diez divide the treatment of gender in the same way. If some slight repetition or overlapping results, it is not harmful, but is like the repetitions which necessarily occur in any science which treats the same material from different standpoints.

Ries's system is not a mere war about words. It will not, indeed, solve all the problems of order and arrangement which trouble the writer of a Latin grammar, but it will enable an investigator in any field of grammar except phonetics to approach his task with a clearer conception of its limitations and of its relation to other problems, and that is a great gain. American scholars especially should note two points. First, in any fair division of the field of grammar the new science of Semasiology claims a larger share of attention than it is now receiving, and, being to a considerable extent virgin soil, it holds out the hope of large rewards to those who first enter upon it. Second, Ries lays great, but not too great, stress upon the need of distinguishing between form and function in syntactical work. He says that every competent investigator begins with the form and works toward the function. I should prefer to say that, while functional classification may at times be a useful temporary expedient, the investigator who cannot ultimately define the forms which correspond to his functional classifications is a blind guide. Browning might 'neglect the form,' but the student of syntax who does it is lost.

E. P. MORRIS.

Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen, von Dr. PAUL DEUSSEN. Erster Band, erste Abtheilung: Allgemeine Einleitung und Philosophie des Veda bis auf die Upanishad's.

Dr. Paul Deussen has already won a name as an interpreter of Hindu philosophy, his *System des Vedānta* and *Sūtra* (of the same school) having showed him to be a patient and careful student. The present work, of which the first part of the first volume is at hand, takes a much wider sweep, as is sufficiently indicated by the title. Deussen purposes to give the history of the philosophy of the Hindus in the first volume of this work (with an excursus in five chapters on the philosophy of the Chinese); that of the Greeks in the first part of the second volume (with a chapter on Roman philosophy); that of the Egyptians, Semites, Iranians, Christians, and scholastics of the middle ages in the second part of the same volume (with an excursus on Byzantine, Arabian and Judaic culture); and a complete account of modern philosophy in the third part of the same second volume. A mighty undertaking, the daring of which must awaken universal admiration, the more so if, as is done in the first part, not only philosophy but religion, and not only religion but mythology

are to be woven into the plan. In this first part of the first volume Deussen discusses at length "das erste kindliche Lallen des philosophierenden Menschengesistes" (Preface, p. xiii), as it appears in the Rig-Veda, the Atharvan, and the Brāhmaṇas. The subtitle saves the author from the ready reproach that he has dedicated to religion more than three hundred pages, of which but few have anything to do with philosophy. But even thus we can see no especial point in translating in full some of the passages which are here cited from the Rig-Veda—for instance, the Frog Hymn. This poem is important for the history of Hindu religion, but it has nothing to do with philosophy. Nor does a popular handbook of universal philosophy seem to be the proper place to discuss at length the interpretation of the most unintelligible Vedic hymns; still less to devote several pages to *Belege* for the development of the meaning of Ātman. There seems to be a lack of proportion in this and other particulars, which it is to be hoped will not be so pronounced in the succeeding volumes. For the Sanskrit scholar there is not much that is new in the present division, and for the non-Sanskrit scholar there is too much Sanskrit. Otherwise there is little to object to, and the half-volume presents a very useful collection of everything bearing on and leading up to the later philosophy; for we take issue with Deussen in regard to his liberal interpretation of 'philosophy' (as well as in regard to the Rig-Veda's *Lallen*), and for our own part should accept as philosophy not one-tenth of what the author puts under that caption. The best of the book is the weight laid upon the entirely Brahmanic character of the Atharva-Veda (in which Prajāpati is already an antiquated figure) as compared with the Rik, where he is not yet quite developed (p. 189; Deussen calls the remnant-cult of the Atharvan, p. 238, pseudophilosophy; we should call it simply an unintellectual side of religion); and the careful discrimination in the phases of development of the pantheistic idea as registered in Prajāpati, Brahman (*brahma*) and Ātman, Deus and 'Ding an sich' with priestly prayer-mysticism intervening (p. 239). It is somewhat surprising that in the only passage which has to do with real philosophy, the Čaṇḍilyan teaching, Deussen simply says that this doctrine registers the beginning of Upanishadic pantheism, and does not mention that in the failure to identify the individual soul with the unconditioned *brahma* lies the root of the famous 'Čaṇḍilyan heresy.' But the Čaṇḍilyan chapter (of Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad both) is perhaps to be taken up again in the second part of the volume.

E. W. H.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. XLIX.

Pp. 1-20. Die Münzreform Solons. H. Nissen explains the tenth chapter of Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*, and defends it against the criticism of C. F. Lehmann (Hermes, XXVII 530-60; A. J. P. XV 392), Bruno Keil and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

Pp. 21-36. Zur Schriftstellerei des Mythographen Hyginus. J. Dietze discusses the relation of the Fabulae to the Genealogiae. The Fabulae cannot be the great work on the legends of the gods and heroes which is promised in the Astronomia, but must have been written before the Astronomia. The Genealogiae and the Fabulae were probably not separate works. The first part of the Genealogiae contained the stemmata of the gods and heroes, the second part treated the stories about them and was the source of our collection of fabulae. This work being used as a textbook in schools, the dry and tiresome first part was soon much abridged, and the title Genealogiae, no longer suiting the contents, was lost.

Pp. 37-58. Feuerzauber. E. Kuhnert treats of the magic rites in which fire was employed in casting a spell over some one. Illustrations are cited from Vergil, Horace, Theocritus, the papyri and the inscriptions.

Pp. 59-71. Die kleinen Schriften des Alexander von Aphrodisias. Textual notes by O. Apelt.

Pp. 72-90. Zur Quellenkunde von Platons Leben. A. Busse. The common source of the various accounts of Plato's life is found in the Atthis of Philochorus.

Pp. 91-110. Zu den Melanippen des Euripides. R. Wunsch attempts to reconstruct the plots of the *Μελανίππη σοφή* and *Μελανίππη δεσμώτης*. The latter play must have been written before B. C. 412. It is possible that Euripides wrote a *Μελάνιππος* as well.

Pp. 111-32. Die Phoeniker am aegaeischen Meer. J. Beloch. Ever since the days of Herodotus it has been commonly believed that in the most remote antiquity the vessels of Phoenician traders were already coasting around the Aegean. This view is based upon a group of transparent myths and legends. Herodotus got it from Homer, who was to him a single author who had composed both the Iliad and the Odyssey. The Homeric poems attest the presence of Phoenician traders in the Aegean only for the time at which the later books were written—about the end of the eighth and the first half of the seventh century. Homer's nautical terminology shows no trace of Phoenician influence, and Greek seamanship appears to have been an independent development; it is probable that the Ionians were already settled on the west coast

of Asia Minor when the Phoenicians first visited that region. The art of Mycenae was probably not of Phoenician origin; most of the remains of Phoenician art which have been discovered in Greece belong to the eighth and seventh centuries; the works of art described in the later books of Homer show Phoenician influence, those of the earlier books do not; in Greek vase-painting Oriental influence first appears in the seventh century. The Greeks and Phoenicians seem to have made their way into the western Mediterranean at about the same time—not earlier than the eighth century—the former planting colonies in Sicily, Italy and Gaul, the latter in Libya, Sardinia and Spain. It is unlikely that there were ever any Phoenician colonies on the shores of the Aegean; no certain traces of such settlements have been found; few places, if any, bore Semitic names; there are very few borrowed Semitic words in Greek, in Homer perhaps none; the religion of the Phoenicians had no more influence on the Greeks than their language; and, finally, the Homeric poems make no mention of such colonies.

Pp. 133-61. Zur antiken Stillehre aus Anlass von Proklos' Chrestomathie. W. Schmid. Proclus is a Stoic grammarian who must have lived a little before Hermogenes of Tarsus.

Miscellen.—P. 162. Th. Kock. Noch einmal Euripides Fragm. 953 N³. Kom. Apollodoros Fragm. 13 K.—Pp. 163-7. L. Radermacher. Grammatisches zu Diodor. On the use of the future participle to express purpose.—Pp. 167-8. R. Förster. Zur Görlitzer Lucianhandschrift. Zu Iulian.—Pp. 168-70. E. Bruhn. De *εἰς* vocabulo adnotatio grammatica. On the use of *εἰς* for *τε*.—Pp. 170-2. M. Manitius. Zu den Gedichten Priscians. The *Periegesis* is the work of a Christian writer.—Pp. 172-4. M. Manitius. Zu Orientius. Textual notes.—Pp. 174-5. O. Hense. Zu Seneca de tranquillitate animi. Note on De Tranqu. 4, 3 with a parallel from De Clem. II 26, 2.—Pp. 175-6. F. B. Notes on C. I. L. IV 1698; on the form *amphitheater* in Petronius, Cena 45; and on a Bonn inscription.—P. 176. Th. Kock. Nachtrag zu XLVIII, S. 587, 8.

Pp. 177-93. Volksthümliches bei Artemidoros. E. Riess. There are many old popular superstitions and religious notions underlying Artemidorus's interpretations of dreams.

Pp. 194-207. Sprachliche Beobachtungen zu Plautus. E. Norden. I. An examination of Plautus's use of *magis* with the comparative. The actual 'double comparative' is found in only three passages, Men. prol. 55, Poen. prol. 83, Pseud. 220-1, which may have been written soon after the time of Terence. Pseud. 218-24 is a very clumsy 'dittography.' II. Amph. prol. 38 contains four deviations from Plautine usage. The two words of the phrase *animum advertere* are never separated except in Pseud. 481 *adverte ergo animum*. But where *ergo* is used with a present imperative it is regularly placed after the verb.

Pp. 208-24. Zur Echtheitsfrage der Scriptorum historiae Augustae. O. Seeck gives a supplementary list of minor anachronisms in the *Historia Augusta* in support of Dessau's claim that this composition is a forgery which cannot have been completed before the close of the fourth century. (See A. J. P. XV 383 and 392.)

Pp. 225-46. Zur Chronologie der älteren griechischen Geschichte. J. Toepffer. I. On the wars between Messenia and Sparta. The victors at the Olympian games from 768 to 736 were, with only two exceptions, Messenians; the first Spartan victor appeared in 720, and for the next hundred years Sparta furnished more than half of all the known victors, Messenia none. These striking figures suggest some great change in the relative power of Messenia and Sparta towards the end of the eighth century. Tyrtaeus tells of two great wars waged between these states, in each of which the Spartans were victorious; one of them was fought in his own day, the other, two generations before (*πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες*). The second war seems to have broken out about the middle of the seventh century. II. On the struggles between Athens and Aeolis for the possession of Sigeum.

Pp. 247-55. Zu Valerius Maximus und Ianuarius Nepotianus. M. Ihm shows the importance of the *Historia Miscella* for the textual criticism of Valerius Maximus.

Pp. 256-69. Die Gründung von Tyros. F. Rühl.

Pp. 270-4. Zur Composition des Tibull. E. Wölfflin illustrates the artistic structure of the elegies of Tibullus by an examination of the sequence and proportion of the thoughts in the first, third and tenth poems of the first book. The third elegy shows not only the unity of a dominant sentiment, but also a carefully balanced strophic symmetry.

Pp. 275-98. Die Stadtgründung der Flavier. H. Nissen. A commentary on Pliny, N. H. III 65-7, and on Tacitus, Ann. XV 39-41. The *tanta resurgens urbis pulchritudo* was due less to Nero than to Vespasian (C. I. L. VI 931; Sueton. 9). N. finds a mystical connection between the restoration of the city and the Roman notion of the *saecula*. Vespasian and Titus undertook the duties of the censorship in A. U. C. 826. On the Palilia of that year the city had completed $7\frac{1}{2}$ *saecula* of 110 years, or 25 generations of 33 years; 2 *saecula* had passed since the celebration of A. U. C. 605; etc. Pliny gives the circumference of the city as 13,200 ($= 110 \times 120$, or 440×30) paces; the number of its gates as 37 ($= \frac{1}{3}$ of 110); etc. Vespasian did not materially increase the *pomerium*.

Pp. 299-308. Ueber eine alte Thierfabel. O. Crusius. An ancient fable which teaches that an assumed character is not maintained under temptation. A certain Egyptian king had trained a troop of apes to dance the *πυρρίχη*. The performers were arrayed in masks and purple robes, and the dance proceeded with all dignity until a waggish spectator threw some nuts upon the stage. This story is quoted by Lucian, Pisc. 36, against the false philosophers of his day, and a similar one by Gregory of Nyssa against insincere Christians. Cf. Lucian, Adv. Indoct. 4 *πίθηκος γὰρ ὁ πίθηκος, ἢ παροιμία φησί, κὰν χρύσεια ἔχη σάμβαλα* (MSS *σύμβολα*). The fable may have been as old as Archilochus, Fragm. 89, 93: Lycambes and Neobule showed their true character as soon as a wealthier suitor appeared.

Miscellen.—Pp. 309-10. P. Wendland. Betrogene Betrüger.—Pp. 310-13. G. Knaack. Zur Meleagersage.—Pp. 313-16. E. Preuner. Zur Einführung

des Asklepios-Kultes in Athen.—Pp. 316–17. M. Ihm. Zur Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum.—Pp. 317–20. E. Lattes. 1. Umbr. Naharkum Naharcer, ital. Narce. 2. Etr. lat. *δβας*.

Pp. 321–52. Der hellenische Bund des Jahres 371 v. Ch. H. Swoboda. The object of the Athenians in calling together the Hellenic congress of B. C. 371 (Xen. Hellen. VI 5) was an extension of the naval confederacy to include certain states which had previously followed the lead of Sparta but were now beginning to waver.

Pp. 353–61. Aethiopien. W. Schwarz. A chapter in the early history of the ivory trade.

Pp. 362–78. Aus griechischen Inschriften zu attischen Münzen. E. Preuner. I. Τιμόστρατος-Ποσής auf attischen Tetradrachmen. II. Die Chariten auf der attischen Münzerie Εὐρυκλεί(δης)—'Αριαρά(θης). III. Die attischen Strategen als Jahresbeamte auf den Münzen?

Pp. 379–423. Zur Topographie des Quirinals. (Hierzu eine Karte.) Ch. Hülsen.

Pp. 424–60. Die griechischen Trostbeschlüsse. K. Buresch. A study of the ψήφισμα παραυνθητικόν. Specimens have been found in Caria, in the Milesian colony of Olbia, at Epidauros and Naples, but especially in Amorgos. The number and the stereotype form of the decrees found in this island suggest that they are the product of a very popular custom. A long preamble sets forth the hero's accomplishments, the respectability of his family, his upright life, his popularity, and the sorrow of the community at his death; this is followed by the consolation officially offered to his mourning relatives and friends and a list of the public honors decreed to his memory. The grounds on which consolation is offered are regularly given: fate is inexorable, and it is wise to bear with patience what cannot be avoided. The language abounds in rhetorical ornaments, sentimental flourishes and striking figures: in one inscription "the entire city, the infant children not excepted, is distressed at the loss of its fairest ornament." This kind of decree cannot be older than the Hellenistic period—it was contrary to the old Hellenic spirit to make public matter of private concerns;—indeed, in its peculiar development, it could only be produced by the Greek spirit when, under the Roman sway, this had been withdrawn from all real political activity and merged in local or provincial interests.

Pp. 461–71. Pasparios. H. Usener. Πασπάριος is given by Hesychius as a name under which Apollo was worshipped in Paros and in Pergamum. The word is derived from the prefix παν- and a root σπαρ- or σκαρ- which expressed unsteady motion and appears in σπαίρειν, σκαίρειν, σκιρτάν, ἀσπαλιεύειν, etc. This root was employed in Greek at an early period to denote the glimmer of the light, and a similar use of it is found in the Sanskr. stems *sphur*, *sphar*, *sphal*; in O. H. G. *spîlon*, M. H. G. *spîln*, G. *spielen*; in Lat. *coruscare* (vulgar Lat. *scoruscare*). Cf. Götting. Paroemiogr. I, 114 *λύκος περι φρέαρ χορεύει*, where it is the light, not the wolf, that dances about the water. From the unconscious poetry of this usage arose the old popular belief in the dancing of the

sun at his rising on certain mornings; and in this popular belief is found the origin and meaning of the primitive sword-dance, with which we may compare the weapon-dance of the *Κούρητες* in the service of the infant Zeus, Apollo and Dionysos-Zagreus. The legend of the *Σπαρτοί* of Thebes is due to folk etymology: they were originally *Σπάρτοι* 'dancers.' To the Italians Mars was the god of the year; he was himself a 'dancer,' *Salisubulus*, and his priests *Salii*. Pasparios is the god that dances through all things with his light. Asklepios was, like his father Apollo, a god of the light; the stem-syllable *σκαλ* is visible in his Latin name *Aesculapius*. Even Hekate was sometimes worshipped under the name *Ἀσπαλῖς*.

Miscellen.—P. 472. O. R. proposes to read (1) in Aesch. Agam. 201 ff. K: *πανσανέμον γὰρ θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος (αὐδᾶ περιωργῶς) ἐπιθυμῖν θέμις; εὖ γὰρ εἶη;* (2) in Ar. Ran. 839 *ἀπορολαλητόν*, i. e. *ἀπορα λαλοῦντα*, for the MSS *ἀπεριλάλητον*.—Pp. 473-6. Fr. Susemihl. 1. Die Chronologie des älteren Astydamos. 2. Aphareus und Timokles. 3. Spintharos von Herakleia. 4. Zu Vit. Soph., p. 128, 42 ff. W.—Pp. 476-8. G. Knaack. Zur Meleager-Sage. Nachtrag zu S. 310.—P. 478. H. Diels. Pseudonaevianum.—Pp. 479-80. M. Ihm states that the MS reading of Tac. Ann. I 34 is really *segue et proximos* etc., the *et* being represented by a sign which is found also at Ann. III 44, between *an* and *sacrovirum*.—P. 480. R. Seymour Conway. Neue oskische Inschrift.

Pp. 481-525. Zwei neue Reden des Choricus. R. Foerster. The two speeches which are here published for the first time are preserved in a Madrid MS, N-101. They are of especial interest (1) because they are the work of the author's youth, (2) because the *διαλέξεις* to them have been preserved. Much attention has been paid to *ἡθοποιία*, and they abound in *γνώμαι*. A certain miser wishes his son to marry a girl who is rich but homely; the young man is in love with a maiden who is poor but beautiful. The enemy attacks the city and the youth wins the prize for valor; for his reward he chooses the beautiful girl. In the first speech the son justifies his choice before the Ecclesia, in the second we have the father's counter-argument.

Pp. 526-31. Harpalyke. G. Knaack. A supplementary note to O. Crusius' article on Harpalyke in Roscher's Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie.

Pp. 532-58. Anecdota medica Graeca. R. Fuchs. Der cod. Paris. suppl. Graec. 636. I. Inhaltsangabe. II. Collation von fol. 102 v-105 v zu dem Kanon des Maximus Planudes. III. Inedita medica.

Pp. 559-76. Autor- und Verlagsrecht im Alterthum. K. Dziatzko. The ancient author might sell his compositions, or he might dedicate them to some rich patron in the hope of profiting by his gifts; but when they once passed out of his hands he retained no rights in them. We cannot infer from Cicero's letter to Atticus, XIII 12, that he was in the habit of securing remuneration from the sale of his published works, a remuneration proportioned to the extent of the sales; in §2 he expresses his satisfaction, not with an account of sales rendered for the *Pro Ligario*, but with the wide publicity which Atticus has given to this speech. *Praemium libellorum* in Mart. X 74, 7 means only the gifts of the patron to whom his work was dedicated. The ancient

publisher enjoyed no protection under the law, and might always expect the competition of unauthorized editions of a popular work. We cannot infer from Sen. De Benef. VII 6, 1 that Dorus had bought the right of publishing Cicero's works; Dorus was primarily a *librarius*, who had probably secured good texts of Cicero and Livy and made copies of their writings for sale. In the second half of the fourth century Symmachus writes to Ausonius (Ep. I 31 [25]): cum semel a te profectum carmen est, ius omne posuisti; oratio publicata res libera est. The principal French and German literature on this subject is mentioned on pp. 559-60.

Pp. 577-611. Zur Datirung des delphischen Paeon und der Apollo-Hymnen. H. Pomtow. The 'paeon' was composed about 230-20 B. C. (certainly between 235 and 210 B. C.); the four hymns were cut in the marble walls of the Thesaurus by Delphic stone-cutters at different times, at the earliest about 200, but probably between 185 and 135 B. C.

Pp. 612-19. Das Regenwunder der Marc Aurel-Säule. A. v. Domaszewski. The scene on the Antonine column in which the rain-god hovers over the Roman forces must represent an event which happened in the early part of the war; it cannot commemorate the miraculous victory over the Quadi in the year 174. The statement of Xiphilinus that the empress Faustina received the title *mater castrorum* after the victory is an interpolation. There is little evidence of the existence of a Christian legion in those days; it is not likely that the Christians enlisted in large numbers, and the inscriptions show no trace of Christianity in the Roman army all through the third century.

Miscellen.—Pp. 620-3. J. M. Stahl. Zu Aeschylus' Choephoren (a new distribution of vv. 498-511).—Pp. 623-5. E. Rohde. I. Theopompus the historian was born in 376 B. C. II. In Parthenius, cap. 36 extr., we may read τέλος δὲ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ μὴ προσιεμένη διὰ λύπην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλάγη.—Pp. 625-7. H. Rabe. Γλώσσαι (from codex Marc. gr. 433).—Pp. 627-9. H. Pomtow. Zur Datirung der Halle der Athener zu Delphi. The *terminus ante quem* is 490 B. C.—Pp. 629-30. Ch. Hülsen. Zu Martial, II 17.—Pp. 630-2. O. Seeck. Die gallischen Steuern bei Ammian (XVI 5, 14).

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PHILOLOGUS, XLIX (1890).

I, pp. 1-16 and XI, pp. 213-29. In the first of these articles H. Düntzer attacks the extreme view of Wilamowitz (Phil. Unters., Heft 7, Berlin, 1884) on the present condition of *Odyssey*, book I. The discussion, which revives a similar one with Kirchhoff and Köchly in 1872, is taken up point by point and argued with considerable heat. In his second article Düntzer discusses Bärwinkel (Prg. 1889), who represents the other extreme of the text at any price, and Scotland (Philol. 46 and JJ. 1888), who attempts a compromise. At the close Düntzer gives a list of such lines as he considers genuine.

II, pp. 17-25. How are we to account for the present condition of the history of Thukydides? With regard to this much-discussed question W.

Schmid concludes: That the author died before completing his work, and hence that the sketchiness of bk. II, 25-29 and of portions of bk. V, the absence of speeches in bk. VIII, etc., are not due to a "stupid editor" (Wilamowitz), but are original. The question therefore is to discover the editor of the work. Schmid declares for Kratippos and clinches his argument by substituting *καταλειφθέντα* for *παραλειφθέντα* in the notice of Dionysios on Kratippos. The date of publication was later than 387 B. C.

P. 25. E. Kurtz quotes Hesych., s. v. *ὄνος* in explanation of the obscure proverb *Εἰς ὄνον κύλισμα μὴ εἰσέρχεται*.

III, pp. 26-37. R. Unger emends passages in several of the Latin poets.

IV, pp. 38-48. O. E. Schmidt arranges and dates twelve letters, forming, "perhaps with some others," *M. T. Ciceronis Epist. ad M. Brutum, Lib. I*. Means for reconstruction are: references in Cicero's extant letters, especially *ad Atticum*, references in his other works, notably the rhetorical, and citations from lost letters, most of which will be found in Servius, Quintilian, Nonius and Priscian.

V, pp. 49-64. Die Tuskulanen im Cod. Vat. 3246 (9th cent.). A new collation by E. Ströbel.

VI, pp. 65-88. Die Anfänge des julianischen Kalendars. L. Holzapfel. The question proposed is, which years were bissextile according to Caesar's own view, and which years were actually reckoned as such? Also, what was the date when Augustus instituted the cycle as it now stands? This is an obscure matter, and is treated here in a manner peculiarly vexatious to the unmathematical mind. The author's answer appears to be: Caesar's cycle began A. U. C. 709 (Varro), Feb. 25, B. C. 45. The intercalary day was retroactive—that is, was not inserted until the time for it had accumulated. He intended to have it fall on Feb. 25, 713, 717, etc., but the pontifices misunderstood his directions "quarto quoque anno," etc., and made 712 a leap-year—also 713, according to Dion Cassius. They then had to reduce 714 to 364 days in order to avoid the prodigy of a collision of the *Nundinae* with New Year's. After this they went on with regular triennial leap-years until the reform of Augustus, A. U. C. 761 (A. D. 8). This makes leap-year as now a number divisible by four, according to our era.

VII, pp. 89-120 and XL, pp. 707-35. Lesbiaka, by K. Tümpel. In the first of these articles, Chryseis—Apriate, Tümpel shows that the city Chryse to which Chryseis (Il. A 366) was finally returned (Odys. α 430-87) was located in Lesbos. He even finds here the necessary Smintheus cult, but "only in the form of a founder-legend, according to which the hero, at the command of the Delphian oracle, leaves the Peloponnesus with the Penthilidae." There was also an old Lesbian cult of *Χρυσή*, i. e. Aphrodite (Schol. Il. 3, 64, etc.). *Χρυσή* = *Καλή*, and *Καλλονή* is an old name of Aphrodite still preserved in the modern *κόλπος τῆς Καλλονῆς*, upon which stood the old Arisba and probably the Chryse of Homer. Euphorion (Parthen. 26) read the much-disputed *ἀπριατήν* (Odys. ξ 316, Il. A 98) as a substantive appellation of Chryseis, and when he told a Lesbian story of Apriate, knew that he was referring to the Homeric Chryseis, and had an oral tradition older than any one of the main-

land to explain Homer's Chryse. The general inference is that the Thessalian Pelasgi moved towards the Troad by way of Lesbos.

In his second article, 'Kabiri, Kadmilos and the Pelasgi in Lesbos,' Tümpel concludes that: The double terminology (arising from Hellanikos) of *Πελασγοί* (e. g. of the Lesbian Pylaion) and of *Τυρρηνοί* (e. g. of the Lesbian Metaon) remains a problem. But, on the whole, it is now and then recognizable that the Tyrrheno-Pelasgic population of Lesbos was closely united in language and culture with the Pelasgi of Thessaly, as also with the Tyrrhenians of Lemnos, Samothrake, Imbros and Italy.

P. 120. O. Crusius has a short note on *Ischys* and *Ischenos*.

VIII, pp. 121-33. G. F. Unger sets the date of Mantinea on Aug. 2, 363 B. C., instead of in June-July, 362.

IX, 134-80 and XVII, 338-75. Herbst finishes his valuable review of the literature on Thukydides.

P. 180. Haeberlin emends Lysias, XIII 4, and p. 181, Thrak. IV 9.

P. 181. Miscellen.—Buchner, Aristides; M. Treu, Planudes Prov. in Barocclanus 68; Lattmann, Cic. De Leg. 1, 52 and Manitius, Eutropius im Mittelalter.

X, pp. 193-212. O. Immisch offers some emendations of the Greek lyric poets.

P. 212. R. Ellis emends Cleobulina, Frag. 3, and p. 270, Catull. 64, 109.

XII, pp. 230-9. E. Rohde, on the testimony of 174 D-175 B, puts the composition of Plato's Theaetetus at not earlier than 371 B. C.

XIII, pp. 240-70. L. Mendelssohn. Critical and exegetical notes on the Oracula Sibyllina.

XIV, pp. 271-84 and XXXV, pp. 649-61. C. Haeberlin. Notes critical, etc., on the Carmina figurata Graeca.

XV, pp. 285-312. E. Klebs finds that imitations of Velleius are found mainly in Sulp. Severus, especially the Chronicle. There are eight in the Histories of Tacitus and one or two each in Solinus and the so-called Hegesippus. Both his subject and his style would make Velleius an unlikely model for any one.

P. 312. A. Schöne emends Tac. Hist. 1, 31, 2.

XVI, pp. 313-37. Under the title *Διὰ Καλλιστράτου*, K. Zacher attacks the two extreme views of Briel and Hiller on the probable connection of Aristophanes with Kallistratos and Philonides. Z. thinks that the relation was similar to that of author and manager. Kallistratos was very likely the *responsible* party in case any legal complications should ensue. Looked at from this point of view, Zacher's illustration of the responsible editor of a German newspaper is instructive.

Pp. 376-84. Miscellen.—B. Todt, Aesch. Prom.; R. Peppmüller, Plat. Sympos.; A. Sonny, Avien. or. mar. 340 and 362; Manitius, Pliny the Elder in the Middle Ages.

XVIII, pp. 384-9. E. Rohde. Critical notes on the fragments of the *Θεοσοφία*.

Pp. 389, 478, 492, 612, 674 and 706. M. Petschenig emends different passages of Ammianus.

XIX, pp. 390-9. L. Cohn. Handschriftliches zu Dionys von Halicarnass.

XX, pp. 400-20. R. Reitzenstein. Zu den Quellen des sog. Etymolog. Magnum. Continued from vol. 48, p. 450.

XXI, pp. 421-56. A. Schimberg. Zur hdschr. Ueberlief. der Scholia Didymi. Critical notes, relation of MSS, etc.

Pp. 456, 514 and 680. J. Stich emends passages in Dion Chrysostom.

XXII, pp. 457-68. E. Kurtz. Zu den *Παροιμίαι δημώδεις*. References, parallels, etc.

XXIII, pp. 469-78. M. Kiderlin emends several passages in Quintilian, Book XI. To be continued.

XXIV, pp. 479-92. E. Meyer (Die Heimath der Ionier. Eine Replik) insists that nothing for older Greek history can be learned from the legend of Ion. The settlement on the west coast of Asia Minor was not caused, as is now believed, though the ancients knew nothing of it, by an irruption of mountain tribes upon the civilized states of Greece. It has nothing in common with the Dorian migration or anything connected with it. It was a product of the 'Mycenaean' age, and was caused simply by overflow of population, the constant factor in colonization throughout Greek history.

XXV, pp. 493-506. H. Landwehr enquires into the details of the famous impeachment of Pausanias by the Ephors, and the method of procedure in such cases.

P. 506. A. Wiedemann has a note on the 'Nomos Phaturites' (Pliny, N. H. 5. 49).

XXVI, pp. 507-14. A. Thimme thinks that Lucian's point of view did not allow of his being fair towards Alexander of Abonuteichos. This man "was not a pure, truth-loving character, but as a priest was no more gifted and no more unprincipled than the rank and file of his brethren in other temples."

XXVII, pp. 514-47. H. Kallenberg examines the use of the article in Greek prose with names of countries, cities and seas. In later Greek, of course, the bugbear of hiatus must be taken into consideration. Even syntax and usage have to bend to it. In general, only those countries take the article that are distinctly recognizable as adjectives (Meisterhans). Conversely, the words *χώρα* and *γῆ* may only be added to such words. They cannot, like *πόλις*, *ποταμός* and *ὄρος*, be added to *any* word. The 'chorographic' genitive takes the article unless the whole precedes the part. This does not hold good for Herodotos. As a rule the article is not used with names of cities (Blass). Exceptions in Herodotos usually have a demonstrative force, referring to the same name already mentioned, or are used like the Latin *ille* 'that famous,' etc. The article with Rome (as with Sparta) is the rule. In speaking of *strange* cities, rivers or mountains, the Greeks were fond of adding *πόλις*,

ποταμός, etc. "Education in Greece was not obligatory, and geography was not a strong point." The author might have added that to-day geography is a subject about which the vast majority of even educated men know next to nothing. Kallenberg's investigation is a wholesome warning to those Dutch editors who strike out a πόλις or a ποταμός wherever they see it.

P. 547. O. Crusius adds to Wessely's Ephesia Grammata.

XXVIII, pp. 548-53. G. H. Müller decides that the Greek optative was a mood of desire in the past. Then *ἀν* ('aliqua ratione') was added, and the optative, by a certain confusion, came to be considered almost a mood of the present. Hence it was finally used in dependent sentences in place of the subjunctive or indicative.

XXIX, pp. 554-64. Manitius. Claudian in the Middle Ages. See XLVII, p. 710.

Pp. 565-74. Miscellen.—Todt, Aesch. Persae, emend.; Koch, Claudian, emend. (to be contin.); Crusius, Criticism of Stowasser's deriv. of *persona* (Wien. Stud. 12, 156); Tümpel, Remark on Διδνωσος Σκίνθιος; Dittrich-Fabrizius, Zu Xen. Hellen. und Anab.

XXX, pp. 577-606. T. Baunack. On the Inscriptions from the *Asklepieion* of Lebena (Crete). With facsimile.

XXXI, pp. 607-12. R. Meister. On the dialect and origin of the Greek population of Eryx and Segesta.

XXXII, pp. 613-28. E. Zarncke. *Analecta Murbacensia*. Catalogue of the Library (1464).

XXXIII, pp. 629-44. H. Heisterbergh reviews and rejects all former explanations of the word *Provincia*. Whenever this word is used officially it is always associated with the idea of drawing lots (*sorte, evenit*, etc.). *Vincere* is habitually used in the same connection. From this is derived *vincia* (Festus) = *sors*. *Provincia* is a word like *proportio, propraetor*, etc. Expressions such as *provincia evenit*, etc., were originally *pro vincia evenit*. *Provincia* therefore should be defined as 'any political function conferred by lot.'

XXXIV, pp. 645-8. R. Peppmüller. Critical notes on Hesiod, Theog. 820-35.

XXXVI, pp. 662-8. F. Cauer. Critical and exegetical notes on Theognis.

XXXVII, pp. 669-74. A. Funck. Critical notes on the *Bellum Africum*.

XXXVIII, pp. 675-80. Crusius. *Apuleiana*. Critical.

XXXIX, pp. 680-706. H. Heller reviews the literature on Caesar's Comm. up to 1889.

Pp. 736-52. Miscellen.—Schneider, Colluthea; Roscher, Zu den Hymni Mag.; Dittrich, Frag. of Theon's Com. on the Alexandra of Lycophron; Koch, Claudian, emend.; Wessely, Readings from the Vienna MS of Orpheus, Argon. (con. from XLVIII 576); O. Gruppe, Note on Ba'al Ziphon (see XLVIII 487).

KIRBY F. SMITH.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XVII.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-10. The poet Sophocles and the Oligarchy of the Four Hundred, by P. Foucart. An attempt to show that the Sophocles who, as one of the *πρόβουλοι*, voted for the establishment of the Four Hundred, was the poet. The article contains an interesting discussion of the political events concerned, but brings forward no new facts to favor the view defended.

2. Pp. 10-13. Correction of thirty-eight passages in the *Περὶ μίξεως* of Alexander of Aphrodisias, by G. Rodier. These corrections are in most cases entirely convincing.

3. Pp. 14-28. On our text of the *Phaedo*, by Paul Cuvreur. The author explains the principles by which he was guided, and the changes that he introduced into his text of the *Phaedo*. I. First he discusses the value of the papyrus of Mr. Flinders Petrie, and joins the ranks of its defenders. He then adds a long list of readings of the papyrus which he has preferred to those of other MSS. II. Next, regarding the papyrus as the highest authority and so following its guidance, he finds, first, that the MSS of the second family have an authority almost equal to that of the first; secondly, that several readings found in ancient quotations are to be preferred to those of the MSS. He gives a considerable list of instances. He then discusses, and illustrates by several examples, the usefulness of ancient Latin versions of parts of Plato. III. Finally he enumerates the comparatively few emendations proposed by modern critics, including himself, which he has received into his text.

4. P. 28. Note by L. Havet on Cic. *pro Caelio* 24, showing that there was a *gens Coponia*, as implied by the interpolation in S (Munich). Cf. Cic. *pro Balbo* 53.

5. Pp. 29-32. On the monosyllabic ending of the *senarius* in Terence, by Philippe Fabia. The statements of metricians are inaccurate. A careful analysis of the statistics shows that in the second, third and fourth plays Terence more carefully avoided this ending than in the first, but in the sixth (*Adelphoe*) became more lax again. The final monosyllable is always exceptional (about one in thirty verses); three-fourths of the examples show forms of *esse* closely connected with the preceding word; in the remaining fourth there is close nexus; in the prologues this monosyllable is absolutely excluded.

6. Pp. 33-47. On sentences ending in a word of two half-feet in Cic. *de Oratore*, by Louis Havet. I. Final words of the form — ◡ or ◡ ◡ ◡. Just before these endings Cicero employs usually the form — ◡ or ◡ ◡ ◡, frequently — ◡ — or ◡ ◡ ◡ —, very rarely — —, never — ◡ ◡ nor — ◡ ◡ — or ◡ ◡ ◡ —. In the discussion of this subject, several striking emendations are proposed. II. Final words of the form ◡ ◡. This ending is usually preceded by — —, more rarely by — ◡ —, the anapaest is doubtful, the dactyl and trochee excluded. Here too some textual criticism is offered.

7. Pp. 48-55. The Constitution of Athens before Draco, according to Aristot. *πολ.* 'Αθ. I-III, by B. Haussoullier. Introduction, text of chapters I-III, and explanatory notes.

8. Pp. 56-62. On certain points in the history of the Seleucids, by G. Radet. I. In Boeckh, C. I. G. 3595, l. 22, in reference to Antiochus I (Soter), occurs the expression *τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας*. According to Droysen, *ἀδελφή* here is only a title of rank. It is denied by others that such a title ever existed. Radet shows that in this case the word may have its natural sense, but that it was used at the Syrian court as a title of honor. II. Next he shows that the statement of Stephanus Byzantinus concerning the founding of Laodicea, Nysa, and Antioch by Antiochus, son of Seleucus, may refer to Antiochus I (rather than III) and still be true. III. He shows that the Ptolemy mentioned in Josephus, Ant. Jud. XII 3, 3 (*Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαιρεῖν*, etc.), was Ptolemy, son of Thraseas.

9. P. 62. L. Havet, in view of the fact that *bacca* is barbarous and that the true form is *baca*, proposes *vacca* in Priscian, II 6.

10. Pp. 63-78. On Greek works on stones (*lapidaires*), by F. de Mély and H. Courel. The present article, which is to be continued, treats of the reproduction of Greek works in the Arabic of the Middle Ages. Many curious and interesting facts are brought to light, and the etymological investigator will find some instructive transformations of words, resulting from the attempt to transcribe them with Arabic letters, and, in some cases, to transcribe them again from the Arabic with Roman letters. It was thus, for instance, that Xenocrates had himself mistaken for a stone, and his name transformed into *Azufaratis*.

11. Pp. 79-98. Epigraphic Bulletin: review of epigraphic works, by B. Haussoullier. This article examines only Greek inscriptions or works treating of them. 1) The first work noticed is Griechische Epigraphik, von Dr. W. Larfeld, forming part of vol. I of the Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft, 2d ed., 1892. A careful analysis of the book is given, and the merits of each part separately discussed. The reviewer finds fault with the method, but does not question the ability of the author. In spite of the objectionable features, he finds the work of great importance and utility for epigraphists. 2) Next the reviewer takes up vol. I of the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae Septentrionalis, of which he presents a thorough analysis, enumerating some of the important historical results. He adds a similar analysis of the second fascicle of R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, Th. Reinach, Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques. 3) Finally he criticizes briefly other works (including articles) that touch upon Greek epigraphy, such as Meyer's Forschungen zur alten Geschichte; Ziebarth, De iureiurando in iure Graeco; Emil Szanto, Das griechische Bürgerrecht; Milchhöfer, Untersuchungen über die Demeinordnung des Kleisthenes; Sandys, Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. He promises an elaborate review of the last-named work, and gives a brief analysis of the others, with estimates of their value.

12. Pp. 99 f. Book Notices. 1) B. H. apologizes for the failure of G. Rodier, in his article on Alexander Aphrodisiensis de Mixtione, to use J. Bruns, Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora, Berlin, 1892. 2) G. Rodier analyzes and commends M. Wallies, Die griech. Ausleger der Aristotel. Topik, Berlin, 1891. 3) C. E. R. highly commends Georg Wentzel, Die Goettinger Scholien zu Nicanders Alexipharmaca (in vol. 36, Abhandlungen der kön. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Goettingen), Goettingen, 1892.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 101-8. The *Fabulae Praetextae*, by Gaston Boissier. The classical name was 'praetextae,' the name 'praetextatae' an invention of grammarians. The mention of one of these *Fabulae* by Asinius Polio (Cic. Ep. X 32) and other considerations indicate that they were 'pièces de circonstance, composées pour une fête particulière, en mémoire d'un événement ou d'un anniversaire important.' They bore a stronger resemblance to the historical plays of Shakespeare than to the Persae of Aeschylus; but they were not intended to be of permanent interest.

2. P. 108. P. Couvreur points out that Proclus in *Cratylum*, schol. 60, contains a brief, but not literal, quotation from Parmenides.

3. Pp. 109-15. Unpublished fragments of a commentary on the *Iliad*, by Jules Nicole. These fragments, or more properly this fragment, of 20 more or less defective lines, divided into three parts, the author finds to be a commentary on Il. XX 144-50. Some expressions point to the *Τρωϊκά* of Hellanicus, others to the *Τρωϊκὸς διάκοσμος* of Demetrius of Scepsis, as the original source.

4. Pp. 116-19. Critical discussion of eight passages of Quintilian, by Max Bonnet.

5. Pp. 120-8. The Greek lapidarii in the Arabic literature of the Middle Ages, by F. de Mély and H. Courel. This is the second part of the article named above (No. 1, p. 63 ff. of Rev. d. Phil.). The article consists of a discussion of ninety-five names of stones, arranged alphabetically. These names are Arabic corruptions of Greek words.

6. Pp. 129-31. On "Deus noster Caesar" in the *Compositiones* of Scribonius Largus, by Camille Jullian. The expression occurs twice (of Claudius), and emendation into *dominus noster* is excluded by the occurrence of *divinae manus* (of the same emperor). It would appear, then, that a sort of deification of the emperor, at least among his domestics and clients, had taken place at an earlier date than is usually supposed.

7. Pp. 132-40. On the lyric metres of Horace, by René Pichon. The object of this article is to determine the relation of metre to subject-matter and tone. The following is a mere table of contents. I. In the epodes the iambs are used in satire, a mixture of iambs and dactyls in 'Anacreontic' poems. II. The Alcaic stanza is used in national and other great odes. Even *Nunc est bibendum* is no exception, for it probably was composed for a banquet that celebrated the victory over Antony and Cleopatra. III. The Asclepiadeans deal with love, friendship and the like. IV. The Sapphic stanza, employed more frequently in the latter years of the poet, treats of subjects common to both the preceding metres, but is more calm and subdued. V. Horace probably adopted a transmitted usage in the case of the Asclepiadeans, but he himself assigned special uses to the Alcaics and the Sapphics. The forms of the two stanzas are well adapted to the ends to which he applied them. VI. In thus determining and observing the ethos of the different metres, Horace shows himself an artist in the true sense of the word.

8. Pp. 141-58. On clauses ending in a word of the form — — ω , or a group of the form — — ω , in Cic. de Oratore, by Louis Havet. Before this ending

Cicero (like Symmachus four and a half centuries later) uses the trochee or tribrach, excludes the spondee, dactyl and anapaest, the cretic and fourth paeon. The author gives exhaustive lists of examples and discusses exceptions. He proposes many ingenious emendations, some of which are convincing. [One cannot, however, accept all these emendations without tacitly admitting that the aggregate of all corruptions must be enormous, if thirteen instances each of the cretic and the spondee before the bacchic ending have thus originated.]

9. Pp. 159 f. Michel Bréal discusses an inscription of Mantinea.

10. P. 159. Herwerden reads *βόσκει* in Soph. Ph. 1161.

11. Pp. 161-3. The bridge over the Cephissus: correction of Anthology, IX 147, by P. Foucart. This article shows conclusively that, in the inscription named, *Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Ξεινίδος* is to be read for *Ξ. ὁ Δινίδος*, and that Xenocles of Lindos, the architect, never existed.

12. Pp. 164-70. On the consulship of Tacitus, by Philippe Fabia. The traditional opinion was that Tacitus was consul in 97. Julius Asbach's attempt to prove that it was in 98 is generally considered successful. E. Klebs combats the latter view, and in this article Fabia comes to his support with additional evidence.

13. Pp. 171-85. On the chronology of the Rhodian inscriptions, by Maurice Holleau. This searching and learned investigation does not admit of condensation.

14. Pp. 185 f. Paul Tannery shows that in Aristot. *Mechan.* 855 *a*, 36, *τριπλῇ* (i. e. *γ'*) should be read for *γωνία*, and in 851 *b*, 24 and 40, *γραμμῇ* should probably be read for *γωνία*: certainly something equivalent to *περιφέρεια*.

15. P. 187. J. Keelhoff defends some examples of *παρά τινι* after verbs of motion.

16. Pp. 188-90. Epigraphic Bulletin, by B. Haussoullier. Text of an important inscription embodying a rescript of Alexander the Great to the Chians. Interesting comments.

17. Pp. 191-2. Ch. Taillart emends Plaut. *Amphitr.* 681 so as to read *Et quom te video et quom*, etc.

18. Pp. 192-204. Book Notices. 1) Ed. Tournier mentions favorably Nauck's *Tragicæ dictionis index spectans ad Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 2) B. Auerbach gives an account of Geffcken's *Timaios' Geographie des Westens*, Berlin, 1892. The criticism is not altogether favorable. 3) Franz Cumont mentions E. Espérandieu's *Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure*, Paris, 1892, and adds a defence of his own theory concerning the origin of the cult of the Magna Mater and its relations to the Persian cult of Anahita. 4) J. Dianu criticizes rather adversely Carolus Pascal, *Studia Philologica*, Rome, 1893. 5) Philippe Fabia commends Nipperdey's *Tacitus*, revised by Georg Andresen, Berlin, 1892. 6) A. Engelbrecht, *Patristische Analecten*, Vienna, 1892, briefly summarized by ξ. 7) F. Cumont commends L. Levi, *Luciani libellus qui inscribitur Περὶ Περεγρίνου τελευτής*, Berlin, 1892. 8) Henri

Francotte adversely criticizes H. D. Müller's *Historisch-mythologische Untersuchungen*, Goettingen, 1892. 9) J. Delamarre summarizes and commends Walter Leaf, *A Companion to the Iliad*, London, 1891. 10) P. Couvreur summarizes *Philologische Untersuchungen* (Kiessling and Willamowitz), XII *Aratea*, by E. Mass, Berlin, 1892. He finds this work very instructive, but badly arranged and hard to read. 11) P. Couvreur gives the contents of Émile Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, 7e livraison, Paris, 1892. 12) Couvreur finds V. Casagrandi, *Le Orazioni di Tucidide*, Catane, 1892, a convenient but unscientific work.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 197-207. The Roman emperors initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries: P. Foucart. An interesting investigation of the dates, causes of initiation, etc. Several recently discovered inscriptions shed light on the subject.

2. Pp. 208-12. "Betriacum" or "Bebriacum," by Lucien Herr. After a careful examination of the question, the author decides in favor of the latter, but would not substitute it for the former in those works in which the former was obviously written by the author.

3. Pp. 213 f. Paul Tannery, by comparing Pappus, VIII 1026, 2-4, shows that the obscure verses, Manilius *Astronom.* IV 266 f., refer to the construction of the mysterious hydraulic sphere of Archimedes.

4. Pp. 215-51. *Novae commentationes Euripideae*, by H. van Herwerden. This article opens with a list of all the articles and books the author has written on Euripidean criticism. The plays are then taken up in alphabetical order, and a large number of passages emended or critically discussed, from the *Alcestis* to the end of the *Hippolytus*. The article is completed in vol. XVIII, No. 1.

5. Pp. 251 f. Éd. Tournier corrects some passages of Babrius.

6. Pp. 253-60. Book Notices. 1) *La Cronologia Romana*, per D. Atto Paganelli, Milano, 1892, scathingly reviewed by A. B.-L. 2) Albert Martin commends Léon Parmentier, *Euripide et Anaxagore*, Paris, 1893. 3) Philippe Fabia favorably mentions P. Jürges, *De Sallustii Historiarum reliquiis capita selecta* (Doctor-dissertation), Goettingen, 1892. 4) L. D. speaks highly of Otto Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie und Verwandtes* (1891), and *Lateinische Etymologien* (1893), Leipzig. 5) Émile Boisacq, *Les dialectes doriens*, Paris, 1891, commended by φ. 6) G. Rodier analyzes and highly praises R. Heinze, *Xenocrates: Darstellung der Lehre und Sammlung der Fragmente*, Leipzig, 1892. 7) L. D. calls attention to *Codex Festi Farnesianus xlii tabulis expressus*, ed. Aemilius Thewrewk de Ponor, Budapest, 1893, pronouncing it a magnificent volume.

No. 4.

In this number the *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is completed.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

BRIEF MENTION.

Some months ago Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH reprinted from the 'Theological Monthly' for July and Sept., 1890, a paper *On the Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect*, being really a counterblast against the havoc which the Revisers have made of the natural feeling of English by trying to render with distressing uniformity the Greek aorist by the English preterite—which was not an aorist, to begin with. It is pleasant to learn from a circular recently received that the light has been welcomed where such light is needed, although it seems rather strange that scholars require to be told that the historical tenses shift from language to language and will not bear mechanical transfer. However, the readers of this Journal, among whom Dr. WEYMOUTH cannot be counted, will remember that Professor Whitney thought it worth his while to enlarge on this subject in a review of Delbrück's *Vedic Syntax* (A. J. P. XIII 289 foll.), and Dr. Weymouth's illustrations from modern languages will be found interesting. The natural affinity of the aor. for the negative is an old story and has been taken for granted these many years. Hence the shift from perf. to aor. and aor. to perf., which, to be sure, escaped the acumen of Madvig (§112, R. 1). It has long been maintained that 'when the perf. is used as a pres., the aor. is used as a perfect' (A. J. P. IV 429), and this formula has received the approval of Mr. Monro in his *Homeric Grammar*², p. 67. Nor will it be news to some of us that the Greek perfect differs from the English perfect in that it can be used 'when the further end is dated,' as I have expressed it in my *Justin Mart. Apol.* I 33, 17. Cf. also II 2, 17 and Isai. 3, 7; Dem. 21, 7; 38, 8, though in these classical examples the position of *τότε* is to be noted. But the most surprising thing in the pamphlet is the statement that the translation of the Greek present, as in *ιστορῶ πάλαι*, by the English progressive perfect 'has escaped observation.' I can only vouch for the fact that it has been a commonplace of elementary instruction in America for fifty years. From these specimens of the most salient features of Dr. WEYMOUTH's pamphlet, it will hardly be thought necessary to go into further detail, although his statistics might have compelled the attention of syntacticians, if they were not of the eclectic order. Still, it may be worth while to reproduce one set which is based on 'many chapters' of Thukydides and Herodotus (p. 13):

	Pres.	His. Pres.	Impf.	Aor.	Perf.	Plpf.	Fut.
Narrative:							
Thuc.	5	9	45	34	1	4	2
Herod.	21	1.5	34	32.5	2	1.5	7.5
Non-narrative:							
Thuc.	55	0	8	13	6	0	18
Herod.	55	0	4	19	7	1	14

Unsatisfactory as the basis is, the table will not be without interest as compared with other studies in the proportion of aorist and imperfect (see A. J. P. IV 163, XIV 105, and Dr. Miller's article in the current number); and the small average of the hist. pres. in Herodotus as compared with Thukydides might tempt one to comment on the epic cast of Herodotus' narrative, if one were not afraid of too rapid an induction. Rodemeyer, who has given us a misty and elusive theory of the historical present, has not condescended to give figures, which would be very welcome here.

In his *Vera Historia* Lucian reports a conversation with Homer in which the poet declares that his obelized verses are all his—a joke, which has its serious side, for it has not unfrequently happened that the most interesting works current under an author's name are precisely those that the critics have fallen foul of. And certainly nothing that Philo has written seems to have attracted more popular attention than his description of the Therapeutai in the *de vita contemplativa*, which, of late years, has been relegated to the limbo of forgeries. This is the tract which Eusebius cites to prove the existence of Christian monastic orders in the first century, and to this citation is probably due the importance attached to Philo in the Christian church. Indeed Mr. CONYBEARE, in his learned and interesting edition of *Philo, About the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press; New York, Macmillan), goes so far as to suggest that the preservation of Philo's works is a distinct result of this fancy of the Bishop of Caesarea, a fancy which Scaliger calls *tam crassus, tam anilis error*. 'If he had not originated and given vogue to his absurd hypothesis,' says Mr. CONYBEARE, 'the works of Philo might never have been transmitted to us.' That the hypothesis is absurd Mr. CONYBEARE undertakes to show in his *Excursus* on the Authorship, and in so doing he has met and seemingly annihilated the contention of Lucius, who maintains that the work is a Christian forgery intended to bolster monastic institutions. This theory, started in 1880, has been accepted, apparently without any close scrutiny, by a number of leading authorities, and Mr. CONYBEARE has wrought at the problem with a thoroughness that will command respectful attention. The internal evidence from the language as compared with Philo's genuine writings is brought out with the most painstaking exhaustiveness, and though scholars have been found to dispute the genuineness of certain works of the Lucianic corpus on the ground of the slavishness of the imitation, such an argument would hardly apply here. The coincidences are, so to speak, too organic. A fragment of an Old Latin Version and an Armenian Version have been reproduced in this edition for the purpose of establishing the text, and the rich commentary justifies the editor's claim to have explored for himself the literary horizon of the times. True, one misses here and there the classical passages, and it seems a little odd to be referred to Plutarch, de Iside, for the combination *ποιηται και λογογράφοι*, without a mention of the source in Thuk. I, 21, and it is to be hoped that

Xenodotus for Zenodotus, the Homeric scholar, is an error of the types. A similar error escaped the eye of Krüger in an early edition of the *Anabasis*, where one reads now ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝ, now ΣΕΝΟΦΩΝ, and this Journal is almost always in mourning for typographical sins.

The thesis maintained by Dr. VERRALL in his *Euripides, the Rationalist* (Macmillan) is not merely that Euripides was a rationalist, but that he was a *consistent* rationalist, and not only made use of his characters to discredit the established order of religion, but contrived the plots of his plays so as to bring contempt upon such articles of faith as the resurrection from the dead, the being and attributes of Apollo, and the veracity of the Delphic oracle. Such plays as the *Alkestis*, the *Ion*, the *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* are deliberate mystifications, and the study of Euripides is 'confusion, vexation, waste of spirits and time,' unless one takes the right point of view and stands where one can catch the wink which Euripides tips to the sympathetic unbelievers. Needless to say, the theory is advocated with great ingenuity and unflagging liveliness of style. That Dr. Verrall will carry the world with him to the extent to which he has pushed the accepted doctrine of Euripides' unbelief is doubtful. The perpetual vigilance necessary for following the mocking poet and his agile interpreter will hardly be compensated by the gain of a consistent Euripides. One of the crimes of the old *Collectanea Graeca Minora*—still a textbook in my boyhood—was the early introduction of the student of Greek to Palaephatus, and yet another contemner of the gods whom the pawky Scotch editor brought in to prevent ingenuous youth from worshipping the heathen deities was Lucian. Now if Palaephatus and Lucian—the one with his drybones rationalism, the other with his hollow merriment—are to be our guides to the understanding of Euripides, the older generation of scholars will refuse to join in the quest, and leave investigators of a more modern breed to nose out further impieties in a poet who is first a poet and then, if you choose, a mystifier, and not the other way.

αἰγίλιψ is still a puzzle. It occurs I 15 = Π 4 ὥστε κρήνη μελάνυδρος | ἥ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης ὀνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ. Then N 63 ὥστ' ἱρηξ ὠκύπτερος ὥροτο πέτεσθαι | ὅς ῥά τ' ἀπ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης περιμήκεος ἀρθεῖς κτέ. Instead of going through the list of experiments, I will cite Platt's note on I 15: 'Goebel [Lex. I 18] derives [αἰγίλιπος] from αἰγίς and λιπ- of λε-λιμ-μένος [λιψ-ουρία], etc., to love, explaining "the haunt of storms." This may perhaps be accepted for want of a better. The old explanation was "so steep as to be deserted even by the goats!"' And this old explanation is the explanation still given by PRELLWITZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht), a book which has been awaiting its reviewer in this Journal for many moons.

Yet another way is suggested by a passage in a recent work. W. M. Conway, in his *Climbing in the Himalayas*, says (p. 536): 'We ultimately encamped on the glacier near the foot of one of its buttresses, on whose ledges was a little grass. The goats that had been driven up to Footstool Camp were able to feed on this [grass], and had their first good meal for several days, so we named the camp *Goats' Delight*.' This αἰγίλιψ πέτρη was 15,090 feet high—much higher than is necessary—but one-half tradition, one-half Goebel, would seem to give a very fair sense. Calf Pasture and Cow Pasture are familiar geographical designations in America, and a Goat Pasture Rock gives a very good picture. The rock of wild goats is quite as suitable as the 'wild goats of the rock' (Job 39, 1), and every one knows that the high hills are a refuge for the goats (Ps. 104, 18).

The translation of *Gilbert's Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* by Messrs. BROOKS and NICKLIN (Macmillan & Co.) will be of service to the ever-lessening number of classical scholars who have not a familiar command of German. The scientific value of the work is pretty much limited to the references supplied by Dr. SANDYS to the introductory chapter on *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*. To the same sphere of study belongs the first instalment of SUSEMIHL AND HICKS's *Politics of Aristotle* (Macmillan & Co.). The text has been revised by SUSEMIHL and brought into agreement with his late edition (Teubner, 1894). The changes in the notes have been comprehensive and the English collaborator has added a great deal of valuable matter. One reads, however, with dismay that pp. 1-460 had been printed off before the appearance of Mr. Newman's elaborate commentary on the *Politics*, published in 1887, and that these pages had been held back until the whole instalment (689 pp.) was ready. The German *Heft* and *Abteilung* system has its disadvantages, which are keenly felt by scholars of other nationalities, but when one considers the great costliness of English books, it is hard to suppress a sense of impatience at the late issue of a work which, according to modern notions, is half-antiquated at its birth.

I should say that Mr. BLAKE, in his school edition of the *First Two Books of the Hellenica of Xenophon* (Boston, Allyn and Bacon), has taken his task more seriously than the average editor, and I should add that in particular he has shown a praiseworthy disposition to go outside of the ordinary observations of the standard grammars, if in doing so he had not drawn largely on this Journal, so that any word of commendation on my part might seem to be a needless illustration of a vicious circle that has been zealously trodden ever since the beginning of society. I will, however, allow myself to say that many years ago I selected these same two books as a harmless field for syntactical analysis. They are not so interesting as to make the constant intrusion of grammar unbearable, nor yet are they

arid or uninformative from other points of view. On comparing my MS work with Mr. BLAKE's book I find that he has omitted a good many things that I should have noticed, but that is a matter of judgment. The worst typographical error noticed is the misspelling of *Θηραμένης* (pp. 96 and 159). The text of the *Hellenica* is followed by selections from *Lysias c. Erastorthenem* (6-20, 62-78) and from *Aristotle's Πολ.* 'Αθ., cc. XXXIV-XL, a welcome addition to the students of that period of Attic history.

Professor FRIEDRICH HANSEN, of Santiago, has turned his attention from classical philology to Old Spanish, and those who have followed his work in his original domain will look forward to interesting developments in his new field of activity. He has been put in charge of the instruction in the historical grammar of Spanish, in the Instituto Pedagógico—a special honor for a foreigner in a Spanish-speaking country—and one of the first fruits of his studies has already appeared in an elaborate paper, *Sobre la conjugacion de Gonzalo de Berceo*, published in the *Anales de la Universidad*, Santiago de Chile, 1895.

Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford, has issued a prospectus of *The English Dialect Dictionary, being the Complete Vocabulary of all Dialect Words still in use or known to have been in use during the last Two Hundred Years; founded mainly on the Publications of the English Dialect Society and a large amount of material never before printed.* The Dictionary is to be brought out by annual subscription, a guinea a year, in return for which subscribers will receive two half-yearly parts, each published at 15s. to non-subscribers. The minimum number of subscribers required by the editor to begin the work is *one thousand*, and unless this number is forthcoming the whole scheme of editing the Dictionary will have to be definitely abandoned. Address Professor Joseph Wright, 6 Norham Road, Oxford. No undertaking could appeal more powerfully to American students of English or to American literary men. In our heart of hearts we are all delighted to find warrant for our own naughtinesses and provincialisms in nooks and corners of the old home.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—SHAKESPEARE, BURLESQUED BY TWO FELLOW-DRAMATISTS.

I.—THE FALSTAFF PLAYS.

Histriomastix, though inferior as a play, still engages an intermittent interest in the question, Who was the Player Whipped? Simpson's identification of the actor-poet Post-haste with Shakespeare was not convincing. The line, 'that when he shakes his furious spear,' made it seem possible that the great dramatist and his Troilus and Cressida were glanced at, but that was merely in the second of three plays within the play, scraps only of each being rehearsed. The line has remained enigmatical, from the apparent lack of any motive for a random hit at Shakespeare in the production as a whole. Of more recent critics, F. G. Fleay promised 'to trace the Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Shakespeare quarrel to these plays.' But Fleay pronounces any reference of Post-haste to Shakespeare 'absurd,' and shifts his own ground of identification from Heywood to the arid regions of Antony Monday's art. These appear to be dashes in several wrong directions, rather than any advance beyond previous theories. Richard Simpson's happy guess, unsupported by evidence and extremely limited in application, has been selected as the starting-point of the present study of the play.¹

¹Swinburne (Nineteenth Century, October, 1888) calls Simpson a 'harmless monomaniac,' and protests against all investigation of Histriomastix: 'This abortion of letters is such a very moon-calf, begotten by malice on idiocy, that no human creature above the intellectual level of its author will ever dream of attempting to decipher the insignificant significance which may possibly—'

The dramatic stock-in-trade of Post-haste's company consists wholly of crude plays and interludes: Mother Gurton's Needle (a tragedy), The Devil and Dives (a comedy), etc. His own plays are of a piece with these; they are: The Prodigal Child, The Lascivious Knight and Lady Nature, Troilus and Cressida, and an unnamed play. The second of these conceals in its title a caricature of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor.

It must not be forgotten that the original title of this play, as published, read: Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor. Mistress Ford, to whose role as heroine Mistress Page acts the part of a *soubrette* in the principal scenes, is Lady Nature, and the Lascivious Knight is Sir John. The opening speech of Falstaff at their first rendezvous strikes the tone of courtly amorous courtship, in the snatch from Sir Ph. Sidney's *Astrophel*: 'Have I caught my heavenly jewel?' The ensuing protestations mingle fulsome compliment with condescending familiarity.

Falstaff. Mistress Ford, I cannot cog, I cannot prate, Mistress Ford. Now shall I sin in my wish: I would thy husband were dead: I'll speak it before the best lord; I would make thee my lady.

Mrs. Ford. I your lady, Sir John! alas, I should be a pitiful lady!

Falstaff. Let the court of France show me such another. I see how thine eye would emulate the diamond: thou hast the right arched beauty of the

though improbably—be latent under the opaque veil of its inarticulate virulence.' More of the same and still more vehement will be found on page 543. The ranting and roaring comedy Mr. Swinburne is criticizing was not published as a sober study in literature, but it suggests sinister comparisons. Melancholy results of such moody criticism are not far to seek. Ph. Aronstein (John Marston als Dramatiker, Englische Studien, vol. 20, 1895) copies Swinburne's 'hot and heavy blossom of rhetoric,' *als diktirt' euch der Heilig Geist*, and informs his readers that, after plodding through *Histriomastix*, he feels as hopelessly confused as the Scholar in *Faust*. But while his distinguished literary sponsor in the matter of *Histriomastix* may be suspected now and then of being *des trocknen Tons nun satt*, even when he dons the critic's gown, it would be in all seriousness interesting to learn what species of scholar Mr. Aronstein feels like, when grandly waving a play aside which he confesses he does not understand: 'Selbstverständlich brauchen wir es bei der kritischen Betrachtung der Dramen Marstons nicht zu berücksichtigen.' Even Mr. Bullen maintains towards this play an attitude barely consistent, and disappointing: 'Marston's hand is plainly discernible' [Text]; 'I have not included [it] in this edition of Marston. [It] is of little value and easily accessible. Marston's share in *Histriomastix* was slight' [Note]. The present study, being chiefly concerned with the play itself, was not written in the hope of lifting this veil of anonymity; but Marston has been freely called the author, inasmuch as the evidence in favor of this view, already in hand and to be presented in this series of studies, is very strong, if not overwhelming.

brow that becomes the ship-tire, the tire-valiant, or any tire of Venetian admittance.

Mrs. Ford. A plain kerchief, Sir John: my brows become nothing else; nor that well neither.

Falstaff. By the Lord, thou art a traitor to say so: thou wouldst make an absolute courtier; and the firm fixture of thy foot would give an excellent motion to thy gait in a semi-circled farthingale. I see what thou wert, if Fortune thy foe were not, Nature thy friend [i. e. Nature being, as she is, thy friend].¹

'Fortune my foe,' the dismally popular song, lends something of its pregnant, aphoristic quality to the converse, 'Nature thy friend.' The author of *Histriomastix* chooses to take seriously the implied overstepping of the boundaries of caste, as ruinous in its social consequences. Misplaced play-acting patronage is the vice of the lords and ladies most inveighed against in the play; but the citizens, and particularly the rich 'petty-foggers' hooded wives,' are blamed for not being 'pent in nice respect of civil modesty.' They aim above their station, in dress and ornament. Calamancha cries, 'out!' upon her own 'velvet-guards and black lac'd sleeves, these simpering fashions simply followed,' while the fine ladies resent her later ambitious adornments by a scornful 'Gip, Velvet-guards!'

But this yearning over the sins of the commonwealth, on the part of the author of *Histriomastix*, is for the most part only the obligatory accompaniment to the real theme, the Player Whipped. The hit at Shakespeare, in 'Lady Nature,' is quickly reinforced in the dialogue. Post-haste abruptly asks his fellow-players, 'my masters, what tire wears your lady on her head?' [i. e. what

¹ The words, 'If Fortune thy foe were not, Nature thy friend,' occur for the first time in the Folio of 1623. The reference in *Histriomastix*, if conceded, gains therefore some weight for the discussion of similar discrepancies between the Quartos of several plays and the Folio. The popular assumption that the Quarto of 1602 represents merely a first sketch of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* has been perpetuated by the Cambridge editors, in their latest edition. Against the theory of such a slow elaboration are to be counted, the tradition that Shakespeare finished the play in two weeks at the command of Queen Elizabeth, the scrappy contents of the Quarto, stolen in all probability from the stage, and the surreptitious publication. The tradition is now in some measure reinforced by the consideration that Post-haste's dreaded rapidity of production is part of the caricature of Shakespeare. P. A. Daniel, the editor of the Quarto Facsimile of the *Merry Wives*, claims that a comparison with the Folio gives evidence of the omission in the Quarto of passages which must have existed in the Folio it is supposed to represent, and that the Quarto is not a first sketch.

headdress ought I to have given a lady in my play?]. Post-haste inhabits too low a sphere to be supposed to know what a lady should wear. Belch, by occupation a 'beard-maker,' replies, 'Four squirrel tails tied in a true love's knot.' Post-haste rejoins, 'O amiable good, 'tis excellent!' The comment of the second player, Gut, on the whole business is, 'Faith, we can read nothing but riddles.' It is evident that an easy riddle was intended for those among the audience who were in the secret, and the interpretation was to be found in the scene from the 'Merry Wives,' above cited.¹ The humor lies, of course, in the contrast between Mistress Ford's simple kerchief, appropriate to her station, and the exotic headdresses proposed for her, but worn only by ladies of birth and fashion. Staunton, in his note to the scene, exclaims

¹ Marston complains of similar treatment at the hands of hostile play-writers, and therefore presumably understood the 'retort courteous.' 'Their ungentele combinings, discourteous whisperings, never so treacherously labor to undermine my unfenced reputation.' Preface to the *Fawn* (1606).

Nay, say some half a dozen rancorous breasts
Should plant themselves on purpose to discharge
Imposthum'd malice at my latest scene.

—Induction to *What You Will* (1607).

In Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, the prologue (Envy) speaks:

For I am risse here with a covetous hope,
To blast your pleasures and destroy your sports,
With wrestlings, comments, applications,
Spy-like suggestions, privy whisperings,
And thousand such promoting sleights as these.

Are there no players here? no poet-apes,
That come with basilisk's eyes, whose forked tongues
Are steep'd in venom, as their hearts in gall?
Either of these would help me; they could wrest,
Pervert and poison all they hear and see,
With senseless glosses and allusions,

Traduce, corrupt, supply, inform, suggest.

In the same play, Ben Jonson introduces the Armed Prologue:

If any muse why I salute the stage
An armed Prologue; know, 'tis a dangerous age,
Wherein who writes, had need present his scenes
Forty-fold proof against the conjuring means
Of base detractors, and illiterate apes,
That fill up rooms in fair and formal shapes.

upon the 'innumerable new-fangled tires, of which the form is lost and not worth seeking.' This is a convenient opportunity for disagreeing with his latter statement, though the 'four squirrels tails tied in a true love's knot,' being a domestic fashion—if indeed not invented for this occasion—may be far simpler of explanation than the tires of Venetian admittance. In any case, the 'true love's knot' assigns the headdress of Lady Nature to an incongruously humble sphere of society. Shakespeare had in his way anticipated this carping (II, 1):

Mrs. Ford. If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment or so, I could be knighted.

Mrs. Page. What? thou liest! Sir Alice Ford! These knights will hack; and so thou shouldst not alter the article of thy gentry.

Sir Alice Ford and Lady Nature find easy counterparts in Sir John Falstaff and the Lascivious Knight.

He wooes both high and low, both rich and poor,
Both young and old, one with another, Ford;
He loves the gallimaufry.

Post-haste's play, *The Lascivious Knight* and *Lady Nature*, is cried for three o'clock in the afternoon, at the 'Towne-house.' While they wait for the audience, the actor-poet's fellow-players inquire how he proceeds in the plot of his next play, which is to be posted for Friday night.

Post-haste. O sirs, my wit's grown no less plentiful than the time;
There's two sheets done in folio.

To quiet their perturbation, he gives a maudlin recital from the scene already achieved. This play is called the 'new plot of the *Prodigal Child*.' A Morality with this title was presented in the year 1574-5. It will be shown, later on, that Shakespeare's *Henry 5* is ridiculed in *Histriomastix*, and the *Lascivious Knight* has already introduced the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The 'new plot of the *Prodigal Child*' appears to be aimed at Shakespeare's *Henry 4*, thus making the Falstaff cycle of plays complete.

Histriomastix accommodates Shakespeare to the perspective of the old Moralities, and *Henry 4* has preserved distinct traces of that dramatic form, both in plot and execution. Falstaff is in many respects an evolution of the Vice of the old comedy, and when Prince Henry calls him 'white-bearded Satan, Devil, that reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father ruffian, that Vanity in years,' he analyzes Falstaff's complex character from the point

of view of the Morality. In the travesty in *Histriomastix*, the Devil, Vice, Iniquity and Juventus appear, and are hailed with

What unworthy foolish foppery
Presents such buzzardly simplicity?

Falstaff's haunt at the Boar's-Head in Eastcheap suits the plot of the *Moralities*, which locate the debaucheries of the Prodigal in a tavern. If Henry 4 is really the play meant, then Juventus is Prince Henry. Falstaff, 'that villainous abominable misleader of youth,' 'the tutor and the feeder of my riots,' is the pivot upon which the clumsy burlesque in *Histriomastix* is adjusted to its ostensible subject: the ruin which corrupt plays are preparing for the young nobility and the state.

The text itself of the parody, consisting of two disjointed paragraphs, offers no opportunity for any proof in detail of the theory advanced. But when Dame Virtue addresses the Prodigal: 'my son, thou art a lost child, and hast many poor men of their goods beguil'd,' a feature foreign to the ordinary dramatic plot of the story is introduced. If, however, the Prodigal be a caricature of Shakespeare's Prince Henry, the allusion to his madcap adventure, where the carriers are robbed, is plain. 'Shall the son of England prove a thief, and take purses?'

An examination of Shakespeare's play adds considerable evidence in confirmation. King Henry 4 bewails his son's inordinate and low desires, his barren pleasures, rude society. 'Riot and dishonor stain the brow of my young Harry.' The Prince strikes the Chief Justice 'in the very seat of justice' and is imprisoned. He has lost his princely privilege, with vile participation. His place in council he has 'rudely lost, which by thy younger brother is supplied.' Prince John of Lancaster, who breaks his faith towards the capitulating rebels, is in strong contrast with Prince Henry throughout the play. In the picture Falstaff draws of the younger prince, he is the very pattern of the Prodigal's brother in the *Moralities*. 'Good faith, this same sober-blooded boy doth not love me; nor a man cannot make him laugh; but that's no marvel, he drinks no wine. There's never none of these demure boys come to any proof.' But Prince Henry makes his 'true submission' to his father, and baffles the old Vice, Falstaff:

Presume not, that I am the thing I was:
For God doth know, so shall the world perceive,
That I have turned away my former self.

The tide of blood in me
 Hath proudly flowed in vanity till now;
 Now doth it turn, and ebb back to the sea;
 Where it shall mingle with the state of floods,
 And flow henceforth in formal majesty.

These aspects of First and Second Henry 4 constitute it a 'new plot of the Prodigal Child.' The further fact that the caricature in *Histriomastix* is placed between the Lascivious Knight and the remaining play in the series renders it nearly certain that Henry 4 is the play meant.¹

The threshold of Henry 5 has now been reached. Here the tone of *Histriomastix* changes. Falstaff disappears, and it is no longer the matter of the play, in the first instance, but the manner of it, which is ridiculed. The scene is again the private rehearsal of an unnamed play by Post-haste, who fails to appear and is fined twelve pence for 'staying so late.'

Gut. Prologue begin (rehearse, etc.).

Gentlemen, in this envious age we bring Bayard for Bucephalus.
 If mired, bogg'd, draw him forth with your favors.

In Henry 4, Shakespeare thus describes Prince Henry:

I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,
 His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
 Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury,
 And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
 As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
 To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
 And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

¹A new edition of *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* appeared in 1596. The republication in that year of the dramatic crudity, from which Shakespeare had so recently drawn material for the characters of Prince Henry and Falstaff, has been characterized as an outcome of the complaint that Shakespeare had distorted the historical character, Sir John Oldcastle, in his new creation [Fleay, *Chronicle History*, p. 136]. Marston's attack in *Histriomastix* seems to have owed its inception and excuse to the very prejudice which made Shakespeare, in the epilogue to 2 Henry 4, disclaim any intention of caricaturing the 'martyr' Oldcastle. But the importance of the *Famous Victories* ends here. It is not likely to have been thought of directly, in the satire on the 'new plot of the Prodigal Child.' In the *Famous Victories*, as in Henry 4, the story of a prodigal is recounted, but the complete lack of those very touches of the genius of comedy, which rendered Shakespeare's Henry 4 susceptible of caricature, effectually excludes the earlier play from any consideration. The 'new plot of the Prodigal Child' in *Histriomastix* is represented as a reworking of the old Morality of that name.

In the present play the heir apparent of France, in a passage which may have been intended by Shakespeare as a *pendant* to the above, likens himself to Perseus astride of Pegasus. The passage is nearly as long, and as characteristic for the drama and the speakers, as the description of the courser in Venus and Adonis. The Dauphin, who 'has his horse to his mistress,' and has written a sonnet in praise of that 'Wonder of nature,' takes part in some low by-play on this double theme, which Shakespeare no doubt intended to mark the frivolity of the French nobility, on the eve of the battle of Agincourt.

Dauphin. Be warned by me, then: they that ride so, and ride not warily, fall into foul bogs.

I can come to no other conclusion than that the author of *Histriomastix* made no scruple of descending to the level of this scene in inditing his mock prologue:

If mired, bogg'd, draw him forth with your favors.

The first verse of the prologue now claims attention:

Gentlemen, in this envious age we bring Bayard for Bucephalus.

King Henry 5 stands in Shakespeare's play for the English Alexander.

Fluellen. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well; for there is figures in all things. Alexander, God knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures, and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did, in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best friend, Cleitus.

Gower. Our king is not like him in that: he never killed any of his friends.

Fluellen. It is not well done, mark you now, to take the tales out of my mouth, ere it is made and finished. I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it: as Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his ales and his cups; so also Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great belly-doublet: he was full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks; I have forgot his name.

Gower. Sir John Falstaff.

This association of Falstaff with the king, in his new role as Grecian conqueror, is very interesting, but it is the prologue to Henry 5 which gives the final note of explanation. Nowhere has Shakespeare shown such ardor in triumphantly overcoming the limitations of space as in the chorus of this play.

Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them
 Printing their proud hoofs i' the receiving earth;
 For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,
 Carry them here and there; jumping o'er times,
 Turning the accomplishment of many years
 Into an hour glass: for the which supply
 Admit me Chorus to this history.

Act III. Thus with imagined wing our swift scene flies
 In motion of no less celerity
 Than that of thought. . . .

Still be kind,
 And eke out our performance with your mind.

Act V. Now we bear the king
 Toward Calais: grant him there; there seen,
 Heave him away upon your winged thoughts
 Athwart the sea.

When Ben Jonson, in the prologue to *Every Man in his Humor*, congratulates himself that his play is such

As other plays should be;
 Where neither Chorus wafts you o'er the seas, etc.,

he is criticizing with downright directness the prologue-Chorus of *Henry 5*. The author of *Histrionmastix* goes about it, in the meandering style of his other burlesques, somewhat as follows: the Chorus in *Henry 5* promises to supply the lack of a miraculous charger, to carry the king and the audience over seas to the field of Agincourt. But *Henry 5* is *Alexander*: therefore the steed is a would-be *Bucephalus*.

Bayard, the name for a bay horse in the early romances, is chivalrous, romantic, modern; *Bucephalus* is classical and antique. 'Bayard' was Edward the First's charger at the storming of Berwick. Marston seizes upon these contrasts and resemblances to ridicule Shakespeare's alleged inability to give a classical tone to a modern subject. Ben Jonson's induction to the *Poetaster* furnishes an exact parallel. Jonson's fond hope that his adversaries would shrink from pursuing him into his domain of classical lore was in a measure realized. But they too were scholars, though far less well equipped; Marston, in particular, emphasizes with unceasing arrogance his gentle breeding and university education. But, whether engaged in one of his numerous quarrels with Jonson, or not, he rarely fails to imitate him. In the present instance, it is to ridicule Shakespeare's 'small Latin and

less Greek.' The antique chorus and the parallel between Henry 5 and Alexander share alike. The soaring Bucephalus is only a Blind Bayard, the symbol of foolhardy ignorance. 'What Bayard bolder than the ignorant?' occurs in the induction to Marston's *What You Will*, and Bullen adds the note: 'a proverb (as old as Chaucer) applied to those who do not look before they leap.' The full meaning of the prologue in *Histriomastix* now becomes plain:

Gentlemen, *in this envious age* we bring Bayard for Bucephalus.
If mired, bogg'd, draw him forth with your favors.

The irony of the classical scholar Marston substitutes this modern Rozinante, to voice Shakespeare's pretended fear of a reprisal on the stage.

The alliteration in 'Bayard for Bucephalus' counts also for something towards explaining the contrast introduced. But the very striking picture of the English horsemen, awaiting the morning of battle, exactly fitted the notion of pitiful warriors upon sorry jades, for which latter 'Blind Bayard' was a popular term.¹

Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggar'd host
And faintly through a rusty beaver peeps:
The horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks,
With torch-staves in their hand; and the poor jades
Lob down their heads, dropping the hides and hips,
The gum down-roping from their pale-dead eyes,
And in their pale dull mouths the gimmal bit
Lies foul with chew'd grass, still and motionless;
And their executors, the knavish crows,
Fly o'er them, all impatient for their hour.

Though put in the mouth of a French lord, this was a description of the English army before battle, and the conclusion can scarcely be avoided that it was made to contribute a share to the wretched caricature of Shakespeare's Chorus.

The prologue to the unnamed play in *Histriomastix* continues thus:

Gut (rehearsing). So, promising that we never mean to perform, our prologue
peaceth.

Gulch. 'Peaceth?' What peaking Pageanter penned that?

Belch. Who but Master Post-haste?

Gut. It is as dangerous to read his name at a play door
As a printed bill on a plague door.

¹ To ride Bayard of ten toes = ambulare (ride shank's mare).

In the epilogue to 2 Henry 4, Shakespeare casts up his reckoning with his audience for the Falstaff cycle, as far as it had proceeded :

Be it known to you, as it is very well, I was lately here in the end of a displeasing play [1 Henry 4?], to pray your patience for it and to promise you a better. I meant indeed to pay you with this.

This is followed by the promise of Henry 5 :

One word more, I beseech you. If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue his story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France: where, for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.

Many speculations have been indulged in as to the reason why Shakespeare chose to leave this promise unredeemed in Henry 5. The enigmatical prologue to the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle (1599) protests that

It is no pampered glutton we present,
Nor aged counsellor to youthful sin.

If this be a reproach to Shakespeare for his Sir John, as is extremely probable, then the satire in *Histriomastix* utters more than a private sneer. The 'forged invention,' that 'former time defaced,' being Shakespeare's misunderstood creation, for which he craved a more favorable judgment in the epilogue to 2 Henry 4, the author of *Histriomastix* forthwith gives himself the air of a public censor of morals, and makes an unworthy use of his self-constituted office:—all of which is exactly like the satirist Marston. In any case, it seems safe to conclude that *Histriomastix*, which is almost exclusively concerned with the plays in which Falstaff appeared, and which in the present instance is certainly caricaturing Henry 5, must here be tasking Shakespeare with his unfulfilled promise to continue the career of Falstaff in that play.

In the induction to *Every Man out of his Humor*, Ben Jonson assures his audience,

I do not this, to beg your patience,
Or servilely to fawn on your applause,
Like some dry brain, despairing of his merit.

There would appear to be evidence enough that Jonson did not

approve of Shakespeare's deferential tone towards his audience.¹ In this, as in other things, Marston apes him. The conclusion of the prologue to Henry 5,

Who, *prologue*-like your humble *patience* *pray*,
Gently to hear, kindly to judge our *play*,

and the epilogue to 2 Henry 4, in which *pray*, *patience*, *play*, *pay* and *promise* play a great part in the argument, suggested to the author of *Histriomastix* the snarling and malicious riming on the letter: 'So, *promising* that we never mean to *perform*, our *prologue* *peaceth*; and, '*Peaceth*?' What *peaking* *pageanter* *penned* that?' Who but Master *Post-haste*?' '*Pageanter*' glances askance at the splendid pageantry in the Chorus-prologue of Henry 5, and '*Post-haste*' caps the hated *p*'s with the name of Shakespeare in the play.

The trick of alliteration is then continued in a parody of scenes from Henry 5:

Gut. I'll tear their turret tops,
I'll beat their bulwarks down;
I'll rend the rascals from their rags,
And whip them out of town.

As to form, this was perhaps suggested by Pistol's rant:

And giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel,
That goddess blind,
That stands upon the rolling restless stone—

But in point of matter it is a burlesque of the style of the king himself. Henry 5 thus answers the Dauphin's taunting message:

For many a thousand widows
Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands,
Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down;
And some are yet ungotten and unborn
That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.

¹ Cf. induction to Marston's *What You Will*:

Now out upon't, I wonder what tight brain
Wrung in this custom to maintain contempt
'Gainst common censure; to give stiff counter-buffs,
To crack rude scorn even on the very face
Of better audience. Slight, is't not odious?

'Marston is here plainly referring to the truculent attitude assumed by Ben Jonson towards the audience.'—Bullen's note.

² It is immaterial that this word does not occur in Shakespeare. '*Peaceth*' simply marks the point where a second player snatches the brandished torch of parody from the hands of his fellow.

But the scene before Harfleur (III, 3) corresponds most closely to the verses in *Histriomastix*. Henry 5 threatens:

If I begin the battery once again,
I will not leave the half-achieved Harfleur,
Till in her ashes she lie buried.

The king's speech contains the alliterations 'blind and bloody soldier,' 'fell feats,' 'mad mothers,' 'your fresh-fair virgins,' 'your shrill-shrieking daughters.' It is this forcible and heightened utterance that is caricatured in the mouthings of the parody.

The king's role is sustained in the rehearsal by the player Gut, Post-haste being absent. His fellow Belch declares: 'I'll play the conquering king, that likes me best'; but Gut rejoins: 'Thou play the cowardly knave! Thou dost but jest.' No other characters are mentioned, and these two answer exactly to the title of Shakespeare's play: 'The Chronicle-History of Henry the Fifth, with his battle fought at Agincourt in France. Together with Ancient Pistol.' Pistol is expressly called a 'counterfeit cowardly knave' (V, 1). *Histriomastix* begins with Sir John Falstaff, and, having pursued him through his career—not forgetting a sneer at Shakespeare for his taking off—ends its impotent caricature with Pistol, the last fruit of the old tree.

The comment of the player, Gut, on the mock prologue to Henry 5 must now be considered:

It is as dangerous to read his name at a play door
As a printed bill on a plague door.

This has been explained as indicating that Post-haste was unpopular. The mistaken interpretation is only explainable on the theory that identified Post-haste with some obscure manager of a minor company of players. But Post-haste is Shakespeare, and the satire witnesses unimpeachably to his vogue as a dramatist. 'Dangerous' has exactly the same meaning here as in *Venus and Adonis* 508, 'to drive infection from the dangerous year.' During this whole period, the London statute decreed that no plays should be presented, when the deaths in the city from the plague exceeded forty each week. The frequency of the plague notices on the doors of stricken homes gauged therefore for the players their prospects of plenty or distress. The figure of speech in the text voices the pretence of abhorrence at the fatal contagion of Post-haste's vicious and pestilent dramatic style, but behind this lurks the actual dread, that Shakespeare's unexampled fertility

and popularity as the poet of the Falstaff plays, will deprive the professed playwrights of their most profitable market for plays in his, the standard company. The prosperity of the shareholders in Shakespeare's Blackfriars enterprise is eyed askance in the hit at 'the sharers' (Act V), and the culmination of malice is reached in a diatribe on Post-haste-Shakespeare, not because he acts in plays, but because he writes them :

O age, when every Scrivener's boy shall dip
Profaning quills into Thessalia's spring ;
When every artist prentice, that can read
The pleasant pantry of conceits, shall dare
To write as confident as Hercules ;
When every ballad-monger boldly writes,
And windy froth of bottle-ale doth fill
Their purest organ of invention—
Yet all applauded and puffed up with pride,
Swell in conceit, and load the stage with stuff
Raked from the rotten embers of stall jests ;
Which basest lines best please the vulgar sense,
Make truest rapture lose preëminence.

Clout (fellow-player of Post-haste) answers :

Farewell the muses, poor poet, adieu !
When we have need, 't may be we'll send for you.

There remain in *Histriomastix* two minor correspondences. Post-haste does a prologue and epilogue extempore. The latter is as follows :

The glass is run, our play is done :
Hence, time doth call, we thank you all.

The concluding verses in the epilogue to *Twelfth Night* are :

But that's all one, our play is done,
And we'll strive to please you every day.

Post-haste's fellows commend his extempores thus :

I never heard happier stuff.
Here's no new luxury or blandishment,
But plenty of Old England's mother words.

During the early career of Post-haste the company is summoned to Lord Mavortius, who is 'disposed to hear what they can do.' The lord's usher asks, 'What plays have you?'

- Belch.* Here's a gentleman-scholar writes for us.
I pray, Master Post-haste, declare for our credits.
- Post-haste.* For mine own part, [through] this summer season,
I am desperate of a horse.
- Usher.* 'Tis well. But what plays have you?
- Post-haste.* A gentleman's a gentleman that hath a clean
Shirt on, with some learning. And so have I.
- Usher.* One of you answer the names of your plays.
- Post-haste.* Mother Gurton's Needle (a tragedy), etc.

It is evident that these replies were intended to convey more meaning to the audience than the usher found in them. Post-haste is naming plays of his own, using some stage hit for describing them. The second seems uncertain, but the first is probably Richard 3: 'A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!'¹ In the first scenes of *Histriomastix*, before the days of 'stalking high,' Post-haste's is a travelling company.

Besides we that travel, with pumps full of gravel,
Made all of such running leather,
That once in a week new masters we seek,
And never can hold together.

Sonnet 50 has frequently been explained by Shakespeare's travels with his company:

How heavy do I journey on the way!
.
.
.
The beast that bears me, tired with my woe,
Plods dully on.
.
.
.
The bloody spur cannot provoke him on
That sometimes anger thrusts into his hide,
Which heavily he answers with a groan.

Sonnet 51 calls the same beast 'a jade.'

In the *Poetaster* (III, 1) Captain Tucca advises *Histrio* to employ a 'gentleman, whose father was a man of worship,' to write plays for him. This 'parcel-poet' can be no other than Marston, who, under the name of *Crispinus*, is the butt of the play. He will teach *Histrio* to 'tear and rand,' for 'he pens high, lofty, in a new stalking strain.' If *Histrio* will give him forty shillings earnest money, he will write (plays) for him.² 'If he

¹ Cf. Marston's *Scourge of Villainy*, VII, 1; *What You Will*, II, 1, 126.

² Under date 28th September, 1599, Henslowe records in his *Diary* that he lent 'unto Mr. Maxton, the new poete [Marston], the sum of forty shillings,' in earnest of an unnamed play.

pen for thee once, thou shalt not need to travel with thy pumps full of gravel any more, after a blind jade and a hamper, and stalk upon boards and barrel heads to an old cracked trumpet.' ¹ Tucça condescendingly promises to have the Statute repealed for Histrio. Marston, in *Histriomastix*, calls Post-haste and his company 'proud Statute rogues.' ² In the *Poetaster*, Histrio is called a proud player, who has 'Fortune and the good year' on his side. In *Histriomastix*, Chrisoganus (Marston) offers a play to Post-haste's company for £10, and his offer is refused. He retorts as follows:

Ye scraps of wit, base echoes of our voice,
Take heed ye stumble not with stalking high,
Though Fortune reel with strong prosperity.
.
I hope to see you starve and storm for books (plays);
And in the dearth of rich invention,
When sweet, smooth lines are held for precious,
Then will you fawn and crouch to poesy.

This is the dilemma out of which Marston, in the *Poetaster*, is to extricate Histrio. In *Histriomastix* the confident players anticipate no such necessity, 'while goosequillian Post-haste holds a pen.' Histrio is made to say, in the *Poetaster*: 'We have as much ribaldry in our plays as can be, as you would wish, captain. All the sinners in the suburbs come and applaud our action daily.' The purpose of *Histriomastix*, as was observed above, is to veil the envy of play-writers lacking patronage beneath a virtuous protest against corrupt plays. Chrisoganus (again Marston) rails thus at Post-haste's company:

Write on, crie on, yawle to the common sort
Of thick-skinn'd auditors such rotten stuffs,
More fit to fill the paunch of Esquiline
Than feed the hearings of judicial ears.

In the scene from the *Poetaster* already cited, Captain Tucça, having offered to secure the parcel-poet's (Marston's) services,

¹ Cf. *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*: 'Thou (Horace-Jonson) call'st Demetrius (Dekker) journeyman poet, but thou put'st up a supplication to be a poor journeyman player, and had'st been still so, but that thou could'st not put a good face upon't. Thou hast forgot how thou amblest in leather pilch by a play wagon, in the high way, and took'st mad Jeronimo's part, to get service among the Mimics.'

² Cf. *Poetaster*, I, 1: 'They are grown licentious, the rogues; libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are in the Statute, the rascals.'

proceeds to make Histrio admire some atrocious dramatic recitation. Histrio is quite in the situation of Pistol, in Henry 5, when Fluellen makes him eat the leek. One of the elegant extracts with which he is regaled is undoubtedly Pistol's own :

Why, then lament therefore: damned be thy guts
Unto King Plutos Hell, and princely Erebus;
For sparrows must have food.

The corresponding scenes and passages in Shakespeare are extremely characteristic of Pistol, and not concordance-culls, to parallel Jonson.

I'll see her damned first, to Plutos damned lake; by this hand! to the infernal deep, with Erebus and tortures vile also.—2 Henry 4, II, 4.

Why then lament therefore.—2 Henry 4, V, 3.

Young ravens must have food.—Merry Wives, I, 3.

As the Poetaster must have been written after Histriomastix, these correspondences are remarkable. Marston, under an assumed and then under an enforced disguise, is anxious to write for Histrio in both plays, and in both his offer is rejected. In the Poetaster he will teach Histrio how to 'tear and rand,' while in Histriomastix he has already caricatured Histrio's plays in mere rant. Examples of this style are then given in the Poetaster, one of which is now shown to be derived from the very group of plays and characters which are the objects of ridicule in Histriomastix. Histrio, in the Poetaster, is the Player Whipped over again, with a coarse but jovial 'I told you so' added. And, finally, the Histrio of both plays appears to be a caricature of Shakespeare.¹

¹It seems hardly necessary to do more than refer to the old statement, repeated by C. H. Herford in his biographical account of Ben Jonson, that the Histrio of the Poetaster is Philip Henslowe. There is no proof, and no likelihood, that the illiterate pawn-broking dealer in theatrical properties, and trader in poets' necessities, ever spoke a line of verse on the stage. Had his son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, been singled out for identification, there would at least have been the excuse that the *dominus gregis* (the manager) was sometimes styled *histrio*. But Alleyn also is impossible. 'Of literary ability and tastes, he gives no sign, nor is there any reason to suppose that he had a hand in any of the plays in which he performed on the stage' [G. F. Warner in Dict. Nat. Biog.]. The Histrio of both plays, Histriomastix and Poetaster, is a poet-actor. In the former play, Histrio has been shown to be a burlesque of Shakespeare, and the connection between the corresponding scenes in both plays is now seen to be remarkably close. The natural and unforced conclusion points to the Histrio of the Poetaster as a companion caricature of the great dramatist.

The attack on Marston in the *Poetaster* seems simple enough, because Ben Jonson has explained it. Marston had long provoked him with his petulant style, and received his reward, richly deserved. But the relations between rival companies and competing playwrights in the eventful years 1598-1601 appear to have been far from simple. Mr. Fleay thinks that the companies at all five of the London theatres were engaged in contention at this time.¹ I cannot agree with Simpson that *Histriomastix* shows any traces of Jonson's hand. The play as it stands, whatever may be thought of the alternative ending, appears to be Marston's own. It seems not even to have met with Jonson's approval, as coming from Marston, but it awakened a sympathetic chord, as attacking Shakespeare for the very class of plays which Ben Jonson had opposed in those master-keys to his talent—the prologue and induction to his two plays of *Humors*.

But the lure which the aspiring and generous-souled dramatic artist of 1600 viewed 'high and aloof,' to this the more arrogantly ambitious and intolerant play-writer of 1614 appears to have stooped: a burlesque of Shakespeare, as maker of interludes and puppet-plays. Marston had included in his *Histriomastix* a travesty of *Troilus and Cressida*. The second part of this study will attempt to show that Ben Jonson caricatured the same play in *Bartholomew Fair*.

II.—TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

Bartholomew Fair was first performed at the Hope Theatre on the Bankside, Oct. 31, 1614. In the Induction, the Book-holder (Prompter) informs the audience that the author has written the play 'to the scale of the grounded judgments here' (i. e. of the groundlings). The motto prefixed to the play declares that Democritus would find food for laughter:

Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam surdo.

As might be expected in such a production, full of the extravagant humors of the Fair, the whole of Act V (one scene excepted) is occupied with a puppet-play: The Ancient Modern History of Hero and Leander, otherwise called the Touchstone of true love, with as true a trial of friendship between Damon and Pythias, two faithful friends of the Bankside. Shakespeare's *Troilus and*

¹ *Chronicle History*, p. 119.

Cressida has a remarkably similar title: *The Famous History of Troilus and Cresseid*. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loves, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus, Prince of Licia.

The simpleton in Jonson's play, Bartholomew Cokes, is made to express the author's mocking opinion of such a title. 'Pretty i' faith; what's the meaning on't? Is't an enterlude, or what is it?' The fate of Troilus and Cressida in the Folio of 1623 makes this coxcomb's criticism read like a prophetic piece of irony. It stands there alone, shouldered out of the tragedies and finding no place in the comedies or histories; it received no paging and was omitted from the table of contents. Modern critics have thought that the play belongs rather to comedy than tragedy. The editors of the Folio of 1623 seem not to have known where to place it; Coke's question in the Motion appears to have troubled them also: 'What's the meaning on't? Is't an enterlude, or what is it?'

The puppet-show man in Bartholomew Fair, the mouth of his puppets, is, like all the rest, the mouth of Jonson's satire; he thus sums up his long experience:

'O the Motions that I Lanthorn Leatherhead have given light to, in my time, since my master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing and so was Nineveh, and the city of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah, with the rising of the prentices, and pulling down the bawdy-houses there upon Shrove Tuesday: but the Gunpowder plot, there was a get-penny! . . . Your home-born projects prove ever the best, they are so easy and familiar. They put too much learning in their things now-a-days, and that I fear will be the spoil of this.¹ Littlewit. I say, Micklewit! if not too mickle.'

The author of the motion, thus summoned, appears, and Leatherhead (puppet-show man), Cokes (a rich fool) and the author Littlewit explain the merits of the piece in the following dialogue:

Cokes. But do you play it according to the printed book? I have read that.

Leatherhead. By no means, sir.

Cokes. No? How then?

Leath. A better way, sir; that is too learned and poetical for our audience. What do they know what 'Hellespont' is, 'guilty of true love's blood'? or what 'Abydos' is, or, 'the other, Sestos hight'?

Cokes. Thou art in the right; I do not know myself.

Leath. No, I have entreated Master Littlewit to take a little pains to reduce it to a more familiar strain for our people.

Cokes. How, I pray thee, good Master Littlewit?

¹ The usual ironical gird at Shakespeare.

Littlewit. It pleases him to make a matter of it, sir; but there is no such matter, I assure you. I have only made it a little easy and modern for the times, sir, that's all. As for the Hellespont, I imagine our Thames here, etc.

The lines 'On Hellespont, guilty of true love's blood,' and 'the one Abydos, the other Sestos hight,' are of course Marlowe's; they are the opening verses in his *Hero and Leander*. Marlowe's sestiams were here held up by Ben Jonson as an example of classical taste, rather than as a modern work of art: the perfect foil of a Greek gem. They were to be recalled by all who could recognize the first lines of the famous poem, while listening to a burlesque of Shakespeare. The studied and elaborate puppet-machinery was not invented for the purpose of extinguishing a John Littlewit. It is Shakespeare and his art that are the objects of merry-seeming but deeply-meditated Condottieri warfare. But Jonson has heightened the comic effect and made good his means of escape from the charge of a wanton attack, by substituting the fable of *Hero and Leander* for that of *Troilus and Cressida*.

The plot of the puppet-play seems to have been suggested by Shakespeare, in a speech of *Troilus* (I, 1):

But Pandarus,—O gods, how do you plague me!
I cannot come to Cressid but by Pandar;
And he's as tetchy to be woo'd to woo,
As she is stubborn-chaste against all suit.
Tell me, Apollo, for thy Daphne's love,
What Cressid is, what Pandar, and what we?
Her bed is India; there she lies, a pearl:
Between our Ilium and where she resides,
Let it be call'd the wild and wandering flood,
Ourself the merchant, and this sailing Pandar
Our doubtful hope, our convoy and our bark.

This is one of several instances in the puppet-play where the humor lies in an Eulenspiegel-like, literal interpretation of Shakespeare's metaphors. The situation is then seen to be exactly similar to that imagined by *Troilus*. The 'wild and wandering flood' becomes the river Thames, as easily as Littlewit imagined that river for the toiling Hellespont. *Leander* now crosses to *Hero*, not by swimming, but ferried over—a situation not likely to have been invented independently of *Troilus'* speech.

To find the 'sailing Pandar,' the text of the first scene of the motion must now be examined:

Gentles, that no longer your expectations may wander,
Behold our chief actor, amorous *Leander*.

With a great deal of cloth, lapp'd about him like a scarf,
 For he yet serves his father, a dyer at Puddle-wharf;
 Which place we'll make bold with, to call it our Abydus,
 As the Bankside is our Sestos; and let it not be deny'd us.
 Now as he is beating to make the dye take the fuller,
 Who chances to come by, but fair Hero in a sculler;
 And seeing Leander's naked leg and goodly calf,
 Cast at him from the boat a sheep's eye and a half.
 Now she is landed, and the sculler come back,
 By and by you shall see what Leander doth lack.

Lean. Cole, Cole, old Cole!

Leath. That is the sculler's name without controul.

Lean. Why Cole, I say, Cole!

Leath. Is't the sculler you need?

Lean. Ay, and be hang'd.

Leath. Stay, sculler.

Cole. What say you?

Leath. You must stay for Leander
 And carry him to the wench.

Cole. You rogue, I am no pander.

The term 'old coal' meant a pander. In Marston's *Malcontent* an ancient member of that guild, in company with two young women, is saluted thus:

Malevole. Old coal! *Maquerelle.* Old coal!

Malevole. Ay, old coal! methinks thou liest like a brand under these billets of green wood. He that will inflame a young wench's heart, let him lay close to her an old coal that hath first been fired, a panderess, my half-burnt lint, who though thou canst not flame thyself, yet art able to set a thousand virgins' tapers afire.

Jonson hints this meaning broadly in the reply of Leatherhead to Cole's 'I am no pander': 'Are you no pander, goodman Cole? Here's no man says you are. You'll grow a hot coal, it seems.' And Bartholomew Cokes adds, to give the allusion more point: 'He says he is no pander. 'Tis a fine language; I understand it now.' After an animated scuffle between Leatherhead and old Cole, the latter rows Leander to the landing whence Hero has betaken herself to an inn. Cole is no stranger to the situation, for from Greene's *Quip* for an upstart Courtier we learn that the services of watermen were often required for such excursions up the Thames.¹

The second encounter in the puppet-play now claims our attention:

¹ Greene's Works (Huth Lib.), ed. Grosart, vol. II, pp

Now, gentles, I take it here is none of you so stupid,
 But that you have heard of a little god called Cupid;
 Who out of kindness to Leander, hearing he but saw her,
 This present day and hour doth turn himself to a drawer.
 And because he would have their first meeting to be merry,
 He strikes Hero in love to him with a pint of sherry;
 Which he tells her from amorous Leander is sent her,
 Who after him into the room of Hero doth venture.

Cupid's complaisant metamorphosis results from the distortion of one of Troilus' eager figures of speech. Troilus and Pandarus meet by appointment in the orchard, and Pandarus asks, 'Have you seen my cousin?' Troilus replies:

No, Pandarus: I stalk about her door,
 Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks
 Staying for waftage. O, be thou my Charon,
 And give me swift transportance to those fields
 Where I may wallow in the lily-beds
 Proposed for the deserver! O gentle Pandarus,
 From Cupid's shoulder pluck his painted wings,
 And fly with me to Cressid!

'Charon' is used by Ben Jonson for a Thames-waterman, in his anti-epic, the *Famous Voyage*; but this opportunity of satirizing Troilus' rhetoric had already been taken advantage of in the character of old Cole; and he, being only available for the journey by water, has made his exit. Our author now seizes upon the second excited metaphor,

O gentle Pandarus,
 From Cupid's shoulder pluck his painted wings,
 And fly with me to Cressid,

and turns it into the most forbidding prose situation. Pandarus forthwith becomes a drawer (room-waiter and tapster) in the very suspicious inn where Hero is, and henceforward he is called Cupid. Leander (Troilus) waits outside, while Pandarus carries to Hero (Cressida) Troilus' treat of a pint of sherry,

Which he tells her from amorous Leander is sent her.

In puppet-plays 'it was the fashion for the puppets of the text to introduce themselves to strangers with a propitiatory cup of wine, which preceded their appearance.'¹ This was called a token. The situation travesties a conversation between Pandarus and

¹ Gifford's note.

Cressida about the gift Troilus is to send to his 'stubborn-chaste' mistress.

Pan. I'll be with you, niece, by and by.

Cres. To bring, uncle?

Pan. Ay, a token from Troilus. [Exit.

Cres. By the same token, you are a bawd.

Leander then follows Pandarus into Hero's room, and the scene continues :

This while young Leander with fair Hero is drinking,
And Hero grown drunk to any man's thinking.
Yet was it not three pints of sherry could flaw her,
Till Cupid, distinguish'd like Jonas the drawer
From under his apron, where his lechery lurks,
Put love in her sack. Now mark how it works.

The three pints of sherry are suggested in the puppet-play as a suitable means for overcoming Cressida's 'holding off' from Troilus in the drama. She says :

Women are angels, wooing :
Things won are done, joy's soul lies in the doing.
.
Therefore this commandment out of love I teach,—
Achievement is command ; ungain'd, beseech.

In the same way Cupid's final shot is intended to explain Cressida's sudden change of front, from chaste blushes to forwardness :

Boldness comes to me now, and brings me heart ;—
Prince Troilus, I have loved you night and day,
For many weary months.

Troilus' rejoinder, 'Why was my Cressid then so hard to win?', voices every reader's feeling and Jonson's merry incredulity. His own version of Cressida's change of mood is in the spirit of Pandarus' exhortation, 'Shame is a baby' :

Hero. O Leander, Leander, my dear, my dear Leander,
I'll forever be thy goose, so thou'lt be my gander.
Leander. And, sweetest of geese, before I go to bed,
I'll swim over the Thames, my goose, thee to tread.

This is a perversion of Pandarus' gloating pride in his niece : 'Nay, you shall fight your hearts out, ere I part you. The falcon as the tercel, for all the ducks i' the river'; which Staunton thus explains : 'the falcon (the female hawk) I'll wager to be as good

as the tercel (the male hawk); in other words, I'll back my niece to be as staunch at that game as Troilus.' In the light of the passage in the text, Pandarus' commendation of the pair as 'sweet ducks' raises such a common appellation to the rank of corroborative evidence.

In the same scene Cressida says:

I was won, my lord,
With the first glance that ever—pardon me;—
If I confess much you will play the tyrant.

We have seen this first glance parodied in the induction of the puppet-play:

Who chanced to come by but fair Hero in a sculler;
And seeing Leander's naked leg and goodly calf,
Cast at him from the boat a sheep's eye and a half.

In *Troilus and Cressida* the scene now changes to the Grecian camp, but in the puppet-play the new characters Damon and Pythias appear at the inn. Up to this point the Greek ideal of romantic love has been travestied, in a vulgar Leander and baser Hero, and it will now perhaps be more readily conceded that Ben Jonson ridiculed the modern ideal of love and constancy, Romeo and Juliet, in his *Poetaster* (IV, 7). The scene in the puppet-play now does for the pair symbolizing Greek friendship what our author has already done for the lovers. His ironical title, 'The Ancient Modern History of Hero and Leander, otherwise called the Touchstone of true love, with as faithful a trial of friendship between Damon and Pythias,' now receives its application for the second part. There is in *Troilus and Cressida*, it is true, no Damon and Pythias, as there is no Hero and Leander. But the most sacred obligations are set at naught by Diomed towards Cressida, whom Troilus is obliged to entrust to his keeping, as hostage. Troilus' youthful proffer of a truce between himself and Diomed, when Cressida is named, is put by,—Diomed meanwhile vaunting his spirit and his honor. Further considerations needed to establish the identity of Troilus and Diomed with Pythias and Damon will be deferred until the correspondences have added their weight.

First, the puppet-play:

Now, gentles, to the friends who in number are two,
And lodged in that ale-house in which fair Hero does do,

Damon, for some kindness done him last week,
 Is come, fair Hero in Fish-street this morning to seek.
 Pythias doth smell the knavery of the meeting,
 And now you shall see their true-friendly greeting.

This is plainly act V, scene 2 in *Troilus and Cressida*, adapted to the purpose of the puppet-play. Troilus, at night, before the tent of Calchas, listens to the knavery of the meeting between Cressida and Diomed, wrenches himself loose from his passion for the 'revolted fair,' and meditates revenge. In the puppet-play a grand final disturbance ensues in the booth, in which all the characters are involved, Leander among them. But this is not surprising; Uhland and Justinus Kerner exercise similar liberties in their *Schattenspiele*. But Jonson avoids any dialogue between the doubles, Leander and Pythias, while Damon and Leander bandy words and blows freely. The conflicts between Troilus and Diomed in the play naturally offer no analogies to the puppet-dialogue, but Thersites more than answers every claim. In act V, scene 4, if looked at from Jonson's point of view, Thersites undertakes the part of master of the puppets towards Diomed and Troilus, giving all the explanations to the audience, and seeming with his asides to urge on either combatant. Thersites' epithets have supplied Jonson—himself a master at railing—with his whole arsenal for this scene. Several of the correspondences, though unusual, are exact, but they are in general extremely coarse. One instance, however, as having a special significance, I beg leave to cite. Thersites says of Diomed (V, 1), 'they say he keeps a Trojan drab'; and later on (V, 4), 'I would fain see them meet; that that same young Trojan ass, that loves the whore there, might send that Greekish whore-masterly villain . . . back to the dissembling luxurious drab.' But Leatherhead, who here answers to Thersites, says to the puppets Pythias and Damon: 'I say, between you, you have but one drab.'

It will be remembered that Damon and Pythias are called, in the title of the puppet-play, 'two faithful friends of the Bankside.' This led several critics to suspect that Jonson might be referring to Shakespeare's sonnets, or to circumstances connected with them. Dowden mentions the matter, referring to Elze's William Shakespeare, which I have not seen. Thomas Tyler, in his edition of the sonnets, goes so far as to say 'that to Jonson probably the main facts concerning Shakespeare and his friend, and the dark lady (of the sonnets) would be known, even if such

knowledge were not widely diffused among the general public.' The question whether Jonson meant Shakespeare and his friend, in the sneer referred to above, lies beyond the scope of this study. But if it has now become probable that he attacked Shakespeare in such a vital way through *Troilus and Cressida*, a drama that reflects the mood and the diction of the sonnets, and which appears to rest upon the same basis of Shakespeare's personal history, it is obvious that the whole matter enters upon a new and interesting phase.

In the puppet-play Leander is described as

Beating to make the dye take the fuller,

 For he yet serves his father, a dyer at Puddle-wharf.

Troilus, the youngest son, sits at 'Priam's royal table' and there buries his 'sigh in wrinkle of a smile,' 'lest Hector or my father should perceive me.' He desires that Paris and Helen shall make his excuse, 'if the king call for him at supper.' There is naturally some temptation to make the 'dyer's son about Puddle-wharf' refer to Sonnet 111, in which Shakespeare, addressing his friend, repines at his odious public calling as a player:

Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
 And almost thence my nature is subdued
 To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

The same literal perversion of figures of speech, as that on which Jonson relied for the caricature of *Troilus*, might conceivably have been active here, in wresting awry almost the only passage in which Shakespeare is known to have told the world of his life, in his own name. But the explanation, should it be found, may turn out to be more simple. Was Puddle-wharf a dyers' neighborhood, and does Jonson fasten this calling upon Leander (*Troilus*) for the sake of the 'great deal of cloth, lapp'd about him like a scarf'? *Cressida's* sleeve, which *Troilus* wears, had already helped out Marston's parody in *Histriomastix*:

Troilus. Come *Cressida*, my cresset light,
 Thy face doth shine both day and night.
 Behold, behold thy garter blue
 Thy knight his [Qy. on?] valiant elbow wears,
 That when he shakes his furious spear
 The foe in shivering fearful sort
 May lay him down in death to snort.

Cressida. O knight, with valor in thy face,
 Here take my skreene, wear it for grace;
 Within thy helmet put the same,
 Therewith to make thine enemies lame.

But if the 'dyer's son' still resists any completely satisfactory explanation, the hint conveyed in 'Puddle-wharf' is plain. In the month of March, 1612-13, Shakespeare bought a house, with ground attached, near to the Blackfriars Theatre, 'abutting upon a streete leading down to Pudle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties wardrobe.'¹ Rossiter's Theatre in the Blackfriars (1615) was called the 'playhouse in Puddle Wharf.'² It is therefore safe to conclude that this locality in *Hero and Leander* means old Blackfriars, the Burbadge-Shakespeare theatre.

Any further pursuit of the question of personal criticism, in the puppet-play, is beset with difficulties. With the real Shakespeare shrouded from view, all evidence of this kind must remain in some measure shadowy. But Jonson is chiefly concerned with Shakespeare's art, and here it seems not impossible to detect and follow the course of his raillery. In the preceding pages the attempt has been made to trace out in some detail his method of reckoning with Shakespeare for the 'Ancient Modern History' of *Troilus and Cressida*. But at this point the puppet-play caricature was expanded to include another play of Shakespeare, the outlines of which are now discernible in the satire.

HENRY WOOD.

¹ Staunton's Preface, xliii.

² Fleay, *Chronicle History*, pp. 263-4.

II.—ON THE OLD ARMENIAN VERSION OF PLATO'S APOLOGY.¹

1. *Relation of Δ to the Armenian.*—It is barely credible that in the case of a text so often edited as that of the Apology of Plato there should still lie hidden in the Greek codices readings both new and true, yet that this is so I am sure any one will allow who compares with the latest texts of Schanz and Wohlrab the Codex Vaticanus, in two volumes, Nos. 225, 226, saec. XII, called in the apparatus of Bekker ΔΘ. These two volumes contain the whole of Plato along with the seven spurious dialogues, but, with the exception of the first tetralogy and the Gorgias, it is said by Schanz to be a mere apograph of the Clarkian or Bodleian Codex. In a former number of this Journal I proved that for the Euthyphro the text of Δ is very closely allied,² both by common lacunae and various characteristic readings, with the old Armenian Version, which was made not later and perhaps two or three centuries earlier than the year 1030 A. D.

2. *Antiquity of readings jointly attested by them.*—Thus the readings of Δ attested by the Armenian are thrown back to a much more remote epoch than that to which Δ belongs, and almost certainly to some ninth-century codex contemporary with the Bodleian MS. My examination in these pages of the text of the Euthyphro as it is evidenced by Δ + Armenian fully bore out this claim to antiquity, for I showed that it comprised all the excellencies of both the classes—the better and the worse—into which Schanz divides, as with a chopper, the Platonic MSS; being at one and the same time free from the characteristic faults

¹ NOTARUM INDEX.

B = Codex Clarkianus sive Bodleianus.

D = Venetus 185 (Bekkeri Π).

E = Bessarionis Liber sive Venetus 184 (Bekkeri Ξ).

F = Vaticanus 1029 (Bekkeri Τ).

Recentiores manus librorum BCDEF significavi literes bcdef.

Δ = Vaticanus 225.

Arm. = Versio Antiqua Armena.

² A. J. P. XII 202.

of both classes of text. We can in no other way account for this combination in Δ of the good points and avoidance of the bad points of the other manuscripts, than by supposing it to contain a fuller and better tradition of the Platonic text than any other extant MS. In view of the antiquity which the Armenian Version reveals for it, it is absurd to tender the explanation that it exhibits a mixed or composite text, at any rate so far as it agrees with Arm.

3. Δ *neglected by M. Schanz*.—However, Schanz does not consider Δ worthy of notice, and in his edition of the first tetralogy he does not record any of its readings. "Der Vaticanus in der ersten Tetralogie (zeigt) eine andere (sc. als B) und zwar schlechtere Quelle zeigt." He admits, however, that in the Apology Δ follows a better tradition than in the Euthyphro; still it does not belong to the good class ("gehört . . . nicht zu der guten Classe," Studien, p. 49); and in preparing his text of the Apology he is content to collate for his readers E (= Bekker's α) as the least corrupt specimen of the many MSS of manifold tradition, which he lumps together as one family. He also gives the readings of F, as a specimen of the "libri, quorum textus ex duabus familiis conflatus sit." His classification of the MSS of Plato reminds one of the man who only knew of two tunes, of which one was 'God save the Queen,' and the other was all other tunes.

4. *Although of first rate importance for the text of the Apology*.—Yet Schanz is the loser by his neglect of Δ and his excessive veneration of B, which happens to be three centuries older than any other MS. For of the conjectures which he admits into his text of the Apology, he would have found more than one established in the pages of Δ; for example, *ἵνα μή μοι* in 22A, *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἶποι* in 23B, *τοῦτο τὸ τοσοῦτον* in 25E, *οὔτε ἡμᾶς* in 35B, 23E *πάλα καὶ νῦν* (so d, refingens b). In three more passages Δ alone of the MSS has the true reading, viz. 18D *πάντων* for *πάντες*; *ὅταν πράττη* *τι* in 28B, where Forster and Heindorf had conjectured *ὅτι δὲν πράττη*, which comes to the same thing; and in 31C om. *τὸν* before *μάρτυρα*, "ubi τὸν inclusit Hirschig." The fact that as many as three or four of the conjectures admitted by Schanz into his text are found written in Δ entitled this codex to more consideration. In No. 8, vol. III, of the Classical Review (October, 1889), in a note on the Ancient Armenian Version of Plato, I conjectured from it alone *μή* in 22A, *εἰ* in 24A, and in 33E *τε ὁ ζωίδου*. It was

no small gratification to me when, three years later, I found in Δ a Greek text which bore out these readings, as well as many others which I had written in the margin of my edition, but had not printed. Such unexpected verification was a proof at once of the utility of the Version for critical purposes and of the antiquity of the text represented by Δ.

5. *Common lacunae in Δ and Armenian.*—Just as in the Euthyphro there are common lacunae in Δ and the Armenian, testifying to a common archetype, so in the Apology the words in 21C κῆπειτα ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύναι ὅτι οἶοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφὸς εἴη δ' οὐ are omitted in both sources; and though here there is a similar ending to cause it, this lacuna no doubt existed in the archetype of both. The transmission of such lacunae from a codex at least as old as the Xth century down to a codex of the XIIth is not in itself singular, for, as Schanz has noticed, a common lacuna at 208D–209A of the Theaetetus binds together the group of codices of which B is the oldest and best representative. It is singular, however, that the lacuna in the Apology has not been filled up in Δ from some one of the other families of which BDEF are examples; seeing that various corruptions proper to these exemplars occur in Δ, yet must have been introduced into Δ at a time posterior to that archetype from which both it and the Armenian Version are descended, since they are absent from the latter. Δ has been thus vitiated by contact with these other sources; yet they have not been used to fill up its lacuna.

6. *Collation with Wohlrab's text of Δ.*—Before considering the Armenian I give a collation of Δ with Wohlrab's recension of Hermann's text (Lipsiae, B. G. Teubner, 1888).

NOTE.—From St. p. 29 to end the smaller differences of orthography, such as omission of ν ephelk. and αἰσχύνη for αἰσχύνει are not recorded in the following collation. The MS omits ι subscript.

St. I, p. 17A ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐμαντοῦ. So E (not Arm.). | B οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ. So Arm. | C πρόποι] ο sup. rās. | C περίεμαι for παρίεμαι. | C ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπέζων. So BDE. The Arm. has a lacuna of five or six words here, so we do not know if it had καὶ or not. | D ἐτύγχανον ὃν (not in Arm.).

18A καὶ τὸν νοῦν τοῦτω tr. So Arm. | A αὕτη ἡ ἀρετή. So D (not Arm.). | B ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν ἀληθές. So BDFArm. | τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν. So E. | C om. οἱ before ταύτην τὴν φήμην. So BDEFArm. | παῖδες ὄντες ἔνιοι ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια. So EFArm. | D πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις. So FArm. | D πεπεισμένοι καὶ. So Arm.

19A οὕτω γενέσθαι. So EF. | After ὑμῖν om. καὶ ἐμοί (not Arm.). | ἦτω ὅπη. So E. | B Μελιτός (sic semper). So F, ? Arm. | B διέβαλον. | C ἄλλην τινά for ἄλλην πολλήν. So Arm. | μὴ πω ἐγὼ (so perhaps Arm.). | τοταύτας for τοσαύτας, cp. d. | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ἐμοί tr. | οὐδὲν μέτεστι. So EF, cp. BD. | D ἡ σμικρὸν ἦ. | E post ἔξεστι comma.

20A σφίσι ξυνεῖναι. So EFb. | B ἀληθῶς ἔχοι (? Arm.). So B(D)EF. | C ἐμμενῶς (ἐμμελῶς Arm.). | διδάσκει. So F (not Arm.). | καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκαλ. | D τί ποτε. So F. | πεποίηκε. So EF. | E κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. So F. | ἀξιόχρεον. | ἡ δὴ for εἰ δὴ (not Arm.). | ἐστὶ σοφία. So DEF and cp. B. | ἡ δὴ τίς and *is* sup. lit. man. rc. (Arm. = εἰ δὴ τι),

21A ἐνέφυγε for ξυνέφυγε. ? Arm. | εἴ τις ἐμοί. | B ἐτραπόμην τοιαύτην τινά tr. So Arm. | C omit κάπειτα . . . εἴη δ' οὐ. So Arm. | D καὶ ἀγαθόν. | τούτου σμικρῶ and om. γε. So F. | E καὶ ἰέναι sup. lit. man. rc. for ἰτέον οὖν (καὶ ἰέναι E, in ras. F, supra versum add d).

22A om. γὰρ after δεῖ (not Arm.). | ἵνα μοι μὴ ἀνέλεγκτος. So Arm. | δις θυράμβων. | B ἐκείνων ὄντα] ὄντα sup. lit. ubi ὄντων fuerat. | πεπραγματεῦσαι. | ἐπεποιήκεσαν, man. rc. ex -κασιν refnrx. | C ἴσασι δέ. So EF, cp. BD. | λεγουσιν. Cp. D ubi -ν erasa est. | ἀ οὐκ ἤκουσαν for ἀ οὐκ ἦσαν. So FArm. | ξυνήδυν. | D ἦδυν. | E λυσιτελεῖ ὥσπερ. So Fd (not Arm.). | ἐκ ταυτησὶ γούν.

23A ἀξία ἐστί. So EF, cp. BD. | τούτων for τουτ' οὐ. So BDEF-Arm. | B ποιούμενος παράδειγμα tr. So Arm. | ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ. | Om. μὴ after ἐπειδὴν μοι. So Arm. | C χαίροντες for χαίρουσιν (not in Arm.). | ἐξεταζομένων ubi *zo* sup. ras. (cp. E et in mg. γρ d). | D κάπειδάν. | E πύλαι καὶ νῦν. So 'd, refingens b, probavit Hoenebeck.' Schanz adds νῦν in text; BDEF om. νῦν; Arm. om. καὶ νῦν.

24A εἰ οἷός τ' ἦν (sic) ubi manus altera ἦν in εἶην refnxit. | οὐτε σμικρὸν. So EFb. | ὅ τι καὶ ἀληθῆ (not Arm.). | αἷτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶ where F has ταῦτ' and EF have ἐστί and -ν is erased in BD. | B αὐτὴ ἐστω. So EFbArm. | φησι ἀδικεῖν. | C προσποιουμένους. So B (Arm. doubtful) and cp. F. | D ποιῇ for ποιεί. So EFd. | E ποιεῖν for ποιούσιν. So EF, in marg. b (? Arm.).

25A καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. So F. | C ἀποφαίνεις σαφῶς tr. So Arm. | ἔτι δέ εἰπέ ἡμῖν (Arm. εἰπέ μοι). | D ἀποκρίνεσαι for ἀποκρίνεσθαι. | E τοῦτο . . . τοσοῦτον relicto duarum litt. spatio (? Arm. = τοῦτό τι τοσ.).

26A ψεύδη for ψεύδει. So DEF, ψεύδ* B. | ἦδη δὴλόν ἐστίν for δ. ἦ. εἰ. So F; Arm. and ἦδη ἐστίν in folio rescripto om. B. | C τουτοισί for τούτοις. So EFb. | ἐγὼ δέ οὐ for ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ (not Arm.). | E πριμμένοις]—νο*ς. | νομιζα sic, ubi νομίζειν Edf, νομίζων F, νομίζω BDArm. ut uid.

27A ξυντιθέντι καὶ διαπειρωμένῳ. So Arm.; E has ἡ διαπ. | B μέμ-

νησθέ μου μῆ. So F (not Arm.). | ἄλλα θορυβήτο. | C μόγις ἀποκρίνω (not Arm.). | ἀποκρίνη for ἀποκρίνει. So EFd (ἀποκριν* BD, ἀποκριν** D, ἀποκρίνει b). | D ἐπείδηπερ καὶ δαίμ. (Arm. ? εἰ for καί). | εἰ δ' ἂν οἱ. | λεγ . . νται for λέγονται. | Before ἀνθρώπων om. ἄν. So BDArm. ut uid. | E μὴ ἡγεῖται εἶναι (Arm. = ἡγοῖτο). | ἐγκαλεῖς for ἐγκαλοῖς. So first hand in E. | ἐστι καὶ. So EF, ἐστι* καὶ BD.

28A γέγονε. So EF. | τοῦτο ἐστίν. So F. | B αἰσχύνῃ. So EFd, αἰσχύν* B. | τοῦ ζῆν ubi ἡ sup. lit. ras. facta ut uid. litt. εἰ. | ὅτ' ἂν πράττη τι. Arm. adds τι. | C κατεφρόνησε. So EF: ν ephelk. eras. in BD. | C ἐτάρω (sic) for ἐταίρω. Cp. ἐτέρω D. | ἀποθανῇ. So Ed, ἀποθάνῃ F. | D τὸ ζῆν κακὸς. Ubi sec. m. e κακὸς ref. καλὸς. | κορωνῆσιν. | E om. καὶ after ἄρχειν μου (not Arm.).

29A ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν. | μέγιστον ὦν τῶν. | B φοβηθήσομαι for φοβήσομαι. So Fd, Euseb., Theodoretus. | E om. καὶ before εἰν τις (not Arm.). | εὐθυ ἀφήσω. | Before ἐλαχίστου, ἐπ' for περὶ.

30A αὐτοῖς for ἀστοῖς (not Arm.). | οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλω. | B ἡ ἀφίετε ἢ ἀφίετε om. μὴ. | ποιήσουντος] -ος in later hand. | C ὧ ἄνδρες. So EArm. | μέλλω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἅττα εἶρεῖν. Cp. codd. | D ἀτιμάσειεν. So BDFe, Theodoretus (Arm. doubtful). | μεγάλα καὶ κακά (not Arm.). | Post ὑμῶν man. rc. corr. ἐμέ in ὑμῶν.

31A οὖν ἄλλος] οὐ- sup. lit. man. rc. | ἀποκτείνετε ubi οἱ sup. lit. pr. m. | διατελοῖτε ubi οἱ refnfx. ex ei m. alt. | B τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ubi ν ex η refnfx. pr. m. | καὶ εἰ μέντοι τι. So BDEFArm. | C before μάρτυρα om. τὸν ubi τὸν inclusit Hirschig. | C περιῶν]. The first ε and the accent on ω are in a later hand. | D ἔγραψε for ἐγράψατο. | ἀπολώλειν w. EFbd. | E ὠφελήκειν w. EFbd.

32A ἀκούσατε δὴ μοι τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα. So EF (Arm. = 'audite igitur casus mei.' Therefore om. ἐμοὶ in BD, which have a conflate text). | ὑπείκων δὲ ἅμα' καὶ ἅμ' ἂν ἀπολοίμην. So BD (not Arm.). | B κρίνειν παρανόμων. So E, corr. e (not Arm.). | C ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ. So F. | D αὐ εἰδείξάμην. So Arm. ut uid. "coniecit ἐπεδείξάμην Hirschig." | E μάρτυρες πολλοὶ tr. (not Arm.).

33B before εἰν τις om. καὶ. So Arm. | βούλητε for βούληται. | ὧ ἂν λέγω. | εἴτε after ἐγὼ] εἰτ sup. lit. sec. man. | C ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀηδέες. So Arm. | ὅπερ τις πώποτε καὶ ἄλλω, where F has πώποτε, quod recepit Hirschig. Arm. has ἄλλω. | D χρῆν δὲ πού. | E Νικόστρατός τε ὁ ζωτίδου. So Arm. | παράδος. So BDFArm.

34A Αἰαντόδωρος] ἂν ἀντόδωρος (sic). | B after αὐτοὶ μὲν omit γὰρ (not Arm.). | C ἰκέτευσε ubi σε refnfxit man. rc. ex ε. | D after τί δὴ om. οὖν (not Arm.). | E οὐ μοι sup. lit. man. rc. ubi erat ἐμοὶ (Arm. = οὐ μοι). | εἴτ' οὖν ψεύδο*ς (ubi ψεύδους erat).

35A κρίνων for κρίνονται. | B καὶ ὁ πητιοῦν. So EF, and ὁ πητιοῦν B (Arm. = ὁτιοῦν). | δοκεῖ ubi εἰ ex οἱ ref. m. rc. | C οἷς ἂν δοκεῖ ubi δοκῇ ex δοκεῖ fecit D. | πρὸς ἡμᾶς. So E (not Arm.). | D φεύγοντας ὑπὸ (not Arm.). | E τοῦ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν.

36A καταψήφισαθε. | ὦ μὴν. So Ed¹. | εἰς τριάκοντα μόνα ubi ἔς erasa (not Arm.). | ὥφειλε for ὥφλε. | B ἡ δὴλον; ὅτι τῆς ἀξίας· τί οὖν ἀξίος. Here τί ante ἡξίος deleuit Cobet. The Arm. retains τί. | D εἰ δέ γε κατὰ. So BFD¹ (Arm. = εἰ κατὰ). | τιμᾶσθε. So BEFD¹ (Arm. = τιμᾶσθαι). | τί ἂν πρόποι.

37A μᾶλλον πείπειμαι sine interp. | B τινὸς ἐμαντοῦ (not Arm.). | τί δέισας εἰ μὴ πάθω (not Arm.). | δ_κφημι ubi pr. m. scripserat ὄν. | ἔστιν· ἂντλ. | ὄντων τούτου τιμησ. So BEFD¹ Arm. | C τιμῶμαι. So B, Schanz. | D ῥαδίως ῥαδίως ex dittogr. | καλῶς οὖν (not Arm.). | E πάντων τὸ χαλεπώτατον. | πείσεσθω in πείσεσθε corr. alt. man.

38A ἀκούετο sic. | ῥαδίον. So B, Schanz. | B βούλεσθά. | ἡμῖν ἴσονται (not Arm.). | C τῇ πόλει λοιδορεῖν. | πάντας ἡμᾶς (not Arm.).

39A ῥᾶον ἂν τις. So EArm. | πονηρία*, ubi ν sup. vs. add man. rc. | B before ἔδει σχεῖν om. καὶ. So Arm. | C ἄξειν for ἤξειν (not Arm.). | ἐργάσασθε. So BDF. | οἰόμενοι γε. Here B has οἰόμενοι**. Schanz thinks that με has been erased, since DF add με, but γε probably stood. Hermann conjectured μὲν. | D ἀγανακτήσετε ubi -τε corr. m. rc. ex -τω vel -τα. | οἴεσθα. | κωλοῦειν for κελεύειν. Cp. Arm.

40B ἐνταῦθα for ἐνταυθοῖ. | τὸ ξυμβεβηκώς. | C τεθνᾶναι bis. | E εἰ δ' ἂν οἶον.

41A after ἄλλοι om. ὅσοι (not Arm.). | B ἀηδὲς with BDFArm. | τίς ἂν αὐτῶν. So BDF (Arm. om. ἂν with E). | ἄγοντα τὴν. So BDF. | DE omit βλάπτειν down to δέομαι τοὺς (not Arm.). | E ταυτὰ ταῦτα. | λυποῦντας sed a sup. lit. rc. m. | ὀνειδίζετα. | βιωσομένοις ubi ο post σ refinxit ex α vel ω rc. m. | πλὴν δὲ τῷ θεῷ. Here in B πλὴν **. 'Fuisse uidetur εἰ,' says Schanz. Why not δὲ? (Arm. doubtful.)

7. *Peculiar errors of Δ.*—The Codex Δ must have been copied from some text in which the terminations such as -tes, -ta, -tas, -θαι, -θε, -ος, -ται, -το, -ειν, -αν, etc., were expressed by compendia, and these have been confused by a scribe not a little ignorant of the Greek language. In small matters of orthography Δ agrees closely with EF and the texts in accordance with which some hand or hands revised BD.

8. *Upon the origin of errors in the text of Plato.*—Many of the readings of Δ are evidenced neither by the Armenian nor by other Greek codices, and these must at once be dismissed as mere corruption^s. Some of the crucial difficulties are left

unsolved either by Δ or by the more ancient type of its text preserved in the Armenian. Such are μάλλον in 18B, οἱ omitted in 18C, τοῦτον in 23A, ἀτιμάσειεν (Arm. doubtful) in 30D, ἄν omitted before ἀνθρώπων (Arm. doubtful) in 27D, εἰ μέντοι τι in 31B, παράδος in 33E, τοῦτου after δυντων in 37B. All but three of these errors in the Platonic text have arisen in one of two ways: either from a dittography, e. g. τοῦτου out of τοῦ repeated, μέντοι τι from τι being repeated in τοι, which had the same sound; or from the omission of a word identical with the beginning or end of the words which either followed or preceded it, e. g. ἄν was lost before ἀνθρώπων, οἱ after Ἀθηναῖοι in 18C. It is clear that some remote ancestor of all our codices BDEFA had contracted many errors from one or other of these causes. The Armenian reveals the presence in all these codices of several more errors of the same kind, e. g. οὐχὶ lost in 36B, τὸ lost after δέξαιτο in 41B.

9. Δ remedies several such errors of BDEF.—Three of the errors pervading all the codices except Δ are of the same nature, viz. μὴ lost in 22A, εἰ lost in 23B, τὸ lost in 25E. A more serious fault of the kind is the loss in BD of ὁ παῖ after οἶμαι in 28C, a fault which Schanz absurdly stereotypes in his text. In 28D the converse vice is seen in the wrong insertion in BDF of ἦ after τάξη. Both of these last two errors are corrected in Arm. and Δ, and EF also add ὁ παῖ, but E alone is free from ἦ.

10. Purity of the Armenian text as compared with Δ.—As being free from so many errors contracted by its collateral or direct descendant Δ, the text reflected in the Armenian must be regarded as in order of derivation long anterior to Δ, itself a codex of the XIIth century. The latter remedies several vices exhibited in all the other Greek codices, including BD which, according to Schanz, embody the best tradition of text. We need not be surprised if we find that the Armenian discovers and remedies many more faults present in all our Greek codices, not even excepting B.

11. Collation of Arm. with the text of Schanz.—To this Version we must now turn, and the following is a collation of it with Schanz's text.

*Plato, Apol. 17B. Schanz reads ὁμολογοῖν ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἥ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν. These words are not what one would expect in the context. "Many as were my accusers' falsehoods, there was one which quite amazed me—I mean when they told you to be on

your guard, lest you should be deceived by my eloquence. To use such language, when they were sure to be detected as soon as I opened my lips and displayed my utter incapacity as a speaker, did certainly appear to me most shameless—unless indeed these accusers call one who speaks the truth eloquent. For if they say that, then I will admit that I am eloquent. But in how different a way from theirs. Well, as I was saying, they have hardly uttered a word, or not more than a word, of truth."

Muretus (var. lect. 3, 16) would have removed *οὐ* from the text, so that the sense should be: "then I am prepared to allow that I am an orator in their sense." Yet the sense "I will allow that I am—in contrast with them (or 'not as they are')—an orator" may stand, if instead of *οὗτοι μὲν οὖν* there followed *οὗτοι μὲν γάρ*; the reason being so given for the introduction in the former sentence of the aside *οὐ κατὰ τούτους*. Δ and Arm. read *γάρ* for *οὖν* here, and they must be right.

18A. Δ and Arm. have the order *τὸν νοῦν τούτῳ* instead of *τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν*.

18D *οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πείθοντες*. Δ and Arm. add *καὶ* before *ἄλλους*; Arm. also omits *καὶ* before *αὐτοί*.

18B *καὶ πάλαι, πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες*. The Arm. mistakes *ἔτη* for *ἔτι* and renders *καὶ πάλαι καὶ ἤδη ἔτι, πολλὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλ.*, which seems a mere bung|e.

*18D. The Arm. has *πλὴν εἰ μή τις κωμωδιοποιός*, with F.

*18D *οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοι*]. Δ Arm. have *πάντων* for *πάντες*, which Wohlrab adopts. Ast conjectured *πάντων*.

19D *καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνώσεσθε ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν*. Schanz notes, apparently against *τᾶλλα*, as follows: *πολλὰ B*, sed *τᾶλλα* supra versum add. b; *τᾶλλ' ἃ περὶ ἐμοῦ οἱ Cobet mnemos.*, vol. 9 (1860), p. 361. Δ and Arm. show *τᾶλλα*.

*20E *τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν σοφία καὶ οἶα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι*]. Arm. = *τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν, σοφίας μάρτυρα ὕ. π.*, and omits *καὶ οἶα*. Perhaps this is the true reading, though found in no Greek codex. In Δ the *-is* of *τις* is over an erasure.

*21B *σκέψασθε δέ*]. The Arm. has *δὴ*, read in E and first hand of B, though not in Δ.

21B. Both Δ and the Version have the order *ἐτραπόμην τοιαύτην τινα*.

21C. The Arm. and Δ have a common lacuna, omitting *κάπειτα . . . εἴη δ' οὐ*. It is of course due to the similar ending *εἶναι δ' οὐ* of the preceding clause.

21E ὁμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστου ποιέσθαι· ἰτέον οὖν σκοποῦντι τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει. Schanz notes: ἰτέον BD: καὶ ἰέναι E, in ras. F, supra versum add. d. The Arm. translator seems to have read ἰτέον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι σκοποῦντι, which may account for the impossible variant καὶ ἰέναι.

*22A ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο. This is Wohlrab's recension of Hermann's text and is found in BDEF. This text Stallbaum allows as indicative of the supreme irony of Sokrates, who declares that the upshot of all his labours was "only to find at last the oracle irrefutable" (Jowett).

Hermann, Voss and others have variously emended the text, the former conjecturing ἵνα μοι κἄν ἐλεγκτός, the latter ἵνα ἔμοιγ' ἀν ἐλεγκτός. Vahlen and Schanz adopted a reading given in a note by Stephanus: ἵνα μὴ μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος. In 1890 I pointed out in the English Classical Review for Oct. 1889, that the Armenian Version confirmed Stephanus' conjecture. But more recently I found that Δ reads ἵνα μοι μὴ ἀνέλεγκτος. The Armenian has ἵνα μὴ μοι ἀνέλ.

*22B ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο]. Arm. = ἐν ὀλ. τούτῳ 'in this brief space.' So F.

*22C καὶ ἄμα ἡσθόμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὴνποίησιν οἰομένων καὶ τᾶλλα σοφωτάτων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν. Stallbaum notes ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν, sc. σοφοί. Prof. Gildersleeve conjectures that ἦσαν should be read, comparing ἦστε in Dem. 49, 46. But the reading ἤκουσαν for ἦσαν, which is evidenced by Δ, by F and by the Armenian, is far neater. "I felt too that, because they were poets, they considered themselves to be very wise men in regard to all other matters also, in regard to which they had not even the reputation of being wise."

*22D. The Armenian has the true reading ἀπέκρυπτεν given in Δ and E.

*23B ὥσπερ ἂν *εἰ* εἴποι ὅτι. Schanz notes thus: εἰ add. Stephanus: om. BDEF. Both Δ and the Armenian, however, add εἰ; so Stephanus may have added it from some codex.

23B καὶ ἐπειδὴν μοι μὴ δοκῇ]. Here Δ and Arm. omit μὴ after μοι, owing to the similarity of sound.

23C ὡς Σωκράτης τίς ἐστί]. Perhaps Arm. = ὡς Σ. ἐστί τις, with F.

*23D ὃ τι ποιῶν καὶ ὃ τι διδάσκων]. The Arm. = ὃ τι π. ἢ καὶ ὃ τι δ., which is better. The H may have been lost after N.

*23D προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν]. So BDEFΔ. The Arm. = προσπ. μὲν εἰδέναι τι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν, which may be right, as Heindorf had already conjectured μὲν. τι instead of μὲν. But

the risk of paraphrase in a version must be discounted in such a case.

*24A *καί τοι οἶδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι*]. *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* is very harsh, and Heindorf conjectured *τούτοις αὐτοῖς*. The Arm. implies *αὐτοῖς τούτοις*, no doubt rightly.

*24B *περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρῶτοί μου κατηγοροὶ κατηγοροῦν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία πρὸς ὑμᾶς*]. 'ἐστὶν BD, ἔστω EFb, at vide N. C., p. 161.' Yet *ἔστω* is obviously the true reading and is read in Δ and implied by the Version.

24B *ἔχει δὲ πῶς ᾤδε*]. 'ᾤδε B: ᾤδε DEF: δ' ᾤδε πῶς Hirschig.' The Arm. = 'quomodo est isto modo,' as if the translator had perhaps read *ἔχει δὲ πῶς*; ᾤδε.

24C *τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν*]. The Arm. omits *ἐστὶν* and = 'sed igitur crimen tale aliquid.' Hirschig conjectured *τοιοῦτόν τι*; but the Armenian idiom would permit of the addition, so we cannot say with certainty that *τι* stood in the translator's Greek.

24D *ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις *εἰς* τουντουσί καὶ κατηγορεῖς*]. Here *εἰς τουντουσί* is a conjecture of Cobet's var. lect., p. 299: *τουντοισί* is read in BDEFΔ. The Arm. = 'me inducis apud hos (or ad hos) et accusas,' seems to confirm Cobet's conjecture. For it would hardly so render *τουντοισί*; to which the Armenian dative would correspond, rather than the accusative with preposition which it uses. Though the translator hardly ever uses a paraphrase, yet he might do so here in order to make sense of *τουντοισί*. And the preposition used = *πρὸς* or *παρὰ* rather than *εἰς*.

*25C *σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεις*]. The Arm. transposes *ἀποφ. σαφ.*, with FΔ.

25C *ἔτι δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπέ*]. Δ has *εἰπέ ἡμῖν*. Arm. has the same order, but *ἐμοί* for *ἡμῖν*.

*25E *οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ, ἀγαθόν*]. E adds *τι* after *ἀγαθόν*, 'quod recepit Hirschig.' The Arm. also has *ἀγαθόν τι*, and as it stands in a Greek codex, we may safely assume that the translator had it in his Greek text.

26A *παύσομαι οὐ γὰρ ἄκων ποιῶ*]. Here *οὐ* is a conjecture for *ὅ* read in BDEFΔ. The Armenian's reading is ambiguous, but he probably read *ὅ*. His version literally = 'cesso ad quodcunque facio quidem a malo invitus.' A simple way of restoring the Greek would be *παύσομαι, ὅ γὰρ ἄκων ποιῶν* 'I will stop, I the anyhow unwilling agent.'

*26A *τοῦτο μὲν δὴλον ἦδη ἐστίν*]. Schanz notes: 'ἦδη ἐστίν in folio rescripto om. B.' FΔ and Arm. have *ἦδη δὴλόν ἐστιν*.

26E οὕτωςί σοι δοκῶ οὐδένα νομίζω]. So BD; F has νομίζων, Edf νομίζειν. Arm. adds ὡς before νομίζω, with Cod. Laurent. plut. 85, 17.

*27A αἰνιγμα ξυντιθέντι διαπειρωμένω]. So BDF; ἡ διαπ. E. But Δ and Arm. have καὶ διαπ., which seems better.

*27A οὗτος γὰρ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι]. The Arm. has οὕτως γὰρ . . . λέγων κ. τ. λ. Thus οὕτως anticipated ὥσπερ—a distinct improvement. λέγων is read in F. The εἰ before εἴποι is omitted in BD by first hand and added above line by bd. Δ and Arm. add it.

27A ὃ ἄνδρες]. The Arm. adds Ἀθηναῖοι.

27D ἐπειδὴπερ γε]. Arm. perhaps had εἰ for γε and read this clause with what follows. Δ has καὶ for γε.

27D τίς ἂν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο εἶναι]. ΔArm. om. ἂν, with BD. The Arm. = 'quis hominum deorum pueros putat esse.' Yet it is not safe to infer that the translator read ἡγείται, especially as Δ has ἡγοῖτο.

27E Ἄλλ' ὃ Μελίτε οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως σὺ [ταῦτα] οὐχὶ ἀποπειρώμενος ἡμῶν ἐγράψω τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην]. In the above EFb read σὺ and BD οὐ. Δ has σν. The Armenian seems to have read σὺ οὐ, for it = 'Sed, O Melite, non est quomodo tu non haec sine tentatione adversus nos scripsisti scriptum hoc.'

*28A ἀ δὴ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἤρηκεν]. So Wohlrab reads, following BDEFΔ. Schanz, following Hirschig's conjecture, prints ἀ δὴ πολλοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγ. ἄ. ἦ. Cobet, var. lect., p. 300; mnemos., vol. II (1862), p. 437, conjectured καὶ ἄλλους ἀγαθοὺς. By a simple transposition the Arm. gives the true reading: ἀ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγ. ἄ. ἦ. Schanz's remedy is too violent.

*28B ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττη, πότερα δίκαια ἢ ἀδίκᾳ πράττει]. Here ὅταν πράττη is bald, and Forster conjectured ὅτι ἂν πράττη 'probante Heindorfio.' The Arm. and Δ have kept the true reading ὅταν πράττη τι. In BDEF the τι has dropped out, owing to the -τη which preceded it. It must be allowed, however, that ὅτ' ἂν of Δ may be the right reading, omitting τι which the same MS adds.

*28C εἰ τιμωρήσεις]. The Arm. has ὃ παῖ, εἰ τιμ. So EFΔ Eusebius, and 'ὃ παῖ add. supra versum d, in marg. b.' Wohlrab includes ὃ παῖ in his text. They clearly dropped out of BD, owing to similarity with οἶμαι, which precedes. To exclude it from his text, as Schanz does, is mere superstition.

28C ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας]. The Arm. perhaps had τοῦτο, with E. The other codd. BDFΔ have ταῦτα.

28D οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει . . . τῇ ἀληθείᾳ]. The Arm. perhaps involves ἡ ἀλήθεια for the dative.

*28D τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος]. So EΔArm. and the excerpts in Theodoret., Eusebius, Stobaeus, Antoninus. But BDF read τάξῃ ἡ ἡγ., 'sed ἡ punctis notavit b.' This η seems really to belong before ἀλήθεια, whence, having strayed, it was replaced by τῇ in the codices.

*29A οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὤν]. The Arm. renders οὐκ ὤν as if ἀγνοῶν, and this, if account be taken of what follows in the context, will be seen to be the true reading, though all the Greek codices have lost it. The translator could never have provided so clever a substitute.

*29A, B καὶ τοῦτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία αὕτη ἡ ἐπονείδιστος, ἡ τοῦ οἴεσθαι]. So all the Greek MSS and Stobaeus. Yet it is clear that both τοῦτο and αὕτη ἡ are not wanted in the text. For καὶ τοῦτο πῶς Eusebius read καὶ τοι πῶς; 'unde exsculperit aliquis καὶ τοι τοῦτο πῶς,' says Heindorf. The Armenian had not αὕτη ἡ in his text, or at any rate does not render it.

*29D ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι]. So BDΔ; EFArm. and Eusebius read ὦ ἄν. Ἀθ.

*30A μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς]. The Arm. adds ὑμῖν after μᾶλλον δὲ. Just below it omits ὑμῖν after ἐγὼ οἶομαι οὐδέν πω. In our Greek MSS ὑμῖν has got from its right place (which it occupies in the Armenian) into the margin, and has strayed back into a wrong place after οὐδέν πω.

*30B λέγων ὅτι]. EFΔArm., Cobet; om. ὅτι BD.

*30B. The Arm. also reads ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθην. with E alone of the codices.

*30B καὶ ἡ ἀφίετε ἡ μὴ ἀφίετε]. The second ἀφίετε is a gloss, as Hirschig saw. E and Arm. reject it. BDF retain it. Δ reads καὶ ἡ ἀφίετε ἡ ἀφίετε, by a dittology. It is probable therefore that in the Armenian and E we have the text of the archetype of Δ.

30C ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι]. The Arm. prefixes ὦ, with E.

30C μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅπαντα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν]. So BDF. Δ and Arm. omit οὖν. Also E has ἅπαντα ἐρεῖν ὑμῖν, while Δ has ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐρεῖν. The Arm. omits ὑμῖν, of which the position thus oscillates in the Greek texts. Clearly ὑμῖν in some ancient copy got into the margin, and the Arm. was made from a text into which it had not yet made its way back. I prefer, on the whole, the collocation of Δ.

*30D ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν δ]. The Arm. adds τὸ before ποιεῖν, and is probably right, for τὸ might easily drop out before πο.

*31A *εἰ μή τινα ἄλλον ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐπιπέμψειεν κηδόμενος ὑμῶν*]. 'ὑμῶν spurium putavit Ludwig.' The Arm. actually omits ὑμῶν. In this passage ὑμῖν oscillates in the MSS in its position; BDF have ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν and E ὑμ. ὁ θ. This may explain the wrong insertion of ὑμῶν, which was added to some text from which ὑμῖν had dropped out.

31B *εἶχεν ἄν τινα λόγον*]. So Eb; *εἶχον* BDFΔ. 'εἶχεν probavit Wex in Fleckeis. Annal., vol. 73 (1856), p. 670.' I believe the Armenian read *εἶχεν*, for it = 'habet,' and renders *ἄν* faithfully.

*31C *ἐμβουλευῶ περιῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν*]. So Schanz, following E alone. Wohlrab rightly prints *πολυπραγμονῶ*, which is attested by BDFΔArm.

*32A *μὴ ὑπέικων δὲ ἄμ' ἂν καὶ ἀπολοίμην*]. This is Wohlrab's reading, taken from Stephanus, and it is attested by the Armenian. Schanz prefers *δὲ ἅμα ἀπολ.* simply. The MSS differ. BDΔ have *ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἂν*; *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄμ' ἂν* F; *ἅμα καὶ* E, which is nearest to the Armenian and true reading.

32B *ἐβούλεσθε* BDFΔ; *ἐβουλεύσασθε* EArm.

*32B *ἡναντιώθη μὴδὲν ποιεῖν*]. So BD; but EFΔdArm. have *ἦν. ὑμῖν μὴδὲν*, which is better and is read by Wohlrab.

*32C *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο*]. So all Greek MSS; Heindorf conjectured *ἦ* before *ὀλιγαρχία*, and to it the Version testifies.

*33B *ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν, καὶ ἐὰν τις βούληται ἀκούειν ὧν ἂν λέγω*]. Here *καὶ* before *ἐὰν* breaks the run of the sentence and is superfluous. BDEF have it. Δ and the Arm. rightly omit it. The Arm. also omits, with E, the *καὶ* after *ὁμοίως*.

33C *ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδὲς*]. So BDFE; but Δ has *ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἄ.* and Arm. *ἔστι δὴ οὐκ ἄ.*

*33C *καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ᾧπέρ τις ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὀτιοῦν προσέταξε πράττειν*]. The Arm. = 'et omni modo quocunque quondam alii cuivis homini divino sorte quodviscunque imperatum est agere.' In the Classical Review for October, 1889, I conjectured from this that *ᾧπέρ τινί ποτε καὶ ἄλλῳ* should be read, and then *θεία μοῖρα . . . προσετάχθη* for *θεία μοῖρα προσέταξε*. The first half of my conjecture is practically established by Δ, which reads *ᾧπέρ τις πάποτε καὶ ἄλλῳ θ. μ. ἀνθρώπῳ*. The other half of my conjecture, though unnecessary, is yet seen to be very probable, if we compare the words which precede *ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο . . . προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Plato is very fond of the dative use *θεία μοῖρα. πάποτε*, read in FΔ and preferred by Hirschig, may perhaps underlie the Armenian text also.

33D νῦν μεμνήσθαι [καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι]. The Arm. = 'nunc sciscitantes ut hi recordantes puniant me.' As if the sense of the context were this: "But if the older men were not willing themselves to prefer an accusation against me, then some of the kinsmen of the young men in question, their fathers and brothers or other relatives, should now be enquiring if their kinsmen had suffered any harm at my hands; in order that, if so, the jury may remember it and punish me." Whether this be *de suo* on the translator's part or no, it certainly gives point to the words καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, which all the editors bracket and Bekker and Stallbaum omit; although BDEFΔArm. retain them. Only inferior MSS omit καὶ τιμωρ., and their retention in all the best MSS is a hint that something has dropped out of the context which made them appropriate.

33D οὗς ἐγὼ ὀρώ]. ? Arm. = οὗς καὶ γὰρ ὀρώ.

*33E ἔτι δ' Ἀντιφῶν. EArm.

33E ἄλλοι τοίνυν οὗτοι ὦν]. Here τοίνυν is awkward and Heindorf conjectured ἄλλοι τε ἐνταυθοῖ. The Armenian corrects the passage more simply: 'alique nunc illorum quorum' = ἄλλοι τε νῦν ὦν. F omits οὗτοι.

*33E Θεοξοτίδου]. So F; θεοξωτίδου BD; ὁ θεοσοδοτίδου E, 'sed articulum necessarium esse recte negavit H. Sauppe Mus. Rhenan., vol. 4 (1846), p. 138." In 1891 I conjectured in the Classical Review that τε ὁ Ζωτίδου was read here in the Armenian translator's Greek text, and that is actually the reading of Δ. The Attic inscription 944, which in a list of names gives Νικόστρατος θεοξοτίδου, leaves no doubt but that the reading of F is right. It is equally certain that τε ὁ preserved in the Arm. and Δ has, by confusion with θεο- which followed, dropped out of the codices, and that the text originally ran Νικόστρατος τε ὁ θεοξοτίδου. The spelling of Arm. and Δ errs in common with BD. Immediately below the error παράδος pervades BDFΔArm. The codex E is alone free from it. Certainly, as Sauppe says, the article before θεοξοτίδου might be omitted, but it is not likely to have been, since it is twice used in the context. The τε, of course, is answered by καὶ παράλος ὅδε.

33E ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε αὐτοῦ καταδειχθῇ]. The Arm. adds ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, whether or no *de suo* I cannot say. Stallbaum notes: 'sensus hic est: *non potest Theodotus Nicostratum fratrem rogare, ne me accuset et contra me testetur.*'

33E παράλος]. So Schanz, following E; but BDFΔArm. ut uid. παράδος.

34A. After 'ἀδείμαντος Arm. adds τε, which is wanted.

*34A ἐγὼ ἔχω ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν]. 'ὑμῖν in ras. B'; Arm. omits, and the Greek is better without it.

34A ὥς φασι Μελήτος καὶ Ἄνυτος]. The Arm. perhaps = Μελήτος τε καὶ Ἄν.

34B ξυνίσασι DEbd; ξυνίασι BF. The Arm. = 'intellexerunt falsitatem Meliti et meam ueritatem,' which probably implies ξυνίασι.

*35B ταῦτα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὕτε ἡμᾶς χρή ποιεῖν]. The Arm. rather implies γοῦν, read by f instead of γάρ. In place of ἡμᾶς, read in Arm.Δ and conjectured by Förster, the codices BDF and perhaps E have the corruption ὑμᾶς.

35D μὴ οὖν ἀξιοῦτέ με, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιαῦτα δεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πράττειν ἢ μῆτε ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ εἶναι μῆτε δίκαια μῆτε ὅσια, ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία [πάντως] καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα ὑπὸ Μελήτου τουτουῖ]. So BDF. The general sense must be of course this. Socrates deprecates the jury's expecting him to stoop to any unjust or impious trick; especially in a trial like this, in which he is defending himself from a charge of impiety. Schanz brackets πάντως, which is impossible where it stands. E reads μάλιστα πάντως νῆ Δία μέντοι. Bekker would read ἄλλως τε πάντως νῆ Δία μάλιστα μέντοι. Δ has the same text as BDF, except that it has, with E, πρὸς ἡμᾶς for πρὸς ὑμᾶς and then φεύγοντας for φεύγοντα. The Arm. = 'Ne igitur dignum facite me, o homines Athenenses, talia necesse esse agere apud vos, quae non aestimo bona esse neque iusta, neque pia, ne aliter quidem, per Aramasdum, ideo omnino de impietate fugientem a melito isto.' The Arm. probably had the same reading as BDF and Δ: ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία πάντως καὶ. Surely a small change of order, ἄλλως τε νῆ Δία, πάντως μέντοι καὶ ἀσεβείας, gives an excellent sense and is a less violent expedient than that of rejecting πάντως, to which all the sources testify.

*36B οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσας ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοί, χρηματισμοῦ τε καὶ οἰκονομίας]. 'Ad ὥνπερ supplet ἐπιμελοῦνται, cuiusmodi ellipseos sibi quidem nondum aliud exemplum occurrisset ait Heindorf in prooemio editionis suae p. xxi; fortasse ὥνπερ οὐχ οἱ πολλοὶ scribendum.' So Schanz, and the Armenian adds the οὐ, so verifying his conjecture. It = 'quietem non ferens, sed remissior factus ad ea ad quae et multi non, ad opesque et rem domesticam.' Therefore restore thus: ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οὐχί, χρηματισμοῦ. A scribe would easily lapse from ΠΟΛΛΟΙΟΥΧΙΧΡΗΜ into ΠΟΛΛΟΙΧΡΗΜ.

*36C εἰς ταῦτ' ἰόντα]. So EΔArm.; εἰς ταῦτ' ὄντα BFd¹.

*36C ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦα, οἱ ἐλθὼν μήτε ὑμῖν μήτε ἐμαυτῷ ἔμελλον μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον [ἰὼν] εὐεργετεῖν τὴν μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐνταῦθα ἦα]. Here Schanz brackets ἰὼν. The Arm. = '... Sed separatim ad singulos accedens benefaciens maximam beneficentiam ...' It is clear that he read εὐεργετῶν for εὐεργετεῖν. Most of the errors in the Clarkian Plato, as Badham showed, have arisen from a wrongly-read compendium. Can the compendium for -ῶν have been here mistaken for -εῖν?

*36D εἰ δέ τι γε . . . τιμᾶσθαι]. The Arm. involves the infin. τιμᾶσθαι, for which BEFd'Δ have τιμᾶσθε. For δέ τι, adopted from Bekker's text, BFD' have δέ and E δῆ. The Armenian omits it, so that τιμᾶσθαι hangs in the air. His Greek MS must have contained a rasura of δέ τι.

36D δεομένην ἄγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ παρακελεύσει]. The Arm. has παρασκευῇ 'at your expense,' a curious and interesting variant found in no Greek MS.

*37A ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι]. BFD'Δ; ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθ. EArm.

*37B. The Arm. = ὡς ἄξιός εἰμι τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ.

37D κὰν μὲν τούτους ἀπελαύνω . . . ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπελαύνω]. The Arm. renders ἀπελαύνω as if it were τούτοις ἀκολουθῶ; . . . μὴ ἀκολουθῶ—a curious variant, if it really stood in his Greek text. But I suspect he merely misunderstood what was before him.

*38B ἴσως ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι ὑμῖν μνᾶν ἄργυρίου]. The Arm. implies μίαν μνᾶν.

*38D τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν]. The Arm. adds μὴ after τοῦ, with Eb.

*39A τό γε ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι]. So BDF; DΔArm. add ῥᾶον before ἂν. One codex of Stobaeus omits ῥᾶον in excerpting the passage; the rest have it, and it should certainly stand.

39D μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολουεῖν]. Arm. = κωλύειν; Δ has κωλούειν.

*40C μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ [τοῦ τόπου τοῦ] ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον]. Schanz brackets the words τοῦ τόπου τοῦ, which are omitted in one codex of Theodoret. The Arm. = 'transmigratio τῇ animae e loco hocce in alium locum,' as if it had omitted ἐνθένδε and read τοῦ τόπου τούτου. The half of τούτου may have dropped out and ἐνθένδε have been added from 40E (ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον) to supplement the τοῦ left hanging in the text. ἀπὸ or ἐκ still seems to be wanted after μετοίκησις, unless μεταβολή preceding enables the sense to dispense therewith.

*40E οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ἰδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας]. Here αὐτὸν inclusit Hirschig. The Arm. omits it, so it was not in his Greek

text. As a matter of fact, the *αὐτὸν* is wanted in the next clause, where the Greek MSS have lost it. *εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω.* Yet it is not the fact of death being *τοιοῦτον*, but death itself that Socrates reckoned to be *κέρδος* or gain. Here the Armenian inserts *αὐτὸν* after *κέρδος*, and so brings out what Socrates wished really to say: 'Si igitur talis est ἡ mors, lucrum eam equidem dico.' Thus the history of the Greek text, not only as we find it in our MSS, but also in the excerpts of Stobaeus and Eusebius, is clear. *αὐτὸν*, which in the Armenian's Greek stood after *κέρδος*, where it belongs, got into the margin and was put back in the preceding clause after *εὐρεῖν*, where it is not wanted. A better proof of the extreme antiquity of the Greek text represented by the Armenian we could not have, and it explains also how in the preceding section the Armenian may be free from the gloss *ἐνθίνδε*, which is already in the texts of Theodoret, Eusebius and Stobaeus. The Armenian also reads *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα*, which greatly improves the text.

41A *ἄρα φαύλη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία*]. By a slip *φαύλη* is rendered as *ἰφιλή*.

41B *ἑξετάζοντά τε καὶ ἐρευνῶντα* is read in the Arm. The Greek MSS omit *τε*.

*41B *τίς δὲ αὐτῶν σοφός ἐστιν καὶ τίς οἶεται μὲν, ἔστιν δ' οὐ*]. *δὲ* is a conjecture of Schanz. The MSS BDFΔ have *τίς ἂν*, for which Stallbaum conjectured *ἄρ'*. E and the Armenian read *τίς* simply, and that is probably what should be read.

*41B *ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ' ἂν τις, . . . δέξαιτο ἑξετάσαι*]. The Arm. involves *δέξαιτο τὸ ἑξετάσαι*, which must be right.

41D *ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν* τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι*]. Ed have *βλαπτέειν τι*, which may possibly underlie the Armenian.

12. *Relation of the sources to each other.* BD from one source only.—In conclusion let us try to fix the relations to one another of Schanz's four MSS and of Δ and the Version. First as regards BD. These have a common lacuna: *μάθημα πώποτε* in 33B; also common vices: *ικανῶς ἐπεὶ δὲ ικανῶς ἐπιδείκνυσαι* in 25C, *ἔξεως* for *ἑξετάσεως* in 22E. The orthography of both has been adjusted by the same standard, and that an almost artificial one. In D some of the more glaring errors which stood in the tradition have been corrected, e. g. for *ξυνίασιν* of B we get in D *ξυνίσασιν* in 34B. Thus B is less sophisticated than D, but as regards critical value they form a single source.

13. *Use of Arm. in discharging the impurities of Δ.*—Δ and Armenian, though connected by a common lacuna at 21C and by

the peculiar errors τε ὁ ζωτιδου in 33E, ἀλλην τινά for ἀλλην πολλήν in 19C, μοι for μοι μὴ in 23B, are yet more loosely allied than BD. They have both descended from one archetype, of which the Armenian is much the purer representative, Δ having been contaminated in its descent therefrom. Such later contaminations we have in 17A, where δεῖν is shared with E, in 22E λυσιτελεῖ shared with F, ἄμα καὶ ἄμ' ἄν in 32A shared with BD, παρανόμων with E in 32B, πρὸς ἡμᾶς for πρὸς ὑμᾶς with E in 35C. These and many other errors of Δ are absent from the Armenian, a fact which proves them to be alien to the real tradition of Δ.

14. *Yet some good readings in Δ are not attested by Arm.*—There remain a few readings of Δ which most editors would accept as certain, but which are not attested by the Armenian. Such is the omission of τι before ἀξιος in 36B. In adding τι here the Armenian has the support of BDEF, so that its omission in Δ must be a happy accident. It is difficult so to explain πάλαι καὶ νῦν in 23E. καὶ is in BDEF, καὶ νῦν in d and refingens b. The Arm. has neither, owing, I suspect, to an accidental omission, due to *jōj* = σφόδρα following *ειjayjm* = καὶ νῦν.

15. *F contaminated from E.*—A third group of two texts only which, judged by Schanz's criterion, i. e. by BD alone, have many common vices, are EF. Unless, however, we assume that BD are necessarily right, we only get three errors peculiar to this group, viz. 19D ἐκ τούτου for ἐκ τούτων, 25E ἄλλων for ἄλλον, 28B πότερον for πότερα. The common orthography of these two codices is shared by Δ, and is certainly not of necessity wrong because B follows another system. The small residue of undeniably erroneous readings common to E and F may be accounted for as the result of contamination.

16. *Problems arising out of E.*—The problems suggested by E are not at all simple. I suspect that some of the difficulties inherent in all the other sources have been simply got rid of by omission in E, e. g. μᾶλλον in 18B, ἄν before αὐτῶν in 41B, where, however, the Armenian seems also to omit it. So in 39D E has οἰόμενοι, with the Armenian, where DF add με, Δ adds γε, while B has erased two letters. In such cases there was probably a rasura in the Greek text used by the Armenian. In some few cases E alone has preserved the true reading, e. g. ξυνίσσας in 34B, παράλος in 33E, where all our other sources have παράδος. It is just these few cases where E alone is right that are difficult to explain. It is more full of errors than any other source, not excepting the unintelligently transcribed Δ.

17. *Different archetypes delimited by groups of common vices.*
—The common vices affecting different groups of our MSS enable us to distinguish several stages or archetypes of the text.

(i) *Archetype of BDEFΔArm.*—First there are common vices of BDEFΔArm. These are—

20B εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει, where Schanz and others read ἔχει.

31B μέντοι τι, where Wohlrab and Schanz adopt Cobet's conjecture, μέν τι.

23A τοῦτον, where they adopt F. A. Wolf's conjecture, τοῦτ' οὐ.

18B μᾶλλον, which Wohlrab simply omits, with E, while Schanz writes μὰ τόν.

18C οἱ omitted after Ἀθηναῖοι and added by Heindorf. (Ficino may have here read οἱ, for he reads: "Hi profecto, o viri Athenienses, qui hunc de me rumorem divulgaverunt.")

31D ἀτιμάσειεν for ἀτιμώσειεν.

If all or even some only of these readings be vices, then we must suppose a common archetype of all these texts in which these vices coexisted and by reason of their common descent, from which BDEFΔArm. exhibit in common this group of errors. Let us call this archetype γ.

(ii) *Archetype of BDEF.*—The following vices beset BDEF:

19D πάντες for πάντων.

22A μὴ omitted after μοι.

23B εἰ omitted before εἴποι.

25E τὸ omitted after τοῦτο.

28B τι omitted after πράττη.

35B ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς.

Let us call the archetype which combined these vices η. Then ΔArm., which have not got these vices, are not descended from this archetype η.

(iii) *Archetype of BDF.*—The following vices beset BDF, but not EΔArm.:

28D τάξη + ἦ (Theodoret, Eusebius, Stobaeus, Antoninus have not ἦ).

22D ἀποκρύπτειν or ἀποκρύπτει for ἀπέκρυπτεν (Ficino: *obfuscabat*).

30B + ἀφίετε.

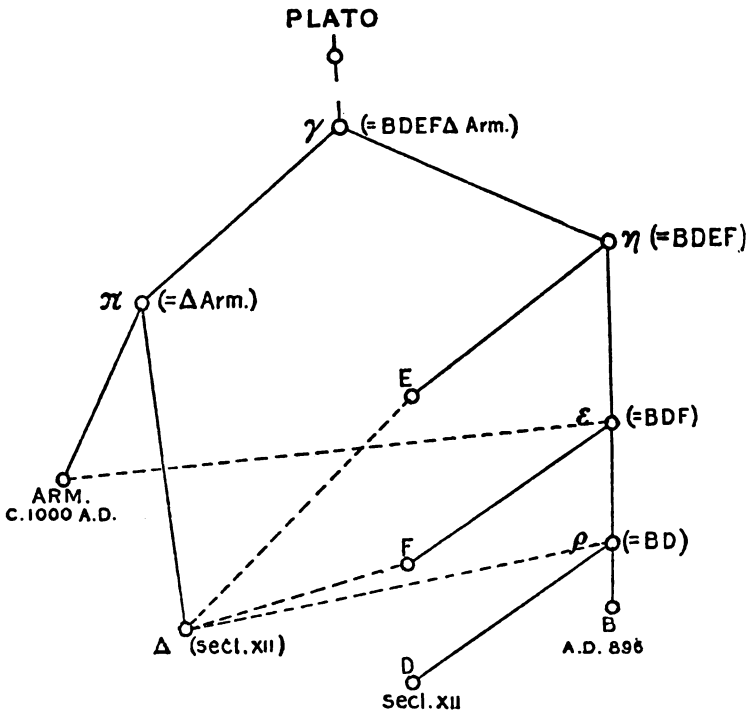
36C ταῦτ' ὄντα for ταῦτ' λόντα.

39A ῥᾶον omitted.

23E συντεταμένως for συντεταγμένως (read by Wohlrab. Ficino: *exposito*).

Therefore BDF flowed from a common archetype, which let us call ε.

18. *Resulting genealogy of the sources.*—Let us further symbolise the archetype of BD by the symbol ρ and that of Δ Arm. by π . Then the following diagram illustrates to the eye the genetic relations of our six sources.



In the above diagram the Greek letters denote archetypes of the various MSS. Continuous lines denote real descent, the dotted ones are lines of contamination of Δ by other inferior families; for Δ shares many corruptions with EF and ρ from which the Armenian is free, and which therefore were not in its archetype π .

19. *Canons inferred for the right editing of the text of the Apology.*—If this family-tree of our six sources be correct—and I do not see how it can be impugned—then there follow conclusions of some importance for the proper editing of the text of the Apology.

1. Any reading which, as being common to Arm. and Δ , is proved to have stood in π , and which also stands in any of the

descendants of η —namely, in EFD or B—must be accepted; for it must then have also stood in that archetype γ which is our ultimate authority for the text.

2. A reading which only occurs in π and not in any descendant of η must be judged of on its merits; for π has as much authority as η —that is, as BDEF put together.

20. *These canons tested and shown to be sound in regard to (i) common readings of EF Δ Arm.; (ii) common readings of F Δ Arm.*—Acute questions at once arise, if the first of these canons be true; for a whole series of readings attested by EF Δ Arm., but rejected by Schanz and others as alien to BD, must be accepted, and the rival readings be set down as accidents of ρ . Let us enumerate these readings.

(i) *Common readings of EF Δ Arm.*—18C ἀκούοντες against ἀκούσαντες of BD. Here BD is plainly wrong, and Wohlrab prints ἀκούοντες, which Ficino also read: 'qui nam haec audiunt.'

18C ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, παῖδες ὄντες ἔτι υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ μεράκια against . . . παῖδες ὄντες, ἔτι υἱοὶ δ' ὑ. . . of BD. Socrates complains that his enemies traduced him to those who were of such tender age that they were easily worked upon. Now if δ' be read here, the text implies that a μεράκιον, or lad of 14–21 years of age, is more easily humbugged than a mere child under 14. Plato would never have written such nonsense. If δ' is left, then παῖδες and μεράκια must change places in the text. Thus both the sense and the evidence is against δ', which is a mere freak of BD. Ficino saw this objection and tries to import sense into δ' by rendering: 'ea aetate in qua plerique vestrum pueri ac certe adolescentuli perfacile credidistis.' But δὲ cannot mean *ac certe*.

24B αὕτη ἔστω ἰκανὴ ἀπολογία against αὕτη ἐστὶν ἰ. ἀπ. of BD. The διωρθωτής of B, a *manus uetusta*,¹ writes ω above -ιν, and he usually agrees with EF Δ Arm. ἔστω is obviously right.

24C εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους against ἀγῶνα of BD. As ἀνθρώπους is plural, there would be more than one ἀγών. Cp. Pol. III 413D ἀγῶνας αὐτοῖς θεῖον and many other passages where the plural is used, cited in Ast's Lexicon. However, Δ has ἀγῶνα here, so the reading of π is not quite certain.

¹ See Wohlrab's Prolegom., p. 39, in his edition of the Apology (Lipsiae, 1877). In his Prolegom. Wohlrab reckons ἐστὶν here among the readings of B, 'quae aperte falsa sunt,' yet prints it in his text.

27D ὁμοίως γὰρ ἄν. Here BD omit ἄν, which d adds and the editors adopt.

27E σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα. So πEF and editors. For νοῦν D reads γοῦν, Bd read γ' οὖν νοῦν.

25D ἀπόκριναι against ἀποκρίνου. It may be assumed that π had here the same reading as Δ, though what Greek the Armenian had cannot be determined. Wohlrab prints ἀπόκριναι. The διορθωτής of B writes αι over ου, and there can be no doubt but that ἀπόκριναι is right.

28C ὁ παῖ. BD omit. Eusebius read ὁ παῖ and the διορθωτής adds it both in B and D. Yet Schanz heroically leaves it out of his text. Wohlrab retains it.

29D ὁ ἄνδρες against ἄνδρες. Here π is obscured, for Arm. adds ὁ and Δ has it not. However, Eusebius read it, so the Arm. is most likely true to π, whereas Δ has been contaminated from ρ.

30B λέγων ὅτι against λέγων. Here, as Cobet saw, ὅτι is wanted and Wohlrab prints it.

32B ὑμῖν μηδέν against μηδέν of ρ. Here Wohlrab prints ὑμῖν, which is wanted, though Schanz omits it from his text.

37C. ΔEFd¹ have ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγῆς τιμήσωμαι. Here B has τιμήσωμαι, which Wohlrab and Schanz print, and which is better. The Greek of the Version is not certain here; for though Δ has φοβήσωμαι, yet an Armenian translator would almost certainly render the deliberative subjunctive by the future. Thus in all the cases in which π is clear, the reading which it shares with EF is to be preferred to that of BD.

(ii) *Common readings of FΔArm.*—It is the same with the readings of π + F, among which are these:

22C ἃ οὐκ ἤκουσαν against ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν. Here ἤκουσαν is the *potior lectio* and ἦσαν is an easy corruption of ἤκουσαν. Socrates means that the poets, just because they were poets, thought they were the wisest of men in all other matters in regard to which they had not even the reputation of being wise, much less would they be really wise in regard to these things. That went without saying, so Plato does not say it.

25C ἀποφαίνειτε σαφῶς. So πF; σαφ. ἀπ. BDE. Here BDE may as well be wrong as right.

26A τοῦτο μὲν ἤδη δῆλόν ἐστιν πF. DE have the order δῆλον ἤδη ἐστιν. But B is not certain, for 'ἤδη ἐστιν in folio rescripto om. B.' We may infer that πF is here right.

18D πλὴν εἰ μὴ* τις πF; πλὴν εἰ τις BDE. Here μὴ is more idiomatic, and Wohlrab prints it in his critical edition of 1877,

and justifies it, p. 42, of his prolegomena. Unless Plato here wrote $\mu\eta$, no scribe is likely ever to have put it in *de suo*.

30C. π E add δ before $\text{\AA}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ 'Αθηναῖοι, a neutral sort of change.

21. *Risk of the Armenian's being an already contaminated text.*—In the above I have argued that certain vices found in Δ have not descended to it from π , because the Armenian discharges them. The counter-question suggests itself: Had not the Armenian's Greek text also undergone some contaminations from inferior books, and cannot Δ be used to discharge the vices of the Armenian so contracted? This is a fair question, though any answer we may have to make to it will not affect any conclusions which we may have based on the agreement of Δ and Arm.; for wherever they do agree, their agreement necessarily reveals to us what stood in π . It does, however, affect the authority of the Arm. where it differs from Δ . In such case Δ may in the abstract claim, with as good a right as the Armenian, to represent π . The one thing certain is that where they disagree they cannot both of them exhibit the reading of π ; and in such cases perhaps neither may, though that is very improbable.

Let us consider, then, how these two joint representatives of π differ. How they agree we have seen. A more complete answer to this question would be given by a comparison with the Arm. of the codex Laurent. plut. 85, 17, and Vindobon. n. 89, which are closely allied to Δ , and sometimes exhibit a characteristic reading, e. g. $\delta\alpha\kappa\omega$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in 26E, where Δ has lost it. Here this reading must have stood in π .

22. *Examination of the readings in which Δ and Arm. are opposed.*—In the following place the Arm. agrees with F against BDE Δ :

22B $\epsilon\nu$ $\delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$ $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega$ against $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron$. "I learned then about the poets also in this brief experience that" is good enough sense.

33E omit $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ before $\acute{\omega}\nu$, which is perhaps right.

The passages in which the Arm. and E have one reading and BDF Δ another are more numerous.

21B $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ $\delta\eta$ against $\delta\epsilon$. Here the first hand in B wrote $\delta\eta$, which should be accepted.

30B δ $\text{\AA}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ 'Αθηναῖοι. Here BDF Δ omit $\text{\AA}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$.

30B η $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ η $\mu\eta$. Here BDF wrongly add $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ after $\mu\eta$. Δ is hardly opposed to Arm. in this case.

33E. Perhaps the Arm. read $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ δ' 'Αντιφῶν in 33E, for it renders: 'Iamque hicce Antiphon δ Kephisius.' But unless δ'

here stood in E, one would never suspect the Version of having had it.

37A ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

38D τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν. Here b as well as E add μὴ, which Schanz omits, but Wohlrab prints. It is more idiomatic and more likely to have dropped out of the text than to have been inserted by a scribe.

41D. Add τι' after βλάπτειν Ed. The Armenian 'damnum aliquid facere' may be a paraphrase of βλάπτειν only; and here again, unless two Greek sources added τι, one would not have suspected it from the Armenian alone.

32B ἐβουλεύσασθε Arm.E. Of this ἐβούλεσθε of BDFΔ is an easy corruption; but not so ἐβουλεύσασθε of ἐβούλεσθε. Plato uses βουλεύομαι with the infinitive, so there is no reason why the Arm. and E should not here preserve the true reading.

Thus in three out of five cases in which Arm. clearly supports E against BDFΔ, it is certainly right. In two more it cannot be proved wrong.

In one more case, 34B ξυνίασι, the Armenian shares its error with BF. We may be sure that here π read ξυνίασι, for that is read in Δ. The Armenian has been contaminated from ε with an error which by its presence in ε is proved to be very ancient.

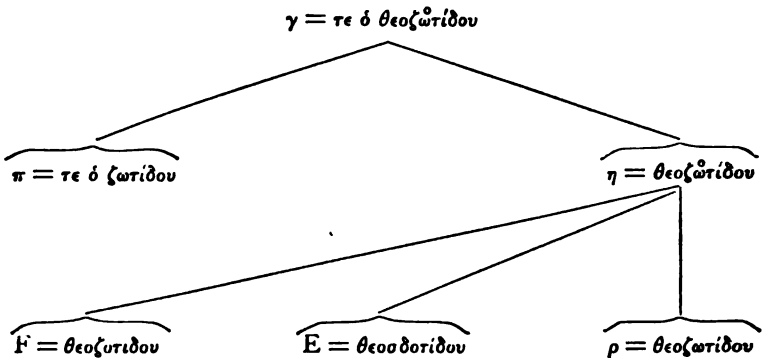
Where BDEF conflict among themselves, ΔArm. frequently have a third reading, e. g. 27A BDF have διαπειρωμένῃ: E adds ἡ before it, ΔArm. add καὶ. There is the same sort of triangular duel in 30C, where see the collation of the Arm. So in 37B, where BΔ have του, EFd¹ τοῦ, Arm. τοῦτον τοῦ. Again, in 36D, where Bekker rightly reads δεῖ 'cum libro quodam.' Here, where all the better texts conflict and all are wrong, the Arm. seems to have had a rasura and translates nothing at all.

23. *Attempted solution of the objections to the above genealogy arising out of isolated true readings of E or F.*—The only data, therefore, of tradition which stand in the way of my attempted genealogy of the MSS of the Apology are certain right readings in E and F, where BD and π agree in having wrong ones.

So in 33E παράδος. In 18B it omits the crux μάλλον. It was so much a matter of chance whether Δ or Λ was written in an early Greek MS that the error παράδος may quite well have arisen independently in π on the one hand and in ε on the other. Or the mistake may already have existed in γ, and E may be right by accident. We hardly need infer, in such a case, that E goes

outside the archetype γ . In 18B I suspect that E has simply shirked a difficulty.

In one other case my theory of the interrelations of the MSS seems to break down; namely, in 33E, where F alone has the reading $\theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta\omicron\tau\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$, attested by the Attic inscr. No. 944. Here we may assume that a diorthotes had written \omicron over ω or *vice versa* in the archetype γ itself. The following scheme would here represent the history of our texts.



24. *The archetype of BDEF anterior to the age of Eusebius.*—

In my collation of the Armenian I have asterisked those readings which, whether or not evidenced by the Greek codices, yet appear to me to be right; the more so because they generally involve so little change of the text, and also answer to the previous conjectures of scholars. There is one of these rectifications of the text which, if it be right, gives us a time-clue. I allude to 40E. Here Eusebius and Stobaeus, along with all our Greek codices of Plato, leave out $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ where it should be and insert it where it should not. This common error goes far to prove that the text of Plato used here by Stobaeus and Eusebius flowed from the archetype η . If the Armenian be right, then π , its archetype, was probably right also, and Δ has been contaminated here. Thus η was older than Eusebius, as the common parent of so many families might be expected to be. As to the age of π no conclusions can be drawn from its inclusion in itself of the right reading. Yet it must have been a very early copy. Otherwise, how could its two descendants have had time to drift so widely apart in many of their readings, the one at least as soon as A. D. 1000, the other as early as the XIIth century? The links of descent between

Δ and π must have been many, and there must have been much rubbing of shoulders between them and the descendants of η before the much contaminated text of Δ could be generated. However, the rapidity of the process depends more on the number of people who wished to peruse the most popular of Plato's works than on anything else; and a thousand people copying and reading Plato in the course of ten years would generate far more error and confusion in the texts than ten people similarly engaged over a period of ten thousand.

25. *General conclusions.*—The general conclusions which we reach in regard to the text of the Apology are these, and probably they apply *mutatis mutandis* to others of Plato's dialogues, certainly to the Euthyphro:—

1. Too exclusive a value has been set on the Clarkian Codex, of which the text is really very one-sided.

2. More weight should be attached to the other so-called inferior texts; and for the first tetralogy and the Gorgias to Δ in particular, which, in spite of its lateness and blunders, is a more comprehensively correct text than even B. The MSS Laurentianae plut. 87, 17, saeculi XIV, and Vindobonensis n. 89, which are most closely allied to Δ , must be collated and their common readings carefully weighed.

I owe my knowledge of these last two congeners of Δ to Wohlrab's valuable prolegomena, of which I had the use in writing the last five sections of this essay. Nor must I close without expressing my gratitude to Martin Schanz for his critical edition. His array of the readings of BDEF and of the various conjectures of scholars in regard to difficult passages of the text cannot be surpassed for clearness, succinctness and, I believe, accuracy. The fault of his text is that he is too much under the sway of B, and consequently not sufficiently open-minded in regard to the other sources from which B often needs to be supplemented.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

III.—FRENCH WORDS IN WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

The following essays deal on French words in the Middle High German writers:

Die Fremdwörter in den bedeutendsten mittelhochdeutschen epischen Dichtwerken von Otto Steiner (Bartsch's Germanistische Studien, vol. II, pp. 239–59).

Die französischen Wörter im Mittelhochdeutschen von Dr. Joseph Kassewitz (Strassburg i. E. 1890).

Die französischen Wörter bei Gottfried von Strassburg, R. F. Kaindl (Z. f. r. Ph. 1893, 3. 4. Heft, pp. 355–68).

Steiner pretends to quote every passage in a number of poets where foreign words occur. There is, however, an endless number of typographical errors in his work and it is otherwise unsatisfactory. Neither meaning nor etymology is given. Many important words of frequent occurrence are entirely omitted: one is surprised not to find *aventiuir prts kost harnasch bukel rotte lanze porte creatiure schahteliur*. In Wolfram he gives *kurtoys* and *kurtois*, and does not mention *curteis* and its family; *forest* and *foreht* are quoted, and not *foreist*; *schumpfsentiure* is given in Parzival, *tshumpfsentiur* in Willehalm, although both forms occur in either. All this makes the work of no value for phonetic or etymological studies, and no conclusions can be arrived at from it.

Kaindl's modest task consists in merely recording all French words in Gottfried and giving their etymologies. It is to be regretted that the French etymons are not always fortunately chosen. OF. *castel* would explain MHG. *kastël* better than *chastel*; OF. *contrefait* would be better than 'vom afr. contre-faire' to explain MHG. *conterfeit*; OF. *plectrum* better than 'lat. *plectrum*' for MHG. *plectrûn*; OF. *mesnie* or *mehnie* better than *maignye* for MHG. *mehnte*; OF. *marnier* better than 'mlat. *marinarius*' for MHG. *marnaere*; OF. *barc* better than *barge* for MHG. *barke*. He makes the same mistake as all who have dealt with the German infinitives in *ieren*, in that he ascribes them directly to French infinitives.

By far the most elaborate work on the subject is that by Kassewitz, but that too is full of mistakes. After reviewing the statements of Diez, Neumann, Havet and Wackernagel in regard to French words in MHG., he indicates his own method as follows: "Es wird vielmehr unsere Aufgabe sein, bei der Bestimmung in wie weit die deutsche Schrift dem gesprochenen frz. Laut Rechnung trug, auch die Lautgeschichte der lebenden frz. Mundarten und die Darstellung der afrz. Wörter in sonstigen fremden Sprachen des Mittelalters in Betracht zu ziehen. Zugleich ist der Versuch zu machen zu entscheiden, in wie weit mündliche Herübernahme afrz. Wörter ins Mhd. erwiesen werden kann und aus welchen afrz. Mundarten geschöpft wurde" (p. 10).

Nothing can be said against the first part of his program, and no fault could be found with the second, were it not that he sets out with the fixed purpose to prove that the Eastern dialects of France are responsible for most of the loan-words in German, and that the spoken idioms, and not the written forms, are to be mainly consulted.¹ This attempt is obvious from the very abbreviations he uses, there being only two to designate OF. forms, namely *ofrz.* = *ostfranzösisch* and *gfrz.* = *gemeinfranzösisch*; and his conclusions are all drawn from the critical editions in which a certain uniformity is produced and deviating forms are excluded. For our purpose such a procedure is not sufficient: the variorum forms are also entitled to a respectful hearing. These alone can enable us to judge of the degree of familiarity with foreign words and of the place of origin. It will frequently be found that the various manuscripts of the same provenience contain a certain word that ranges in form from the north of France to the south, from the east to the west; sometimes the French words are so changed as to rhyme with a German dialectic form of the copyist; at times the word is not understood by the transcriber and is grotesquely changed.

To illustrate in the case of Wolfram: *fintåle* is found in Lachmann's text in Parzival 44, 4; another reading is *finteile*. In 256, 9 and 260, 12 we have *vinteile*, but also the other readings *fintalie fantaille fintale vintele*. In 515, 19 we find again *fintåle*, but in the notes *fintaille fantale*. Now we can see from the

¹"Bei ihm (Wackernagel) zuerst taucht auch die Ansicht auf, dass die frz. Wörter des Mhd. nicht auf schriftlichem Wege, sondern mündlich übernommen und dem ofrz. Dialecte entlehnt seien, die denselben daher aufzuhellen dienen würden" (p. 9).

very variations in the text that the rejected readings demand to be considered as well. Again, in the dialect of the copyist *aventiur* is changed to *aventiwer*, to rhyme with *fiwer* (P. 130, 10; 137, 17); *covertiur* becomes *covertiwer*: *aventiwer* (P. 540, 11); and the multitudinous forms of *krigierre* (q. v.) show what may become of a word when its meaning is not understood. In several cases I could discover the etymology only by referring to the rejected forms (cf. *müzzel püntestât*), and in Modern German dialects the latter alone have often survived (e. g. *golter* for *kuller*).

On the other hand, the critical text itself, which is supposed to represent as nearly as possible the one prepared by Wolfram's secretary, shows so much inconsistency in the use of forms as to dispel all possibility of a uniform borrowing from any one dialect, and naturally enough. The epic poets read, or had read to them, the French epic poetry, which certainly was not confined to Christian's Champagne home; nor could they always procure Christian's works as copied by scribes of Troyes. Now, an overwhelming majority of French loan-words refer to acts of chivalry and kindred ideas, and these find their expression in literature rather than in active life. No wonder, then, that any one word should appear in a variety of forms in the same author.

These forms may be variable within the verse, hence subject to changes by subsequent copyists; or they may be perpetuated in rhymes, and then there is but little liberty left for changes. The rhyme alone is a safe witness of what the author (Wolfram in our case) may have originally used, and it remains to discover whether his usage is uniform there. It is this that Kassewitz has in mind when he says: "Demzufolge werden wir nicht fehlgreifen, wenn wir auf Grund unserer Belege im ofrz. *ei*, das mhd. *ei* im Reime gebunden erscheint, eine offene Aussprache des *e* annehmen. Dafür mag auch der Umstand sprechen, das an Stelle des dsch. *fōrēst* (*ë* = off. *e*) *fōreist* (: *volleist*) treten konnte" (p. 60). His conclusion is, however, invalid, since it rests on the assumption that Wolfram's rhymes (for *fōreist* : *volleist* is from P. 176, 4) are always pure. This is not the case. The following irregularities occur in the Parzival from book III-X:

a : *â* (*nâch* : *sach*, *man* : *kastelân*, etc.): 118, 23. 121, 23. 126, 9. 127, 11. 135, 19. 141, 5. 142, 7. 143, 1. 150, 3. 156, 21. 161, 7. 17. 162, 1. 27. 166, 24. 176, 1. 179, 7. etc.; altogether 115 times.

e : *ê* (*mêr* : *her*, *herle* : *lêrle*, etc.): 182, 23 (in Bartsch's edition). 261, 11. 291, 27. 456, 13. 486, 27.

i : *ie* (*lieht* : *niht*, *giht* : *Māstriecht*, etc.) (Lachmann reduces them all to *ie* : *ie*) : 131, 23. 158, 13. 167, 19. 183, 7. 232, 21. 466, 3. *o* : *o* (*hōrte* : *orte*, *got* : *gabilōt*, *gebot* : *tōt*, etc.) : 128, 11. 133, 23. 138, 11. 152, 23. 156, 1. 157, 9. 215, 11. 221, 5. 231, 11. 239, 25. 246, 11. 358, 15. 418, 29. 426, 21. 427, 11.

u : *ū* (*amūrs* : *curs*, *sun* : *Ulepandragūn*, etc.) : 145, 11. 187, 21. 417, 1. 421, 13. 489, 23.

u : *uo* (*stuont* : *unkunt*, *sun* : *tuon*, etc.) (Lachmann reduces them all to *uo* : *uo*) : 180, 7. 181, 11. 185, 25. 198, 5. 214, 9. 218, 17. 221, 7. 237, 13. 242, 17. 282, 1. 288, 25. 344, 1. 345, 5. 348, 27. 352, 29. 353, 1. 359, 7. 367, 19. 368, 3. 13. 379, 29. 383, 5. 385, 13. 387, 9. 405, 15. 406, 15. 413, 29. 417, 9. 422, 29. 427, 17. 433, 15. 437, 21. 444, 13. 446, 1. 456, 25. 461, 3. 471, 15. 475, 19. 488, 21. 489, 25. 490, 23. 493, 17. 496, 5. The last case, *tuon* : *Gauriuon*, shows how forced Lachmann's reductions are; besides, the reductions are not made within the verse.

Other irregularities are: *porten* : *vorhten* 182, 5. *ort* : *unervorht* (L. *unervort*) 222, 25. *vil* : *hin* 397, 15. To this also must be added *kūnegin* *kūnegin* *kuneginne*, according to the rhyme, and words with or without final *e*.

In foreign words the exact sound is of less consequence because it is not universally known; besides, there were many dialectic forms from which to choose. Hence we find peculiarities in the rhyme we do not meet with elsewhere: *fundamint* by the side of *soldiment* *firmament* is to be explained only by the exigency of the rhyme; so, too, the choice between *curtois* and *curteis*, *franzoy*s and *franzeys*, *forest* and *foreht* or *foreist* is purely arbitrary, and no significance can be attached to them—at least no conclusion can be drawn as to the pronunciation of the word by the German borrower. Kassewitz sees in *ei* for *e* a proof of Eastern borrowing, but in Wolf. *grēde mōraz puntestāt* show no such tendency, the last two being secured so by rhyme; the only word which could be adduced in his favor is *freie*, and here *ei* is due to *a* + *a*. By the side of *puntestāt*, *Trinitāt* (P. 795, 25. 798, 4. 817, 22) is probably not a Latin, but a French form.

Kassewitz repeats the current mistake of ascribing the infinitive in *ieren* to the French infinitive; he differs from other writers by ascribing its origin to F. *ir* instead of *ier* (pp. 67, 68). He believes he has discovered (p. 61) a reason for the dual derivation of verbs in *en* and *ieren* in their respective origin from a noun or a verb. The few exceptions (*jostieren* is the only one he does

not reduce), such as *flören faljen fataljen feiten*, he explains away by supposing their derivation from unrecorded nouns (p. 64). Had he collected the words more carefully he would have found many more irreducible cases. Cf. *buhurdieren* by the side of *buhurt*, *kalopieren* and *walap*, *krtieren* and *krtie*, *kunrieren* and *kunreiz*, *eysiern* and *eise*, *hardieren* and *hardeiz*, *partieren* and *pârât*, *punieren* and *puneiz*, *rottieren* and *rotte*, *turnieren* and *turnei*; also the doublets *krien* and *krtieren*, *faljen* (Karlm.) and *failieren*, *feiten* and *feitieren*, *flören* and *flörieren*, *hurten* and *hurtieren*; and the verbal forms *pansen*, *menen*, for which no nouns can be found. Besides, it is not thinkable that a French infinitive ending should be incorporated in German; at any rate, this would be an exceptional case in loan-words; only when the infinitive has the value of a noun, such borrowing is possible, e. g. *condewier* and *condewieren*, *leischieren*, *poinder*. We must then look for another explanation of the phenomenon, and it is not far to seek.

There are two very common sources of noun-derivations which German poets affect: the ending in *ier iur*, corresponding to OF. *ier eor èur*, for *nomen agentis*, and *iure*, corresponding to OF. *ure*, for *nomen actionis*, and both are strangely confused in the minds of the scribes. By referring to the vocabulary, many illustrations of the last fact will be found. This confusion is the more natural, since the German itself offered the interchange in verbs with *iu* (*biute*, *bieten*). There is but a step from *ier iur* to the infinitive *ieren* and its generalization as an infinitive-forming suffix. It is strange that Kaindl did not see that, for in his vocabulary *feitieren figieren* directly follow *feitiure figiure*. Cf. in Wolfram *aventiure aventiuren*, *krtigierre krtieren*, *flotierre flotieren*, *pareliure parlieren*, *partierre partieren*, *punjûr punieren*, *quaschiure quaschieren*, *tjostiure tjostieren*, *zimier zimieren*. An interesting example of a wrong etymology is *amesier amesieren*, which, being based on the conception of infinitive derivations, is given by Lexer and Bartsch as from MLat. *amassare*, for which there is no corresponding French word. In reality it is OF. *amessure*, a law-term explained under *amessura* in Du Cange: *Major et jurati cognoscere, judicare et emendas taxare possunt in casibus Amessurarum, scilicet quando unus facit injuriam alteri conviciando, percutiendo et faciendo sanguinem* . . .

Of course, it is not necessary in every case to look for a French noun in *ier* or *ure* as the prototype of infinitives in *ieren*; the

habit once established, *ieren* is freely attached to any French word. But it may be safely stated that *ieren* belongs to the higher, the literary language, while *en* to words which gained general currency. And, indeed, *prisen kosten prüeven*, etc., have become the common possession of the German language, while *ieren* has maintained itself as a suffix of French affectation.

Kassewitz says that the German poets did not represent soft *n* (p. 73). That such is not the case will be seen when we consider the different spellings of *montane fontane punjår*; so, too, all his arguments of the treatment of softened *l* (pp. 75, 76) in German as a proof of Eastern borrowing falls to the ground, when we consider the endless variety of the same word in the same author, but by different scribes. This last point is of great importance, for only where the same original copy was used should we expect some kind of agreement; whereas we find that every copyist treated the words according to his understanding of them, and it is hardly to be supposed that all of them, like Wolfram, spoke a corrupt Champagne dialect. On the contrary, we find several rejected readings (especially those from source *G* in Lachmann's edition) more consistent with the original French form than those accepted by Lachmann and Bartsch.

It is hardly necessary to take up the other points in Kassewitz, as enough has been shown how we need complete collections of French words in the MHG. writers before we can solve the problem of the borrowing and before we can draw from German sources for OF. phonetic studies. It will be further found that several etymologies in Lexer need revision, and this task is at present comparatively easy, as we have Godefroy to fall back upon. When I say easy, I do not mean that finding the proper word in Godefroy is a light task; frequently the proper dialectic form can be discovered only by acute guesses, and one does not know when and where to go to Littré; besides, several words are omitted there (cf. *dromon*), and were only accidentally found under some other articles.

From the form that certain Greek, Latin and Arabic words in MHG. have, it is evident that they came in through French sources. I have given all such as evidently came in through the French. Many words, especially names of precious stones, do not differ in French from their Greek or Latin origin, and so I have not given them; yet from their being coupled with those that show a distinctive French form, it is fair to suppose that

even they are French borrowings.¹ Proper names I have omitted: they have been sufficiently treated by Bartsch and in an article in 'Quellen und Forschungen,' No. 42.

P. = Parzival; T. = Titurel; W. = Willehalm; (B.) = Bartsch's edition; n. r. = not in rhyme. A semicolon between figures means that the form with its readings is the same.

A.

abestð, OF. abeston?, 'asbest'; P. 791, 16.

absist, OF. absictos (Pliny apsyctus), 'some precious stone'; P. 791, 19.

achmardi?² 'green silkstuffs'; P. 14, 22, 36, 29: ein grüenez achmardi: daz was geworht dâ z'Arâbî. 71, 26. (Achmardis) 235, 20. 810, 11. (ackmardi *p*) W. 426, 8.

ad, OF. prep.; sarjande ad piet (aphiet *gg*, apiet *g*, anphiet *Gg*) P. 386, 12.

adamas, OF. adamas, 'diamond'; P. 589, 18.: was W. 60, 6; 426, 3. (adomas *G*) 791, 27. adamant (diâmant *I*) T. 142, 2.

admirât, OF. admirant amirant, etc., 'caliph'; (atmerât *I*) T. 93, 2. (ammirat *n*, atmerat *lopt*) W. 432, 16.: hât 434, 2.: rât 436, 1. 437, 26.: hât 438, 23.: lât 441, 2. 441, 22. 443, 13.: rât 449, 19. 450, 21. 455, 5.: hât 457, 21. (atmerat *lv*) 463, 29.: hât 465, 5. 466, 27.

agraz, OF. agras agrat, etc., Prov. agraz, 'fruit-juice'; P. 238, 27.

ah, OF. prep. a; Salvâsche ah Muntâne (ab *g*, eh *g*, a *g*, an *d*) P. 261, 28.

alabandâ, OF. alabandina (Marbod), 'almandine'; P. 791, 19.

alânen, from OF. alun, 'to treat with alum, to tan'; gâlûnt (galount *g*, galuonet *D*, gealunet *G*) P. 75, 6. 153, 9. 279, 5. 337, 20. 520, 25. W. 57, 13.

¹ A few words of doubtful origin (*hârsenier*, *gampel*, *gampilân*, *jecis*, *meatris*, *lisis*, etc.) I have purposely omitted. I take this occasion to express my obligation to Dr. Schmidt-Wartenberg, who has been kind enough to look up for me a number of words in the rich collection of books belonging to the German department of Chicago University, and also to the department collectively for sending me all books I needed in my work.

² A diligent search in Godefroy has not revealed the form, but we find *almande* (Uncore ai un chapel de almande engulet D'un grant peissun marage ki fut fait sure mer.—*Charlemagne*) and also *allement* (ung chappeau d'allement.—*D'Auton*), for which he knows no meaning; it is probably the same as *achmardi* and of Arabic origin.

amalistē, OF. amatiste ametiste, 'amethyst'; (ametiste *D*, amatisten *G*) P. 589, 18.

amazûr, OF. amaçor amazur almazor, etc., 'Arabian governor'; amazzûr (amahziur *K*) W. 18, 1; (amazzuor *KZ*, amanzur *t*) 21, 12. amazsûr 26, 21. amazûr 28, 16. amazsûr 34, 5, 22. (amassur *K*) 46, 30. amazsûr 54, 19. (amssur *K*) 72, 9, etc.

âmer, OF. ambre, 'ambergris'; W. 62, 16. amber (ammer *t*, amer *p*, ambra *o*) 451, 22; (ammer *g*) P. 789, 29.

amesier, OF. amessure, 'bruise'; -e : schiere (amesiere *D*, amasier *d*, amisiere *EGg*, amisier *gg*) P. 164, 25; 167, 6.

amesiern, verb from the above noun; gamesieret : zequaschieret (gaemsieret *D*, geamisieret *Gg*, gemisieret *g*, gemasciert *g*, geamisiert *g*, gemazieret *d*, gegasieret *g*) P. 88, 17.

amie, OF. amie, 'sweetheart'; : Obîe P. 345, 23; 396, 14. -n : Flôrien 586, 3. -n : philosophien 643, 13. : vîfe 765, 13. : Obîe T. 83, 3. : Gurzgrîe 127, 1. : zwîe (B.) 143, 4. -n : Florien 147, 2. amÿe : Turkânye W. 29, 4. 39, 12. 42, 4, etc. Always in rhyme.

amîs, OF. ami (nom. amis), 'lover'; : prîs P. 133, 10; 200, 7; 264, 10; 278, 8; 291, 22; 396, 16; 613, 1; 682, 13; 711, 18; 731, 3; 778, 2; amîse (dat. case) W. 19, 27. : wîs P. 216, 25; 271, 19; 728, 2; 776, 17; amîse (dat. case) W. 99, 17. bêâs amîs T. 59, 1; W. 101, 27; 164, 28. amîen (dat. case) : Flôrien T. 152, 2. n. r. (dat. case, amise *g*) P. 310, 7.

amor, OF. amor, 'love'; amor was sîn krîe P. 478, 30. W. 24, 5. 25, 14.

âmûrs, OF. amurs, 'loves'; only in the name Condwîrâmûrs.

âmûrschaft, from OF. amur, 'love affair'; : kraft P. 439, 15.

antrodrâgmâ, OF. androdragme, 'some precious stone'; P. 791, 8.

arômât, OF. aromat, 'aromatic plant'; (aromate *K*) W. 451, 22. arômâtâ : dâ P. 789, 27.

âromâten, verb from the above noun; geâromâtet T. 21, 2. W. 462, 27.

âventiur, OF. aventure, 'adventure'; : fiur (-iwer : fiwer *D*) P. 130, 10; 137, 17. n. r. 224, 2; (aventure *G*) 271, 24, etc. aventiure P. 3, 18, 28; 4, 25; 12, 3; 15, 13, etc.

âventiuren, verb from the above noun; alrêrst nu âventiurt (aventiwert *D*) ez sich. P. 249, 4.

âvoy, OF. avoy, exclamation of surprise, etc.; P. 21, 14. 62, 19. 65, 2. 78, 21. (aphoy *G*) 105, 26. (avoi *G*) 168, 7. 206, 24. 235, 8. (avy *G*, awe *g*, owi *d*) 378, 18. (aphoy *G*) 401, 6. 661, 20. W. 394, 6.

B.

balax, OF. *balas*, 'pale ruby'; P. 791, 2.

baneken, MLat. *banicare*, 'to divert oneself'; (panchen *g*) P. 30, 1. *banken* (*banchen D*, *banechen g*, *banichen g*, *banchen g*, *banicken dd*) 32, 26. (*baneken D*, *banechen F*, *banchen G*) 678, 3. *paneken* (*banchen G*) 737, 9. *banken* (*bancken o*, *banchen t*) W. 236, 2; (*panken p*, *paniken m*, *banichen ln*, *wanchen o*) 305, 16.

baniere, OF. *baniere*, 'banner'; : *Gaschiere* P. 31, 19. : *fieri* 61, 27. 72, 17, 81, 12. : *schiere* 196, 25, etc. : *schiere* W. 25, 17. -n : *zieren* 305, 5, etc. *banier* : *fier* P. 59, 7; 64, 24; 79, 3; 106, 3. n. r. 69, 6. W. 16, 10; 22, 7, etc.

barbier, OF. *barbier*, 'chin-piece of hauberk'; : *härsnier* P. 155, 7. *barbiere* : *schiere* 265, 29; 598, 1. (*barbarei o*, *barbane p*) W. 408, 6.

barbigân, OF. *barbecan*, 'bastion in the outer wall of fortification'; : *hân* (*barbegan D allein*) P. 376, 14. : *gâwân* (*barbegan D*) 385, 24. : *getân* (*barbegan D*) 664, 11; 673, 9.

barel, OF. *baril*, 'barrel' (?); : *wastel* P. 622, 9. n. r. (*parel*) 622, 22.

barke, OF. *barc*, 'boat'; -n : *starken* W. 22, 6. : *Tananarke* 409, 20. n. r. *parke* 411, 3. 411, 8. 415, 4. n. r. 416, 6; 438, 14.

barûn, OF. *barun* *baron*, 'baron'; (*Britun Gg*) P. 785, 7. W. 143, 15. : *garzûn* 170, 9. 246, 7. 264, 13. 278, 11. : *sun* 428, 23; 451, 7.

bastart, OF. *bastard*, 'spurious'; ein *samît pastart* (*bastart Gg*, *basthart dgg*) P. 552, 12.

bätschelier, OF. *bachelier*, 'page'; : *mir* (*baetscelier K*, *bätschelir m*, *betschelir z*, *betschilir l*, *batzelir n*, *patscelier t*, *etschlir x*, *eschelir p*, *esckelir o*) W. 290, 24.

bêâ, OF. *biaus*, 'beautiful'; P. *bêâcurs* 39, 25; 187, 22; 283, 8; 323, 1; 324, 1; 327, 19; 333, 24; 720, 16. (*Beahcursen D*) 721, 21; 722, 1, 9, 13. *bêâkunt* 47, 17. *bêâfiz* (*bean fiz Gg*) 113, 4; 140, 6. *Beâfontâne* 125, 16. *bêâ schent* 313, 3. (*beahzent G*) 658, 27. *Bêârosche* 349, 2, 7; 350, 16; 354, 28; 377, 3; 378, 2; 393, 26; 698, 1; 432, 17. *Bêâveis* 380, 27. *bêâ flûrs* 508, 21; 732, 14. *bêâs amis* (*beus D*, *beaus g*) 613, 1; (*bêâmis l*) T. 59, 1. (*besamÿs K*, *beamis op*) W. 101, 27; (*besamys K*, *bevsamys t*) 164, 28. *bêâs sir* (*bea gg*, *bia d*) P. 76, 11.

becken, OF. bacq,¹ 'bowl'; P. 236, 26.

berle, OF. perle, 'pearl'; T. 140, 1.

bien, OF. bien; bien sei venûz (ben Ggg) P. 76, 11. byen sey venûz 351, 7.

bltalt, OF. blialt bliat, etc., in French it means a peculiar garment (see Godefroy, *bliaut*), but in German it is some kind of silkstuff; plfält (blialt *d*) P. 235, 10; (blialt *Gd*, plialt *gg*, pliat *Dgg*) 313, 11. plfält siden (B.) T. 224, 1.

boie, OF. boie, 'fettters, tie'; boye (bôye *D*, boige *G*) P. 56, 20. von boin (pain *K*, boyen *n*, poyen *mop*, poynde *t*) W. 220, 27. boyn *pl*. (boyen *lm*, poyn *op*, pôien *K*, poyen *mt*, boy *z*) 294, 14. boye : Muntschoye 397, 22.

bon, OF. bon, 'good'; bon fiz P. 113, 4; 140, 6. bon âventiure (bona ventura *o*, bona fortuna *p*, von *l*, wan *mn*) W. 109, 4.

bônnt, OF. bonnet, 'cap, hat'; : wît (boit *G*) P. 570, 3.

bovel, OF. poble, 'people'; P. 18, 22. (povel *gg*) 183, 5. (pofel *Gg*) 350, 29. (povel *Gdgg*) 408, 3. gepüfel (gepüfel *D*, gepruovet die übrigen) 454, 16.

buckeram, OF. bouqeran, 'cloth made of goats' wool'; : nam (bucgram *G*, buckram *g*) P. 588, 15; (buchgram *G*, bucgram *g*, bürgeram *g*) 800, 17.

buhurdiern, verb from next noun; (buhurt gar *Gg*) P. 227, 11.

buhurt, OF. bouhourd behourt, etc., 'mass attack in jousts'; P. 242, 5; 623, 5; 624, 19; 665, 4; 777, 16. W. 21, 19; 120, 20; 225, 3; 239, 27; 351, 26; (puhurt *Kp*, puhuert *m*, bihurt *t*) 350, 21.

bukel, OF. bucle boucle, 'boss of the shield'; (buchel *D*) P. 37, 7. 70, 29. 91, 8. 139, 17. buckel 261, 5. buckelrîs 741, 10. buckelhûs 741, 11. buckel W. 125, 11.

buzzel, OF. boucel boussel, etc., 'keg'; (buzel *G*, bussel *g*, bünzel *g*) P. 190, 13.

C, K.

calcidôn, OF. calcidoine, 'chalcedony'; (galcidon *G*) P. 735, 21; 791, 3.

calcofôn, OF. calcofanum chalcophonus, 'some precious stone'; (gazcofon *G*, gazcofon *g*, jascofon *g*) P. 791, 12.

¹Of the same origin as ModF. *baquet*. In Godefroy the form *bacane*? is given: "Cour *bacane* semble vouloir dire: l'assemblée, la cour plénière des verres et des bouteilles." This explanation is the more probable when we consider the German form of the word.

kalopeiz, freely formed from *galop* like OF. buhurdeiz buhurdeis, etc., from buhurt; : Passigweiz (galopeiz *l*, galopeis *p*, galopais *g*) W. 32, 11. : puneiz 118, 5. : sweiz 317, 13. kalopeyz : puneyz 362, 29; 435, 27. galopeiz : puneiz (kalopaeiz *l*, kalopeiz *mno*) W. 333, 24. 372, 14.

kalopieren, from OF. galop 'to galop'; (gewalopiert *G*) P. 37, 15. 286, 26. (galop *Ggg*) 300, 7; 597, 17.

kämbelin, OF. camelin, 'cloth made of wool and silk'; (chambelin *K*, chämbelein *m*, kemmelin *l*, käemelein (-lin *t*) *ot*, kemelin *n*, kemlein *p*) W. 196, 2.

kappe, MLat. cappa, 'mantle with cowl'; (knappe?) P. 313, 7.

kappel, MLat. cappella, 'chapel'; P. 644, 23. in der kappellen (kapeln *t*, chappeln *mt*) W. 278, 7.

kappelân, MLat. cappellanus, 'chaplain'; : man (chapelan *G*) P. 33, 17. : sân 36, 7. : hân 76, 1. n. r. 76, 8. : hân 87, 9. : getân (capelan *d*) 97, 15. : sân 106, 21. : man 196, 16. kapelân W. 89, 4; : man 89, 29.

kapûn, OF. capun, 'capon'; (kapun *D*, chappen *G*) P. 657, 8. W. 134, 12.

karacle, OF. caracte caracte, 'sign, letter'; (karachten *G*, karachtern *g*) P. 470, 24. karakter 453, 15.

cardemôm, OF. cardamome, 'cardamom'; (cardemome *Dddgg*, kardemuome *G*) P. 790, 2. cardamôm (cardamôme *K*, cardemome *m*, kardemuem *n*, kardimum *t*, gardymon *l*, kardamuomen *u*) W. 151, 4.

karrâsche, OF. carroce carros, from Ital. carroccio, 'carriage' (the form *cariage*, prototype of English *carriage*, may account for the *â*); (karrotschen *g*, craschenaere *G*) P. 237, 22. (chraeschen *G*) 240, 13. (karratschen *G*, kartascen *D*, karatschen *ddg*, karrutschen *g*) 809, 20. W. (garrosche *K*, karruschn *t*, charren *mop*) 152, 1. (karratschen *lopt*, karroschen *m*, garroschen *K*) 352, 5. (karratschen *lopt*) 358, 10. (karratschen *p*, karroschen *Km*, karratschen *t*, karrotschen *l*, chrarreten *o*) 360, 25. : ganfassâsche (garrasche *t*, karratse *l*, karassie *op*) 383, 16. (karroschen *km*, karratschen *t*, karrotschen *l*, kartaisen *s*, garren *o*) 398, 27. (karratschen *t*, karrotschen *lo*, karroschen *m*, garrotschen *K*) 404, 14. karrûne (garrune *K*, charren *mnox*, charre *o*, karrotsche *l*, kar-rays *t*) W. 209, 2.

karre, MLat. carra, 'cart'; (karratsch *l*, karrotsche *l*, karrätsch *s*, karracken *t*) W. 315, 29.

casagân, OF. gasygan, 'riding cloak', (chasagan *km*, kassagan *op*, casegan *n*, casygan *l*, kassigân *t*) W. 406, 7; 407, 6.

castâne, OF. castaigne, 'chestnut'; : plâne P. 378, 17. (kastänien *kmt*, kastanie *l*, chesten *m*, chest *o*, keste *p*) W. 88, 26.

kastel, OF. castel, 'castle'; : snel P. 535, 7.

kastelân 'Castilian horse'; : man P. 121, 24. 157, 26. 210, 6. 289, 3. 312, 7. 357, 21. 452, 6. 522, 27. 669, 10. 671, 21. W. 42, 17. 53, 29. 63, 10. 70, 10. 118, 11. 128, 4. 405, 5. Found only in rhyme.

celidon, OF. chelidoine, 'swallowstone'; (gelidon *Gg*) P. 791, 11.

cerâuns, OF. ceraine, Lat. ceraunia, 'a meteorite' (see Godefroy, *ceraine*); (gerauns *Gg*, therauns *d*, theamis *d*) P. 791, 6.

clâret, OF. claret, 'wine made of spices and honey'; : Gahmuret P. 809, 29. n. r. W. 177, 4; 265, 10. 274, 27. 276, 7.

kobern, from OF. cobrer combrer, etc., 'take possession of' (refl. 'collect oneself'); W. 33, 29. 212, 21. 294, 6. 425, 5. 435, 21.

kocke, OF. coque koge, etc., 'battleship'; P. 55, 6. (choche *Gg*) 58, 6, 15. (chuche *G*, choke *D*) 546, 24. (choche *Ggg*) 663, 11; 667, 30. 682, 21. T. (B.) 120, 1. W. 9, 3. 438, 6.

collier, OF. colier, 'neck-piece of a hauberk'; (collir *D*, colier *G*, koller *g*) 739, 4. kollier (coller *l*, gollier *opt*) W. 406, 12. 422, 19.

kolze, OF. calce, 'foot-covering'; -n : stolzen (golzen *G*) P. 683, 17; 705, 12. 802, 19. W. 296, 3.

comûne, OF. commune comune comuigne, 'commune, union'; (commune *ln*, commune *pt*, comun *o*, comuon *m*) W. 113, 13. comûn : Munlêûn (commun *n*, comuon *m*, conmûn *t*, comune *Ko*, commune *p*) 115, 5. comunie : bîe (communye *np*, communie *t*, communei *m*, comuney *o*, conmyne *l*) 117, 19.

condewier, OF. conduire,¹ 'guide, safe-conduct'; : Maliclisier (kundwir *D*) P. 401, 13. condwier : tier 741, 15. condwiere : schiere 821, 28. kundewiers : triviers (gundewiers *kt*, kandeweiz *l*, condiwiern *o*) W. 391, 1.

condewieren, verb from the above noun; : entschumpfiert (gekondiwiert *g*, gegondewiert *G*, gecondwieret *D*) P. 155, 19. condwieren : tjostieren 174, 12; : entschumpfieret 199, 22; turnierte (conduwierte *G*) 495, 22; : floitieren 511, 28; : entschumpfierte (chundewierte *G*) 593, 4; : überparlieret (kondewiert *G*) 696, 18; zimierte (kondew. *G*) 736, 6; n. r. 820, 29. kunde-wierte : punierte W. 367, 10. kondewierde : sunderzierde (gon-

¹ That such a verbal noun may have existed in OF. is proved by the feminine *conduiress* 'conductrice' (see Godefroy).

duwterde *k*, gundiwierde *t*, condiwierd *m*, conduirte *n*, condiwierde *o*) 382, 20.

cons, OF. *cons* cuens cunte conte, 'feudal lord'; leh *cons* Ulterlec (*cuns Ggg*) P. 121, 27. *cons* Lascoyt (very bad readings) 178, 11. *cons* Lîâz 429, 18. *cons* Lascoit 445, 24. *cons* Nârant (*cans d*, *kuns F*, *kuns G*, *küns gg*, *kunz g*) 682, 29. *conz* (*cons K*, *kuns tl*) W. 115, 7.

kuns. leh *kuns* de Muntâne (*kons gg*, *kuns G*, *contz d*, grave *D*) P. 382, 1. *kuns* Richart 665, 7. *kuns* Gwillâms (*kons t*) W. 3, 11. *cuns* Heimrfch (grave *or* graf *all readings*) 5, 16.

kunt. bêâkunt : wunt (*chunt D*, *cunt G*) P. 46, 17. fil li cunt schfolorz (*cûns D*, *cons d*, *chuns g*, *kunt g*, *cunt G*, *chunt g*, *chumt g*) 87, 24.

conterfeit, OF. *contrefait*, 'deception'; : breit (*contrefeit G*) P. 3, 12.

coralls, OF. *coral*, 'coral'; (*corallis d*, *corallus g*, *galralles d*, *gozalis G*) P. 791, 4.

corniol, OF. *corneole*, 'cornelian'; (*gorniol Gg*, *garviol g*) P. 791, 13.

koste, OF. *coste*, 'expense, value'; P. 32, 16. *kost* (*choste D*) 106, 30. 328, 26. W. 3, 21, etc. Very frequent; also *kostebaere*, *kostenlîch*.

kosten, verb from the above noun; W. 66, 10. 202, 28, etc.

kovertiure, OF. *coverture*, 'horse-blanket'; (*choferture G*) P. 14, 16. *covertiur* : fiur (*covertiure* : *flure D*) 145, 21. : *aventiur* (*covertiwer* : *aventiwer D*, *chovirture* : *aventure G*, *covertiure* : *aventure G**) 540, 11. *kovertiure* : *gehiure* 709, 1; c— 736, 19. : *fiur* (*kovertiwer* : *fiwer K*) W. 360, 15. : *stiure* 366, 11. n. r. (*kofertiur K*) 395, 9.

koverunge, OF. *covrance*, 'acquisition, increase'; W. 397, 11. 402, 27. *koberunge* (*chob. K*) 435, 16.

crêatiure, OF. *creature*, 'creature'; P. 283, 3. (*creature D*, *creatur gg*) 466, 18. *Malcrêatiure* : *ungehiure* 517, 16; n. r. 520, 6. *Malcrêatiur* 529, 23. (*creatûre G*, *creature D*) 817, 27. W. 309, 18.

krite, OF. *crie*, 'public proclamation, war-cry'; (*chrte D*, *crige G*) P. 80, 3. 270, 17. : *fle* 284, 13. 339, 9. 357, 6. 379, 27. 382, 29. *krl* (*chrie DG*) 385, 2. 478, 30. 739, 24. W. 39, 11, etc. Very frequent.

krien, verb from the above noun; *gekrlet* (*gechriet K*, *gekriget l*, *gechriet m*, *gekrigt p*, *gechriegt o*, *gekrigen n*) W. 391, 5.

kriſgierre, OF. *criere*, 'the herald who incites the knights to the battle'; (chriſtierre *D*, kroyerre *d*, schiere *d*, kirre *g*, grogiere *g*, chroieraere *g*, kaphare *g*) P. 32, 17. (croieren *Gg*, chriſtiren *D*, kriegern *d*, kroierern *g*, grogiereren *g*) 81, 13.

krtieren, verb from the above noun; : fieren (chryeren *D*, kriegieren *d* = croyieren *Ggg*) P. 68, 19. creieren (creyeren *Kl*, creierin *n*, kraygieren *p*, chriegieren *m*) W. 41, 27. kreiierten (craglerten *Km*, kreierten *l*, kreireten *n*, groyerten *o*, grogierten *p*, krierten *t*, kryerten *z*) 372, 3. creigieren (criegiern *m*, kreyern *l*, kreiren *n*, krieren *t*, kroigieren *p*, groyern *o*) 401, 2.

crisolt, OF. *crisolite*, 'chrysolite'; -e *pl* (chrisolte *D*) : wolte P. 566, 21. 589, 21. 791, 25. krisolte (krisolite *G*) T. 142, 2; W. 60, 7.

crisoprassis, MLat. *chrysoprassus*, 'chrysoprase'; : gewis (chrisoprasis *G*) P. 741, 6. : diadochls (crisopras *g*) 791, 27.

kulter, OF. *coultre*, 'coverlet'; kultr (kulter *Ddgg*, golter *Gg*) P. 24, 4. (kulter *D*, gulter *G*) 82, 27. (kolter *g*, golter *g*, gulter *g*) 229, 30. (gulter *G*) 243, 13. (gulter *G*, golter *g*) 353, 5. (gulter *G*) 501, 7. (gultir *G*) 549, 29. (golter *G*) 552, 13. (gultir *G*) 565, 19. (gulter *G*) 621, 22. (chulter *G*) 627, 30. (chulter *Ggg*) 760, 13, 25. (gulter *G*) 790, 13. 794, 14. (kolter *l*) W. 132, 16. (kolter *l*, gulter *t*, koltern *n*, gölter *p*) 132, 29. (koltern *nz*, kolter *l*, gulter *op*) 244, 14. (kolter *loþz*, gulter *m*) 248, 16.

kumpân, OF. *compainz* *cumpân*, etc., 'companion'; : sâp P. 158, 18.

kumpante, OF. *compaigne*, etc., 'company'; : vrte P. 147, 18. c— : kurtôste (cumponie *G*) 297, 2. n. r. (conpanie *G*) 303, 13; (cunp. *G*) 340, 17.

kunreiz, OF. *conrei* *cunreid* (pl. *cunreiz*) 'feeding'; W. 59, 18.

kunrieren, verb from the above noun—'to prepare'; : parlierten P. 167, 13. n. r. 256, 30.

curs, OF. *cors*,¹ 'body'; Bêâcurs (churs *D*) P. 39, 25. : âmûrs 187, 22; 283, 8. n. r. (cors *D*) 323, 1; (chors *D*) 324, 1. : âmûrs 327, 19; 333, 24. kurs (chors *DG*) 720, 16; (kûrs *G*, churs *G*, curs *D*) 721, 21; (cuors *D*) 721, 29; (curse *D*, chur *G*) 722, 1, 9, 13.

¹I have searched Godefroy and Littré in vain for this word, though Bartsch and Kluge give it. It is the MLat. *cultra*, *calcitra*, It. *coltre* (see Du Cange, *cultra*).

²Bartsch gives *curs* as a Norman form for *cors*; but that is hardly correct. More likely *curs* is a mistaken form from *curs* 'the race.'

kurstt, OF. corset, 'dress worn over the coat of mail'; : samît (kürsît *gg*) P. 14, 25; 36, 28. : wît 145, 23. : strît 211, 9; 259, 7. n. r. 261, 9. : wît (cursît *Gg*) 262, 13, etc. Very frequent.

kurteis, OF. curteis curtois, etc., 'courteous'; : Wâleis P. 327, 16. : Bêaveis (beavoys : kurtoys *Gdg*) 380, 28. -e : reise (korteise *G*) 651, 5; 735, 2. : reis 748, 30. : templeis 792, 22; 797, 14. : reise 801, 26; 821, 20. : reise T. 79, 3. kurteys : ehcurneys W. 45, 10. -e : reise 88, 4; 96, 20. : weise 102, 28. : Bêaveis (kurtoys *knnop*) 411, 18. -e : eise 449, 10.

kurtoys : Franzoys P. 46, 21; 62, 3; 312, 22. : Bertenoys 325, 28. : Logroys (kurteis *G*) 508, 25; 519, 30; 593, 12, etc.

kurtôte, OF. courtoisie, 'courtliness'; (curtose *G*, kurtoyse *gg*) P. 144, 21. (churtoise *Gg*) 284, 11. : cumpânie (curtoysie *Gg*) 297, 1. : drte (kurtoisie *g*, chursoisie *G*) 630, 25.

küsseln, dim. of *küssen*, OF. coussin, 'pillow'; wanküsseln : in (wanchusselin *k*, wang chüsselein *nopx*, wangen kusselin *l*) W. 282, 16.

D.

de, preposition; Terdelaschoye P. 56, 19. gurnemanz de Grâharz (der *Dgg*, von *Gg*) 68, 22; 162, 6. roys de Franze (von Vranchrîhe *D*) 69, 30. rêgîn de Franze (der *Dg*) 76, 13; 88, 3. duc Orilus de Lalander 129, 27. Cunnewâren de Lalant 151, 22; 153, 2; 187, 15. Schoy delakurt 178, 21, etc. Urrepanse de Schoyen T. 10, 4. Schoy de la kurte 41, 4. de Franze 123, 4. duc Ehcunahten de Salvâsch florten 151, 1. conz de Narbôn W. 115, 7. de Franze 330, 20.

diadochts, OF. diadocode, 'some precious stone'; P. 791, 28.

dialetike, OF. dialetique,¹ 'dialectics'; (dialetik *g*, dyaletike *g*, dialetiche *g*, dialetche *G*, dialetice *D*) P. 312, 23.

dictam, OF. dictam ditain, 'dittany'; (dittamme *g*, dittammen *G*) P. 579, 12. : nam (tictam *K*) W. 99, 23.

die, OF. dieu diu, etc., 'God'; die merzis (die marzîs *D*, diu *g*, deu *dgg*) P. 578, 3.

djonistâ, OF. dionysiade dionyse, 'some stone'; P. 791, 10.

drtakeln, verb from OF. triacle, 'to besmear with treacle'; gedriakelt (gedriachelt *G*, getriachet *g*) P. 484, 16.

driantasmê, MLat. triacontasimum, 'kind of silkstuff'; (trianth. *dgg*, dianth. *G*, sarantasme *g*) P. 775, 5.

¹ This form is not given either in Littré or Godefroy, but must be assumed from the parallel *dialetien* for *dialecticien*.

dribok, OF. trebukiet, MLat. trebuccum, 'engine of war'; (*dribock op*, *driboch km*, *dribocke lnt*) W. 111, 9. *dribock* 222, 17.

dubltn, OF. dublain, 'double coat of mail'; : *sln* (*dublein m*, *duplin op*, *tublin l*, *tubelin n*) W. 410, 21.

duc, OF. duc, 'count'; (*duch G*, *durch gg*, *untze* (für *cuns*?) *d*, *der her zoge D*) P. 129, 27; 265, 4. *duc* Astor (*ouch d*, *auch kastur g*, *de chastor G*, *der herzoge D*) 343, 22. (*tuc g*, *der herzoge D*) 354, 18. (*duch Ggg*, *der herzoge D*) 382, 19. 429, 20. (*ouch d*, *der herzoge D*) 623, 24. (*herzog Dag*) 665, 6. (*duch G*) T. 151, 1.

ducisse, OF. duchesse ducoise, etc., 'duchess.' *ducisse ûz* Katelangen (*duzzisse G*) T. 58, 1. (*duzisse G*) 102, 2. *doschesse* : *messe* (*doscesse Dg*, *ducresse g*, *ducesse gg*, *dezesse G*) P. 435, 23.

E.

echites, OF. echite echiste aetites, 'some precious stone'; (*ethites Dg*) P. 791, 14.

ehhurneis, OF. a cort nez, 'with the short nose'; : Franzeis (*ekurnoys l*, *Erzkurnoys*, *accurnoys m*, *akurnois n*, *acornoys p*, *ancurnoys o* : *franzoys lonnopt*) W. 11, 25. *ehcurneys* : *kurteys* (*ekurnoys l*, *accurnoys mp*, *acurnoys no*) 45, 9. 50, 2 (similar readings); 92, 17.

eise, OF. eise, 'ease'; : *weise* P. 167, 10. : *kurteise* W. 449, 10.

ekub, OF. acube aucube, etc., 'small tent'; (*echube t*, *eycub m*, *eykub n*, *ecobe l*, *ekupe op*) W. 197, 11. (*ekuob m*, *erube t*, *ekoube K*, *ekkube l*) 316, 7.

emerâl, OF. amiral emmiré, etc., the same as *admiral*; W. 34, 5. (*emmeral K*) 43, 1. 54, 19. 72, 11. 77, 27. 98, 27. (*erameral l*, *emmeral K*) 107, 7. 256, 5. 339, 17. (*emmeral K*) 372, 11. 417, 29. 434, 27.

enschumpfieren, verb from *schumpfsentüre* (q. v.), 'to put to shame, destroy'; P. 43, 30. *entschumphiert* (*entschumphiert G*) 100, 11. *ensch.* (*entschumfieret G*) 137, 4; (*entscumpfteret D*) 155, 17; (*enschumpfieret D*, *entschumphiert G*) 199, 21; 206, 25, etc. *entschumpfieret* W. 28, 4; 45, 8; 108, 15; 214, 22. *geschumphieret* (*getscumphieret K*, *entschumphieret loptz*) 303, 15.

eskeltr, OF. escler asclier, 'an Arabian dignitary'¹; (*eskelyr mn*,

¹ Under *escler* Godefroy says: "Esclavon, mot devenu synonyme de païen, infidèle," and the examples adduced seem to agree with that definition. But *escler* must have meant also a dignitary; this meaning it has in the example found under *amiral*: "Puis fut il rois amiras et esclers" (Alesch.) So, too, in W. *eskeltr* and *emerâl*.

eskelier *ot*, eschelier *lp*, emeral *K*) W. 28, 16. (escelir *l*, eschelier *op*, eskeher *t*) 34, 22. (eskelier *K*) 72, 9. esklir (eskelier *K*) 98, 26. 107, 6. (eskelier *Klmop*) 207, 14. (eskelier *K*) 256, 1. 258, 13. 288, 29. 339, 17. 366, 27. (eskelier *K*) 372, 10. Essert? (eskelier *opt*) 417, 29. 434, 25. esklir (eskelir *K*) 437, 24; 438, 16.

esklirte, formed from the above—'office of an *eskelir*'; : *vrte* (eskelirte *K*, eskelierey *m*, esckeliereie *o*, eskelarie *t*, eskelie *l*, escheliere *pz*, eskelyren *n*) W. 287, 5.

eysiern, comp. OF. aisier eisier heiser, etc., 'to ease, to comfort'; (aeistern *I*, eysieren *Kl*, ayseren *z*, heysiren *n*, haesieren *o*, hasieren *p*, zieren *l*) 323, 19. geisieret (geistert *K*, geaisert *z*, geserit *n*, gehesieret *lo*, gehasieret *p*) 326, 11.

F, V.

faile, OF. veile, 'veil'; (failen *Dd*, vale *Gg*, vël *g*, vaeile *gg*, pfellel *g*) P. 301, 28. (faile *D*, vaile *d*, feile *g*, vaele *G*, vale *g*, vël *g*) 302, 1.

failieren, verb from OF. faillir, 'to fail'; (falierten *G*, fallierten *gg*) P. 738, 28. (valiert *G*, falieret *d*, falliert *gg*) 754, 17. faylieren W. 87, 25. fâlieren (valieren *G*, failieren *dgg*) P. 211, 17. (val. *g*, fall. *g*, fail. *g*) 465, 24.

fasân, OF. faisân, 'pheasant'; (vashan *g*, phaysan *d*, vasan *G*) P. 287, 1. (vasan *G*, vashan *g*, vasande *g*, fasant *g*) 423, 20. (fashan *m*, vashan *op*) W. 134, 12.

feie, OF. fee, 'fairy'; (feyo *d*) P. 56, 18. von der feien (pheigen *G*, phain *g*, phefen *g*) 96, 20. (pheigen *G*) 400, 9.

feiten, from OF. fait feit, 'to prepare, deck out'; gefeitet : bereitet (gefelt *Dgg*, gepheit *Gg*) P. 45, 21. : bereiten 702, 16.

feitieren, from OF. feiture faiture or faitier(ment), same meaning as above; (gefettirt *D*) P. 18, 4. : zieren W. 247, 3.

fenis, OF. fenis, 'phenix'; (fenix *Gdgg*) 469, 8. (fenix *all*) 469, 11.

venuz. See *bien*.

vesin, OF. vesin, 'neighbor'; mâ vesin (mavisin *t*, mals vesin *n*, mal visin *mp*, malvasin *o*, zorne sin *l*) W. 163, 16.

vesperie, from Lat. vesper, 'exercises on the eve of a tourney'; P. 68, 24. 86, 21. (vespie *G*) 95, 17. vesprte 357, 4. (vesprte *Dg*) 358, 29; 377, 17.

fianze, OF. fiance, 'fidelity, homage'; (phianze *G*) P. 38, 6. 86, 2. 134, 17. 198, 3. 275, 19. 611, 1. 707, 28. W. 87, 3. 105, 1.

fier, OF. fier, 'proud'; (phier *G*) P. 21, 11; 38, 18; 46, 4, etc. Of very frequent occurrence.

fil, OF. *fil*, 'son'; *fil li roy* (*fil li roys Gg*, *Fili roys gg*, *Filluroy D*, *Frue min d*) P. 10, 15, 40, 13. *fil li roi* (*filliroi g*, *filüroy D*, *filyrois Gdg*, *fil lo roys g*) 80, 15, etc.

vilân, OF. *vilain*, 'peasant'; P. 74, 13: *getân* (*villan g*) 143, 11: *missetân* 144, 15: *getân* 257, 23; 524, 1. -e: *Gawâne* 529, 29. n. r. 570, 25.

vnaeger, OF. *vinaigre*, 'vinegar'; (*vineger g*) P. 551, 21. (*vinager K*, *vinagre l*, *ezzich the others*) W. 99, 24.

fintâl, OF. *ventaile*, 'ventail (of a helmet)'; (*fantale d* = *phintaille oder finteile Ggg*) P. 44, 4. *vinteile* (*finteil g*, *phintalie g*, *fataile dg*, *fintale D*, *vintele g*) 256, 9. *finteil* (*finteile g*, *phinteile Gg*, *fantaille dg*, *fintale D*, *vintele g*) 260, 12. *fintâle* (*fintaille g*, *fantale dd*) 575, 19. *finteile* (*fintale km*, *fantasie op*) W. 408, 4.

vintlêse, OF. *ventose*, 'cupping-glass'; (*ventvse l*, *ventosen mnop*) W. 323, 23.

fischieren, from OF. *ficheure*, 'to buckle a girdle'; (*gephischieret EG*) P. 168, 17. (*gefitschiert G*) 232, 28.

fisike, OF. *fisque* *fisike*, 'medicine'¹; (*fisiche g*) P. 481, 15.

fistôn, probably OF. *fisicien*, 'physician'; : *salmôn* (*vision Gd*) P. 453, 25.

fîz, OF. *fîz*; *bon fîz*, *schêr fîz*, *bêâ fîz* P. 113, 4. 140, 6. *Jofreit fîz Idoel* 277, 4; (*vizidol Gg*) 311, 6; 413, 17; (*fîs G*) 761, 8. 293, 12. 429, 18, 20. 445, 24. 682, 29. W. 21, 1. (*fil lv*, *fîs K*) 56, 23.

floitieren, verb from the following noun—'to play on the flute'; *floytieren* P. 63, 8. (*floyt. G*) 511, 27. (*floytieren D*, *floyten dg*) 764, 27. *floytieren* W. 34, 8.

floitierre, OF. *fleutiere fleutierre*, 'player on the flute'; (*floitirre D*, *floitieraere Gg*, *floytere g*) P. 19, 11. *floy*. (*floytier o*, *floitierer p*, *floytiere l*, *floitier t*, *flotiere n*, *flotyer m*, *flöten z*) W. 382, 16.

flôren, verb from OF. *flor*, 'to deck with flowers, etc.'; *geflôrte*: *hôrte* W. 195, 4; (*geflorierten K*) 207, 7; 305, 9; 344, 21. *geflôret*: *vertôret* 352, 13. n. r. (*gefloriert Kmo*) 362, 11; 372, 27. (*geflorierit n*) 382, 18.

flôrt, OF. *flori*, 'pleasant, agreeable, beautiful'²; : *bî* P. 531, 25; 796, 5. *flôrîs* W. 146, 19. (*vlorys K*) 301, 1.

¹ Bartsch wrongly translates it *Naturkunde* (swaz die wîsen arzt' dâ für bejagent mit fisiken lîste an wûrzen).

² Bartsch (and Lexer) gives for *flôrt*: "Blüte, wie *bluome*, *flôr* zur Bezeichnung des Herrlichsten." Since, however, Godefroy gives the adj. with the above meaning, there is no need to assume a noun *flori* which is not found in OF. By referring to the four examples it will be found that the first one gives a good meaning with the adjective, and the other three can be nothing but adjectives (comp. *floris* in Lexer).

flörrieren, other form for *flören*; geflorieret : gezimieret (gefloi-
eret *G*) P. 341, 3. n. r. (gefloierte *g*) 732, 14. : gezimieret W. 76,
19. n. r. (gefloierte *K*) 151, 12. 154, 14. 164, 30. 194, 13. 226, 10.
315, 6. 336, 8. 343, 22. 364, 2. 403, 27.

flörsen, OF. florison?, 'adornment'; (vlorsen *k*, geflorsen *loptz*)
W. 373, 16.

flûrs, OF. flurs; bêâ flûrs : âmûrs P. 508, 21; 732, 14.

föle?, OF. fole, 'foolish'; : Spanöle (Lachmann has Föle) P.
91, 16.

fontâne, OF. fontaine, 'spring'; : plâne (funtanie *G*, funtane *d*)
P. 753, 23; (funtanye *K*) W. 49, 6. : Brahâne 398, 22.

förest, OF. forest foret, 'forest'; (voreis *G*) P. 27, 29; 129, 6.
(voreis *G*, forst *gg*, vorecht *g*) 253, 2. (voreist *G*, forst *dgg*) 271,
8. (voreist *G*) 286, 12. (voreis *G*) 424, 17. föreht : reht 548, 4. :
sleht 601, 10. n. r. (voreht *G*) 736, 27. : reht 737, 9. n. r. (voreist
G) 821, 12. foreist : volleist 176, 4.

forstaere, OF. forestier, 'forester'; : laere (forestere *nw*) W.
389, 28. forehtier : tier P. 592, 10; (forhtier *K*, forestyer *op*,
vorstier *ntz*, forster *l*) W. 379, 25.

franzeis, OF. franzeis franzois, etc., 'French'; this word occurs
very frequently as franzeis franzeys franzois franzoys; franzeis is
more frequent in the rhyme than franzois. franzoysinne 'French
woman': P. 88, 26. T. 99, 2. franzoisinne T. 37, 3. 38, 1.

furrieren, from OF. furrier fourrier or fourriere, 'to line (a
coat)'; (fûrrieren *E*) P. 168, 10. 225, 12. (gefurriet *G*) 301, 29;
313, 11; T. 138, 2. W. 368, 25. 377, 16. (gefûrriert *K*) 443, 20.

G.

gabilöt, OF. gavelot?, 'javelin'; (gabylot *D*) P. 120, 2. gaby-
lot 120, 16; 124, 13; 128, 12. 133, 24, etc.

gagates, OF. gagates, 'some precious stone'; P. 791, 15.

gâlander, OF. calandre, 'calander'; P. 544, 14. 550, 29. 551,
15. 622, 8.

galreide, OF. ?, 'jelly'; (kalrait *m*, galrede *p*) W. 134, 13.

gâmâne, MLat. camaynus cammaeus, 'cameo'; (gamane *mn*,
gamanie *t*, gamânye *K*, gamaneye *l*, gemainen *op*) W. 16, 12.
(gemane *op*, gemange *l*, gaman *t*) 401, 8.

garnasch, OF. garnache, 'upper garment without sleeves';
(garnatsch *g*, garnache *G*, garnasce *d*, garnetsche *g*, karnascen
D) P. 588, 17.

garzûn, OF. garçun, 'page'; P. 18, 23. 62, 17, 27. 72, 2. 81, 16. (*garzuon D*) 132, 6. 283, 25, etc., W. 131, 27. 170, 10. 192, 5. 232, 25.

gênit, OF. genet, 'black horse'; : samît (*jenit g*, *gennit g*, *timit Gg*) P. 778, 20.

glaevîn, OF. glaeve glave, 'lance'; : în (*glevin D*, *clavin Ggg*) P. 231, 18. n. r. (*gleven D*, *glavei g*, *gleve d*, *clavine G*) 232, 3. : *sîdîn* (*glavin G*) 443, 24. n. r. *glâvine* (*glevenie gg*) 505, 5. *glaevîne* : *pîne* (*clavine G*) 531, 7. : *vîlzelîn* (*glavîn G**, *clavin G*) 537, 5.

goufe, OF. coife, 'headdress'; : *koufe* (*gouffe p*, *gôyfe K*, *coufe n*, *schouf*, *chnouff*, etc.) W. 92, 12.

grâl, OF. gral, 'Grail'; P. 235, 23, 26, 27. 236, 1, etc.

gramerzîs, OF. grant merci, 'many thanks'; (*gramaerzys D*, *grant merzis Gg*) 357, 8.

grânât, OF. granate, 'garnet'; *grânât jachant* P. 233, 20. 589, 20. T. 142, 2. W. 188, 26.

grânât, OF. grenate, 'pomegranate'; P. 508, 11.

grêde, OF. gret gred, 'steps, staircase'; : *bêde* P. 794, 8; 806, 12. n. r. 816, 21. : *bêde* W. 139, 21.

grêden, verb from the above noun—'to provide with a staircase'; P. 186, 16. 589, 3.

gugel, MLat. cuculla, 'head-covering, cowl'; (*kugel g*, *kogel d*, *gugelen D*, *gugelin* (ein) *g*, *chugelen G*, *kugeln g*) P. 127, 6.

gügerel, from the above noun—'head-covering of a horse'; : *snel* (*gugrel D*) P. 145, 20.

gultrel, OF. goutteron?, 'vase'; (*putrel m*, *barel z*, *kuterolfe l*, etc.) W. 326, 17.

H.

hâberjoel, OF. habereau, 'some male garment'; (*habriol K*, *huberol l*, *huberiol t*, *huoverschol m*, *huberschol n*) W. 356, 7.

hâmit, OF. hamede hamete, 'intrenchment, fortification'; : *strît* P. 114, 27; 172, 21. n. r. 813, 22.

hardeiz, OF. hardeiz, 'torment, vexation'; : *Marschibeiz* (*hardeyz n*, *hardiez K*, *hardier tv*, *hardir l*, *hârdier m*, *hurdiere op*) W. 56, 25.

hardieren, from OF. hardier, 'to annoy, attack'; (*haerdierte D*, *barrierte g*, *parrierte Gg*) P. 665, 23. (*geherdieret m*, *gehurdiert op*, *gehurtieret lx*) W. 90, 27. (*hardiert lt*, *hârdiert m*, *hardierte Kn*, *hartiert x*, *hurdiert op*) 114, 6. (*gehârd. m*, *gehart. x*,

gehurd. *nop*, gehurt. *l*) 190, 7. (gehärd. *m*, gepart. *l*, gehurd. *op*) 205, 28. (herd. *m*, hurd. *op*, hurt. *l*) 282, 10. (hard. *lz*, härd. *m*, hurd. *op*) 334, 27. (haerd. *Km*, hurd. *op*) 435, 26.

harnasch, OF. harnas, 'harness, equipment'; P. 7, 27. 36, 9, etc. Very frequent. harnas : was (harnasc *D*, harnasch *die übrigen*) 18, 3; 27, 15, etc.

häsche, OF. hache, 'ax'; dat. case (hascent *D*, hachen *G*, hatschen *gg*, ackesen *g*) P. 183, 17. hâtschen (hakken *o*, matschen *l*, hartschen *l*, hakchen *m*) W. 60, 1. (hasten *o*, hatschen *pl*, tartschen *l*) 358, 9.

heistieren, from OF. haster, 'to hasten'; (gehaistiert *G*) P. 592, 28. 778, 26. (geiostieret *t*, gehurtieret *l*, gehurd. *op*) 200, 27. (geleistieret *p*, gelaizieret *o*) W. 439, 11.

hurt, OF. hourt hourd, 'attack in the tourney'; P. 65, 4. 68, 11, etc. Very frequent.

hurteclich, adjective formed from the above noun—'proper for the *hurt*, attacking with the *hurt*'; (hurtchlich *G*) P. 60, 24. 245, 12. 325, 23. 507, 6. (huorttechl. *F*, hurtchl. *G*) 679, 26; 680, 11. (hurtchlich *Gg*) 812, 15. T. 8, 2. 16, 3. 35, 4. (B.) 81, 4. W. 348, 19, etc. hurtlich (hurtchlich *G*) P. 36, 13.

hurten, verb from the above noun—'to attack in the tourney'; P. 80, 6. 139, 17. (gehuret *G*) 148, 21. 400, 21. W. 25, 12. 26, 1, etc. hurtâ (imp. of hurten) P. 597, 25. (nuta *G*) 673, 10. W. 54, 9. 77, 22, etc.

hurtieren, same as *hurten*; zerhurtieren 'to injure in a *hurt*' P. 702, 19; 802, 14. gehurtieret : gezimieret (gehurdiert *nop*) W. 24, 16.

J.

jachant, OF. jacint, 'hyacinth, a kind of ruby'; (iochant *Ggg*) P. 233, 20. (jochant *mp*, jechant *t*) W. 188, 26. jacinctus P. 791, 17.

jeroffel, OF. girofle, 'clove'; (ierofel *Gd*) P. 790, 2.

jope, OF. juppe jupe, 'tunic'; (ioppen *op*, scopen *m*, kobsen *K*) W. 356, 7.

jument, OF. jument, 'mare'; (iumentum *op*) W. 395, 7.

*juven poy*s, OF. jovene bois, 'young forest'; (corrupt readings) P. 271, 9; 286, 26.

L.

la, OF. article; Kyôt la schantiure P. 416, 21. la surziere 439, 1. Fantân la salvâtsche 452, 13; 456, 2. la surziere 579, 24; 780, 11; 784, 2; 821, 16. Schoy de la Kurte T. 41, 4.

lampride, OF. lamproie,¹ 'lamprey'; (lantpriden *Gg*, lantfriden *d*) P. 491, 16. W. 134, 13.

lampriure, OF. l'emperëur, 'emperor'; : gehiure (lampruore *D*, lanpriure *G*) P. 712, 9. : âventiure (lampartewer *m*) W. 91, 28. : ungehiure (lamprure *K*, lemperture *n*) 272, 14.

lanze, OF. lance, 'lance'; P. 38, 5. 134, 18. 183, 13. W. 105, 2. 114, 30, etc.

lâsâr, OF. l'azur, 'lapis lazuli'; (lasâr *D*) P. 313, 5.

lâsâren, verb from the above noun—'to paint azure'; gelâsârten (gelasowerten *m*, gelaswerden *K*, galazuren *l*, guet salme *o*) W. 99, 23.

lâtân, ?²; : sun P. 551, 20.

leh, OF. article; lech *Ggg*, lah *D*, la *d*) leh cons P. 121, 27; (lech *G*, la *d*) 382, 1.

leischieren, from OF. laissur leisir,³ etc., 'to give the reins to the horse'; (geleisiert *g*, geloisieret *G*) P. 121, 13. (leiscierte *Dd*, leisierte *Ggg*, lesierte *g*) 611, 9. (leiscieren *D*, laschieren *d*, loysieren *FG*, leisieren *gg*, lesieren *g*) 678, 11. (leiscierende *D*, lasierende *d*, lesierende *g*, leisierten *Ggg*) 738, 25.

lekerle, OF. lecherie, 'sensuality'; W. 193, 25.

li, OF. article; fil li roy P. 10, 15; 40, 13; 80, 15, etc.

lign aloê, OF. lignaloe lingaloel, etc., 'aloes-wood'; (lingaloe *G*, lignum (lingnum) aloë *agg*) P. 230, 11. (ligna loe *G*, lingn aloê *g*) 484, 17. (ling aloê *D*, lingaloe *G*) 790, 7. (lingalwe *G*) 808, 13. (ligen *m*, lingn *K*, ling *t*, lignum *nx*, lingnum *o*) W. 69, 12. (lingnaloê *K*, ling aloë *m*, lignalowé *n*, ligalve *t*, lingnum aloë *op*) 375, 24; 379, 25. (lignum *op*) 444, 15.

ligârius, OF. ligure, 'some precious stone'; P. 791, 15.

lipparêlâ, OF. liparea, 'some precious stone'; (limpparea *G*) P. 791, 24.

lît, OF. lit lict, etc., 'bed'; lît marveile (lit marvale *D*, let *Gg*, lot marnaile *d*, etc.) P. 557, 7. (let *Gg*, lecte *g*, lot *d*, marvale *Dg*) 561, 22. (let *Gdg*, lecte *g*, marvale *Dg*, marvaele (*so* *scheints*) *G*)

¹ Kluge derives the word directly from Latin; but it has not the same meaning as in Latin, and Lexer's derivation from MLat. is therefore preferable.

² Lexer and Bartsch think it is the Latin *lactuca*. Is it not rather misspelled for *legun*, *leun* 'herbs'? That would exactly agree with the meaning of the passage.

³ Modern French *loisir* from Latin *licere*, and not, as Lexer and Bartsch have it, from *laissier*. The latter never has the meaning of 'giving the reins,' whereas a *leisir*, a *leisor*, etc., means 'à son aise' (Godefroy, *loisir*, *loisier*).

566, 16. (leit *g*, liht *g*, let *d*, lete *G*, lecte *g*) 598, 26. (liht *g*, leit *g*, let *G*, lecte *g*) 605, 25. (lit marvale *Km*) W. 403, 21.

loschiern, from OF. logier loigier, 'to harbor, to lodge'; (ge-lotsch. *Ggg*, geloiisiert *g*) P. 350, 22. (geleisierten *Gg*, geloiisierten *g*) 676, 28. (loysiern *Ggg*, leisieren *Fg*) 681, 15. (leisiern *G*, loysieren *gg*) 753, 4. (geloiisiert *Ggg*) 755, 12. (lûtschierte *l*, loyschierte *Kt*, loysierte *n*, laisierte *op*, . . schierte *g*) W. 97, 23. (lotsch. *z*, loytsch. *K*, loyst. *t*, loysirten *n*, lays. *op*) 234, 1. (lotsch. *z*, loysc. *K*, loysch. *t*, loyziren *n*) 237, 3.

M.

mâ, OF. mal, 'bad.' See *vesin*.

mahinante, OF. mainant,¹ 'residents, members of the household'; : sarjante (. de, mahinante *D*, machinande *g*, mahenande *Gg*, machenande *g*, machemant *d*) P. 646, 30; 662, 27; (machinante *dd*, mahenande *Ggg*) 794, 4; (machnande *t*, mahenant *m*, other readings corrupt) W. 185, 15.

vermaldit, from OF. maldit, 'accursed'; (vermaldiete *G*, vermaledieten *d*, ver maledite *g*, verfluhte *gg*) P. 526, 11.

mange, OF. mangan, 'engine of war'; W. 111, 9.

markis, OF. marchis, 'marquis'; W. 50, 23. (markys *I*) 104, 1. 110, 11. 117, 23. 118, 24, etc. Very frequent.

marnaere, OF. marnier, 'mariner'; P. 19, 15; 55, 3; 58, 24; T. (B.) 145, 2. marnaer (marnier *I*, marnaere *K*) W. 339, 22; (marnaere *Kt*, mernere *n*, morner *l*) 411, 8. marnaere 438, 18.

marveil. See *lît*, *terre*, *schastel*.

massenie, OF. masnie masnide maisnie mesnie, etc., 'household, retinue'; P. 27, 25. (massenide *D*) 147, 28. (messenie *G*) 179, 9. (massenide *D*) 199, 5, etc. Very frequent. mässente (mass. *Gg*) 65, 13. (messnie *G*) 144, 14, etc. messente 13, 12. messnfe (massinide *D*) 216, 13. (massenide *D*) 315, 19. massent (massnide *K*) W. 363, 25.

mat, OF. mat, '(check)mate'; (maht *D*) P. 41, 16. 115, 6. 275, 28. 347, 30.

matraz, OF. materas, 'mattress'; : saz P. 353, 5; 683, 13. n. r. matraze (matraz *dgg*) 760, 11; 760, 15. : paz 790, 17. : haz W. 100, 10. : saz 132, 29; 353, 21; 356, 2.

¹ Bartsch says: "eine andere Form zu *massenie* . . . *h* steht für *s*"; but that does not explain the ending *ant*; *mainant* is, however, a word of frequent occurrence, and the *h* is merely adventitious, and probably due to analogy with *mahnfe*, *massenie*.



melochites, OF. melochites, 'malachite'; P. 791, 28.

menen, from OF. mener, 'to conduct, to drive'; P. 55, 16. 90, 9. 241, 20. W. 352, 9. 360, 24. 437, 23.

merzis. See *gramerzis*, *die*.

môraz, OF. moret (nom. morez) 'mulberry wine'¹; P. 239, 1. 244, 13. 423, 17. 452, 19. 809, 29. (maraz *no*) W. 177, 5. (maraz *m*, marate *n*, mete *loptz*) 274, 27. (maraz *mo*) 276, 7. (maraz *m*) 448, 7.

mort, OF. mort, 'dead'; W. 10, 20.

movieren, from OF. mover, 'to move'; (m̃vieren *G*) P. 678, 12. 305, 15.

muntâne, OF. montaigne, 'mountain'; (muntanie *G*) P. 71, 18. (muntanige *G*, montanie *gg*) 261, 28. leh kuns de Muntâne (de montange *g*, emontane *gg*, emuntange *G*, von der m. *D*) 382, 1. (montanie *Gdg*) 382, 24. (muntanie *d*, montanie *Gg*, montane *gg*) 742, 4. W. 36, 18. montâne (montanie *Kt*) 70, 13. (muntanie *K*, montange *t*) 84, 14. 377, 22. 436, 4.

mursel, OF. morsel, 'dainty piece (of food)'; P. 551, 5.

muscat, OF. muscat, 'nutmeg'; P. 790, 2.

müzzel, OF. muscel?², 'musk'; (müzzel *D*, müssel *Gdg*, müsél *d*, muscel *g*) P. 789, 27. (m̃vzzel *K*, muzzel *m*, mussel *l*, muskel *t*, monzari *o*, mozari *p*) W. 451, 21.

N.

nigrômanzt, OF. nigromance, 'necromancy'; (nigram. *gg*) P. 453, 17. 617, 12.

nole, OF. note, 'chant, song'; reisenote P. 63, 9.

O.

ohteiz, OF. osteis, exclamation, something like 'lo!'; (otheis *g*) P. 325, 4. ahteiz 330, 25.

P.

palas, OF. palais, 'palace'; P. 16, 22. 23, 15. 27, 16, etc. Very frequent.

¹ But not necessarily so. "Bertier faisoit taverne d'un breuvage fait de miel et d'eau que l'on appelle *mord*" (Godefroy).

² This form is not given in Godefroy, but the adj. *muscelin* presupposes the noun: "Huile muscellin . . . est un huile composé de plusieurs drogues, entre lesquelles est le musc, qui luy donne le nom." This explanation is perhaps to be preferred to Bartsch's derivation.

palmat, MLat. *palmacium*, 'kind of silkstuff'; P. 552, 17. 683, 12. (*balmat D*) 760, 14; 790, 17. W. 100, 10. (*balmat K*) 353, 21. 406, 9. (*balmat K*) 422, 19.

pansen, from OF. *panser penser*, 'to think'; W. 65, 1.

pârât, OF. *barat*, 'confusion, noise'¹; P. 341, 17.

pardris, OF. *perdris*, 'partridge'; (*perdris g*) P. 423, 20. (*pardyum l*, *pardreis m*, *partris n*, *partereis op*) W. 134, 14. *pardrî-sektî* (dim. of *pardris*) (*parelin g*, *rephuonlin G*) 131, 28.

pareliure, OF. *parlier*, 'eloquent speaker, advocate'²; (*parelure DGg*, *pavelûre d*, *parlûre gg*) P. 465, 21.

parlieren, verb from the above noun—'to speak'; P. 167, 14. *überparlieren* 696, 17.

parrieren, from OF. *parier*, 'to compare with, to adorn'³; P. 1, 4. 201, 25. 281, 22. (*geparriet G*) 326, 7. 458, 9. *underparrieren* 639, 18. (*barriet l*, *parliert ?*) W. 247, 27. (*parieren pz*, *partyren n*) 326, 20. (*geparriet K*, *gebarrit l*) 443, 22.

partieren, verb from the following noun—'to cheat'; P. 296, 29.

partierre, OF. *baretierre baretiere barateor*, etc., 'cheat, deceiver'; (*paratierre g*, *partiere d*, *partieraere Ggg*, *partirer g*) P. 297, 9.

passâsche, OF. *passage*, 'ford, travel'; (*passascên D*, *passashen GGg*, *passas g*, *passanen d*) P. 535, 1. (*passaschen g*, *passascen Dd*, *passasse g*, *passahe G*, *passaie g*) 592, 29. 721, 26.

patelierre, OF. *batalier*, 'warrior, skirmisher'; (*pateliere g*, *patelirre Ddgg*, *putelirre G*, *pateliraere g*) P. 183, 7. (*patelirre Klpt*, *paselirre n*) W. 223, 10.

pelliz, OF. *pelice*, 'fur coat'; (*bellitz g*, *belz Gdgg*) P. 231, 5.

pelzeltî, dim. of the above noun; (*belcelin K*, *belzlin l*, *belzekin l*) W. 84, 23, 26.

pfasch, OF. *pas*, 'narrow road'; : *parnasch* (*pfnasch p*) W. 439, 10.

pfelle, OF. *palle pele*, etc., 'rich silkstuff from Alexandria in Egypt,' etc.; (*phelle G*) P. 228, 8; *pfell* (*pfelle DG*) 235, 11; 270,

¹ Bartsch translates the word in this passage: "Wechsel, Tausch: Handel und die zu verhandelnden Waaren," but that makes no sense, and departs far from the meaning of *barat*.

² Bartsch and Lexer give for the origin of the word *parlor*, which, however, means 'parlor'; the earliest quotation for *parleur* in Littré is of the 15th century; *partier* is very frequent in the above sense, and the form *pareliure* is probably due to confusion with *parlure* 'conversation.' Cf. *schantiure*.

³ In this sense it represents *parer* rather than *parier*.

12; 316, 13, etc. Very frequent. phelle 11, 17; 39, 19. phellel (phelle *G*) 71, 27. pfellel (phelle *Gdgg*) 243, 3; (phelle *Ggg*) 261, 7; (phelle *GGgg*) 540, 10. (phelle *G*) 552, 15; (phele *G*, pfelle *G*) 721, 16; (phelle *Gg*) 808, 5.

pfeleraere, MLat. petraria,¹ 'engine of war'; : phaere (phetraere *G*) P. 197, 24. : waere (pheterer *m*, pfedelere *ln*, phaedelaere *t*) W. 111, 11.

pflûm, OF. flum, 'river'; : rûm (pfluom *D*, flûm *die übrigen*) P. 655, 7; 438, 12.

pflûmit, MLat. plumatium, 'feather cushion'; (pfumit *G*, plumit *d*, blumit *g*) P. 552, 9; (plûmit *D*, phumit *G*, plumit *ddgg*) 794, 13. (plumit *ln*, phlûmeit *m*, pulmit *t*) W. 132, 16. (pflumeit *o*, pflûmit *p*, pflumeit *m*, plumit *l*, pulmit *t*, plumete *n*) 132, 29. phlûmît (plumit *lnl*, phlemeit *m*) 244, 12; (phloumeit *m*) 244, 14. (phloumeit *m*) 248, 15. (phlumit *l*, phloumeit *m*, plumit *nl*, blumit *l*) 323, 29. plumît (pfluomît *D*) P. 627, 28; (phumit *G*) 760, 24.

piel, OF. pied, 'foot.' See *ad*.

pigment, OF. pigment, '(wine made of honey and) spices'; P. 789, 26. W. 62, 16. (picment *l*, pikment *op*, piciant *x*, pigmande ?) 276, 6.

pigmenten, verb from the above noun—'prepare with spices'; (gebigmentet *K*, gepigment *m*, pingment *l*, pigment *nto*, pitiment *p*) W. 177, 4.

pîtil mangeiz, OF. petit mangier,² 'slight meal'; : enbeiz (manseiz *l*, mangelz *K*, mansheiz *t*, manschaiz *m*, manzeiz *n*, mansweiz *l*) W. 103, 24.

plân, OF. plan plaigne, etc., 'plain, field'; P. 30, 27. 61, 16. 67, 21. 69, 10. 118, 12, 20, etc. Very frequent. plâne (plan *Ggg*) 59, 25. (planege *G*) 74, 7, etc.

plate, OF. plate, 'metal plate'; : state (blate *Dgg*) P. 261, 26.

pôsfûz, OF. bosu bofuz, 'some kind of cloth or silk'; : strûz (pofuoz *Kl*, pohfuz *t*, posus *o*, bosus *x*) W. 364, 27. : ûz (pohvuz *t*, posus *oz*) 367, 27.

pouinder, OF. poindre, 'attack, length of space in which an attack takes place'; (poindr *D*, ponder *G*, so *meistens*) P. 65, 3. 67, 3. 68, 11. poynder 69, 2. pônder 69, 11. poynder 69, 19, etc. Very frequent. poynderkeit 'celerity of attack'; (poyndecheit *K*, pondercheit *lmoph*) W. 32, 19.

¹ Comp. OF. *petereus* (Godefroy).

² The ending *eis* is probably in analogy with *hardcis*, *puncis*, *kalopeis*, etc. Compare, however, Godefroy, *mengies*, *megnies* (under *mangier*).

porte, OF. porte, 'gate'; (borte *G*) P. 20, 12. (borte *G*) 30, 3, 18, etc. Very frequent.

portenaere, formed from the above noun—'gate-keeper'; (bor-tenare *G*) P. 652, 27.

portenoyz, ?¹, 'gate-keeper'; : franzoys W. 332, 8.

poultun, OF. pavillon paveillon, 'tent'; (poulun *immer nur D*, pavelun *G*) P. 59, 25; 62, 19. (bavelun *G*) 65, 16. 77, 27, etc. Very frequent.

prasem, OF. prasme,² 'a precious stone'; (parsm *G*) P. 791, 9.

prèsent, OF. present, 'gift'; P. 785, 20; 786, 27. T. (B.) 158, 4. prîsent (present *Ggg*) P. 77, 6. 210, 10. (present *Ggg*) 375, 13.

presse, OF. presse, 'press, crowd'; W. 391, 20.

pris, OF. pris, 'praise, worth'; (bris *G meistens*) P. 2, 28. 3, 7, 24, etc. Very frequent. unprîs P. 321, 8, etc. prîslich 'praiseworthy, excellent'; P. 266, 30.

prîsen, verb from the above noun—'to praise'; P. 38, 4. 57, 30. 412, 30, etc. volprîsen T. 70, 2.

prîstn, OF. bresil³; : sîn (brîsin *G*) P. 601, 12.

prîstn, OF. prîsun, 'prison'; : Bertûn P. 429, 7. : garzûn W. 192, 6. n. r. (brîsun *K*) 299, 3. 457, 29.

prûeven, from OF. prover, 'to prove, to judge, etc.'; (pruoven *D*, bruoven *G*) P. 3, 21, 26. (pruovet *G*) 7, 23. 14, 21, etc. Very frequent.

puneiz, OF. pogneiz poigneis pounis, etc., 'rush against the enemy, combat'; : weiz (pôneiz *G*, pungeiz *g*) P. 812, 11. (poneiz *G*) T. 81, 4. : kalopeiz W. 118, 6. Thesereiz (buneiz *K*) 214, 26. : weiz 320, 18, etc. Very frequent. pungeiz : Tesereiz (punaiz *mnopt*) W. 36, 11. : Ehmereiz 366, 24.

punieren, verb from the following noun—'to attack'; (pungieren *g*) P. 73, 4. 300, 8. (pungierte *g*, pungnierte *G*) 387, 9. 738, 27. T. 86, 2. W. 34, 8. (pvngieren *I*) 334, 28. 367, 9. 395, 14. 420, 20. pungieren (punierten *mn*) W. 35, 2; (gepuniert *mnoþ*) 90, 28. gepunschieret *Km*, gepunieret *nþ*) 190, 8; 372, 4.

punfûr, OF. pugneur poignier, etc., 'combattant'; : sâr (pumur *z*, pungiur *l*, punsur *n*, punschûr *K*, punschower *m*, puntschuer

¹ Probably *porte* + *tenir*, to rhyme with *franzoys*.

² Lexer and Bartsch give wrongly MLat. *prasius* as the origin.

³ "*prîstn*, eine nicht zu bestimmende Baumart: wahrscheinlich prov. *bresil*," Bartsch. But why *prov.*? In Littré *bresil* is given; the form *berzi* and *beris* for the 13th century make *prîstn* possible, and the example: "Li barillier puecent fere baris de fuz de *tamarie* et de *bresil*" by the side of "*tâmrîs* unt *prîstn*" in Wolfram makes the etymology certain.

op, pontur *t*) W. 310, 21. : ûr (pvniûr *I*, puniur *lt*, punnûr *K*, pumur *z*, punsur *n*, punschoyer *m*, puntschewer *p*) 335, 10. : sûr (puniur *t*, ponschûr *K*, pungur *l*, puonschower *m*, punsur *n*, puntschur *o*, pontschuer *p*) 346, 9. n. r. (puniur *l*, puniurre *t*, puntschûr *K*, puntschur *op*, punschower *m*) 358, 27; (puniur *z*, puniurre *t*, pungur *l*, punzur *n*, puntschur *op*, puntschûr *K*, punschower *m*) 368, 7.

puntestât, OF. podestad poestet, etc., 'force'; : râ (pontestat *n*, potestat *lop*) W. 85, 18. : hât (potestat *n*, ponders stat *o*, an der stat *p*) 361, 24.

puover, OF. povre poure, 'poor'; puover schêtis (povir *n*, poyer *t*, arme *o*) W. 242, 9. pôver schêtis (bover *l*, pouver *n*, bower *op*) 401, 15.

pûsche, OF. pousse poulse, 'impetuosity'; (puosche *Km*, phusche *l*, pfusche *n*, puche *op*) W. 187, 14.

pusine, OF. bussine, 'trumpet'; : schînen P. 63, 2. (busine *d* = busunen *g*, busunaer *Ggg*) 627, 19. (busin *g*, busunen *Fg*, bâsune *G*) 681, 25. pusîn (businen *I*, pûsinen *K*, busun *l*, puseinen *m*, bosynen *n*, pusaun *o*, pusunen *p*, pusine *t*, pusaunn *x*, bussin *z*) W. 316, 17. 360, 8. (busine *t*, busune *ln*, pasoune *op*) 360, 11. (busine *Kz*, pusine *t*, pusune *l*, posoun *m*, bosyne *n*, pusoune *o*, busune *p*) 382, 13. 390, 28. 400, 19. 403, 15. 427, 2.

pusinen, verb from the above noun—'sound the trumpet'; (businen *alle ausser D*) 764, 26.

pusûner, formed from pusûne, 'trumpeter'; (busuner *d*, busunaere *Gg*, bosuner *g*, pusonr *D*) P. 19, 7. (pusonerr *D*, busunare *Ggg*, busune *dgg*) 379, 11. (pusonrr *D*, pumur *d*, busunar *Ggg*, busunr *g*, busunier *g*, busune *g*) 379, 15. pusûnaere (busunare *Gdgg*) 567, 21.

Q.

zequaschieren, verb from following noun—'to wound, to bruise'; (zerquatschieret *G*) P. 88, 18. (zerquatschiuret *G*) 569, 22.

quaschiure, OF. quassure quachure, etc., 'bruise, contusion'; (quaschûre *D*, coaschûre *d* = quatschiure *Ggg*) P. 75, 10. (quatschiure *Ggg*) 88, 14. (quatschuren *E*, quatschiuren *g*) 164, 24. (quatschiure *G immer*, quatsure *d*) 577, 22. (quetsure *d*) 578, 11. quaschiur (quatschiure *Gg*, quasiuren *d*, quasciuren *oder* quatschiuren *die übrigen*) 579, 20. quatschiure (quaschewr *m*, quaschewer *o*) W. 390, 23.

quater, OF. quatre, 'four points (in dice)'; (quattr *D*) 179, 11.

quitt, OF. quite, 'free'; P. 531, 23. W. 186, 10. 212, 12. 368, 3. 453, 25. 459, 3. Always in rhyme.

R.

rabbīne, OF. rabine ravine, 'gallop'; rabbīn : schīn (rabin *alle ausser D*) P. 37, 23; 60, 24. 174, 26. 211, 4. (rabine *G*) 245, 12. 262, 23. rabbīn (rabine *DG*) 295, 12. (rabine *G*) 444, 14. (rabyne *lo*, rabine *pt*, rabbīn *K*) W. 24, 8. rabīne 32, 19; 77, 3; (rabbīnen?) 87, 23; 118, 7. rabbīn (rabine *K*, rabb. *mn*) 362, 30. rabbīn (rabine *Klt*) 404, 13.

rasūnen, from OF. rassener, 'to collect, bring together'; (rasuonten *sih K*, scharten *sich I*) W. 323, 11.

ravīt, OF. arabi,¹ '(Arabian) war-horse'; P. 400, 4. 620, 29. W. 128, 17. 132, 2. 365, 27.

ribalt, OF. ribalt, 'vagabond, rascal'; ribbalt : scheneschalt (ribalt *Ggg*) P. 296, 18. ribalde : alde 341, 26. : ungezalt 360, 25. 314, 24.

ribbaltn, OF. revelin, 'shoe of undressed leather'; (ribalin *Ggg*) P. 127, 8; 133, 24; 156, 25. (ribalin *G*) 157, 8. (ribalin *DE*) 164, 6.

rivier, OF. riviere, 'country along a river, river'; P. 118, 12. W. 40, 23. 41, 28.

roch, OF. roc, 'rook (in chess)'; : doch (rok *G*) P. 408, 29.

roin, OF. roīne reīne, 'queen'; (kunegin *Ddg*) P. 301, 19. rêgīn (= roin *g*, roīne *gg*, raoine *g*, roy *G*) 76, 13; (= rein *g*, royn *gg*, roy *Ggg*) 88, 3.

rois, OF. roi, nom. rois, 'king'; roy (roys *Gggg*) P. 10, 15; (rois *Gg*, roys *ddgg*) 40, 13. roys 65, 30. (roy *Gg*) 69, 29, etc. Very frequent.

rotte, OF. rote, musical instrument; (rote *G*) P. 143, 26.

rotte, OF. rotte, 'troop'; (rote *G*) P. 48, 28. (rote *G immer*) 49, 4. 72, 19, etc. Very frequent. rottenmeister W. 296, 28.

rottieren, verb from the above noun²—'to arrange in troops'; (rotierte *G*) P. 669, 1. (gerotieret *K*) W. 313, 13. 333, 2. 352, 19.

rottumbes, OF. retumbe, 'round clay vessel, musical instrument'; (rotte tumbes *t*, rotumbumbes *op*) W. 360, 5. rottumbes 382, 15.

¹So Lexer and Bartsch give it; but I see no reason why OF. *ravit rabit* 'furious' could not be the origin of the word; *arabit* is not given in Godefroy.

²Or more probably from the adjective *rotier*.

rott. (rotumbes *mst*, rotumbs *K*, rotumbumbes *op*) 400, 17. rot. (rotumbs *K*, rottumbel *t*, rotumbumbes *op*) 403, 17; 407, 22.

royâm, OF. roïame, 'kingdom'; (roian *g*) P. 251, 3.

rubîn, MLat. rubinus, 'ruby'; P. 3, 17. 24, 12. 63, 16, etc. Very frequent.

runzit, OF. runcin roncîn, 'jade, mare'; P. 256, 24. 342, 15. 520, 7. 522, 14. 529, 25. 536, 25. 545, 13. 647, 2. 687, 23. 779, 3. runcit W. 187, 24. 196, 18. 305, 17.

S.

saddâ, OF. sadde, 'sardonyx'; P. 791, 9.

safer, OF. safre, 'tinsel'; (sapher *G*, saffir *ddg*, saphir *g*, sapheir *g*) P. 3, 14.

salliure, OF. saleüre, 'saltiness, sarcasm'; (saliure *g*, tsalûre *G*) P. 531, 19.

salse, OF. salce, 'sauce'; salsse (*salse G*) P. 238, 27. 551, 2. W. 44, 13. 134, 10.

salvei, MLat. salvia, 'sage'; (salvai *Kmo*) W. 326, 21.

samit, OF. samit, 'some silkstuff', 'samite'; P. 11, 19. 24, 4. 36, 27, etc. Very frequent.

samlieren, from OF. sampler, 'to collect together'; (gesambeliert *G*, gesamenet *g*, gesamt *g*) P. 270, 18. samelieren W. 45, 7; 362, 2; 367, 18; 397, 27; 427, 6.

sarapandratest, OF. serpent + teste, 'snake's head'; (serp. *Gg*) P. 50, 5. (serap. *G*, sherp. *g*) 68, 8.

sardîn, OF. sardine sardoine, 'sardonyx'; P. 85, 2. (sardine *Ggg*) 566, 22. sardîne (sardin *Gg*) 589, 22.

sarjant, OF. serjant sargant, etc., 'house servant, page'; sarjande (scariande *D*) P. 183, 11. (sargant *g*, scariant *D immer*) 210, 14. 214, 21, etc., W. 18, 13. (scariand *m*) 116, 25, etc. Very frequent.

schâch, OF. eschac eschec, etc., 'chess'; schâchzabelgesteine P. 408, 20. schâchzabel (schahtzabel *G*) 408, 26.

schahteliur, from OF. chastel, 'castellan'; li schahteliur de Bêaveys (tschatelurre *Ggg*, tschahtelurre *g*, sach de lurre *g*, burcgrave *Ddg*) (tschatalur *G*, tschatelur *gg*) P. 378, 21. (schahtellure *K*, tschahtelur *z*, tschahtelure *t*, schastelure *l*, thaschtelior *l*, purcgraf *mnop*) W. 335, 13. (schahtellûr *K*, scatelewer *m*, schahtelur *o*, tschachtelûr *pz*, tchatelur *t*, tschasteluor *l*, thaschtelior *l*, zastelur *n*) 336, 1. (schahtellur *K*, thaschtetiûr) 337, 3. (tschahtelur *t*, burcgrave die übrigen) 365, 1. (schahtalur *K*) 367, 8.

schantiure, OF. chanteur,¹ 'singer'; Kyôt la schantiure (lascantiure *Dd*, latschanture *G*, latschantur *g*) P. 416, 21.

schanze, OF. chance cheance, 'chance, throw of dice'; (tschanze *G*) P. 2, 13; 13, 5; 60, 21; 88, 4; (scanze *D*) 150, 20; 272, 18. 320, 2. (tschanze *Ggg*) 747, 18. W. 87, 20. 110, 5. 368, 14, 17. 415, 16. tschanze (tschansze *G*) P. 494, 3.

schapel, OF. chapel, 'wreath of flowers,' 'chaplet'; (tschapel *G*) P. 232, 16; 234, 11. (scapel *D*, schappel *dgg*, tschapel *g*, tschappel *G*) 426, 28. 426, 30. (tschapel *G*) 776, 7.

scharlachen, OF. escarlatte, 'wool cloth of any color'; P. 168, 5, 9. scharlach (scharlachen *npt*, scharlach *Gg*, sharlat *g*) 232, 26. W. 63, 22. (scharlach *mop*) 63, 25.

schastel, OF. chastel, 'castle'; Schastel marveil (scastel *D*, schathal *d*, tschahtel *gg*, tschater *Gg*, kastle *g*, marveil *g*, marvail *d*, marveile *g*, marfeile *Gg*, marvale *D*, maerval *g*) P. 318, 19; — marveille (scastel *D*, schahtel *d*, tschatel *g*, tschater *G*, tschah-
tez *g*, kastel *g*) 334, 7; (scastel *D*, tschastel *g*, tschahtel *g*, thsastel *g*, scahel *d*, tschatel *g*) 557, 9. (scastel *D*, kastel *dgg*, tschatel *G*, tschahtel *g*) 610, 11, etc. schahtelakunt *schahtel* + *cunt*; (schachtelakunt *D*, schahtelkint *d* = tschahtelakunt *g*, tschatelacunt *G*) P. 43, 19. schahtelacunt (schachtelacunt *D*, tschahtelakunt *g*, tschatelacunt *G*, scatelacunt *gg*) 52, 15.

scheneschant, OF. seneschal,² 'seneschal'; scheneschlant : Lalent (sine tschalant *g*, sinetschant *g*, thsenethsant *g*, scenescalt *D*, senschalt *G*, tschinet schalt *g*, zehant *g*) P. 151, 21; (sciniscant *d*, senetzant *g*, smetschant *g*, scenescalt *D*, seneschalt *G*, sineshalt *g*, schinneschalt *g*) 153, 1; (scenesclant *D*, senetsachant *g*, sciniscant *d*, schineschant *g*, schinschalt *G*, sineschalt *g*) 194, 15, etc. scheneschalt : walt (scenesclant *D*, sinschalt *G*, sinetschalt *gg*) 290, 23. schenesclalt : gevalt (sineschalt *G*) 295, 17. : ribbalt (sinschalt *G*) 296, 17. : walt (sinschalt *G*) 304, 17.

schent, OF. gent, 'people.' See *bêâschent*.

scher, OF. chier cher, 'dear'; scher flz (scer *D*, tschier *Ggg*) P. 113, 4; (tschier *G*, schere *g*, schera *g*, tschir *g*, chier *g*) 140, 6.

schêlts, OF. chetif, nom. chetis, 'caitiff'; : prîs (tshettis *t*, tschetis *z*, boverschyti *l*) W. 241, 16; (cetis *K*, schetis *mop*, tshettis *t*) 242, 9. n. r. (cetis *Km*, tschetis *z*, tshettis *t*) 243, 1; (scetiss *K*) 244, 19; (sceptiss *K*) 263, 18, etc.

¹The ending *iure* due to confusion with the feminine abstract ending *ure*, hence the feminine gender. Cf. *schahteliur*, *pareliure*, *tjostiure*.

²Bartsch thinks that the ending is due to a wrong reading of *senescans* (n for u).

schinnelier, OF. genoillier, armor covering the knee; (scinnetter *D*, schinilier *d* = tschillier *gg*, tschilier *G*, schillier *gg*) P. 155, 23. (tschillier *Ggg*) 157, 23. schillier (scillier *D*, tschillier *gg*, tschilier *G*, schinnelier *d*) 261, 18.

schoie, OF. joie, 'joy'; (ioie *D*, tschoye *G*) P. 217, 10. Repanse de schoye (schoye *Dd* = tschoye *g*, tschoy *g*) 228, 14, etc. joye (= tschoie *g*, schoye *g*, schouge *G*) 610, 20.

schumpfenture, OF. desconforture desconfiture, 'rout, destruction'; (tschunfenture *G*) P. 21, 25. (scumphentiwr *D*, tschumphenture *G*) 146, 10; 205, 27. (entschunfenture *G*, in tschumphentiwr *gg*, an scumpfentiwr *D*) 212, 22. Very frequent.

schürbrant, MLat. scurum? +?, 'some kind of cloth'; (scurbrant *D*, ü *ggg*) P. 588, 19.

sei, OF. sei, 'be.' See *bien*.

seitiez, OF. saitie, nom. saities, 'small fast warship'; seytiez P. 668, 1; 686, 17. 826, 17.

sentine, OF. sentaine sentine, 'hold,' 'lower part of a ship'; : sîne W. 414, 25. : sîn 415, 9.

serpant, OF. serpent, 'serpent'; : hant (serphant *G*) P. 276, 10.

sinôpel, OF. sinople, 'red or green color'¹; (siropel *Ggg*, siropl *g*) P. 239, 1. (= siropel *gg*, sirophel *G*) 809, 29. (scinopel *K*, schinopel *m*, syropel *loptxz*, syroppel *n*) W. 276, 6. (syropel *lmopt*) 448, 7.

sir, OF. sire, 'sir'; bêas sir (sûr *d*) P. 76, 11.

slavente, OF. esclavine, 'garment of coarse cloth'; (slavine *g*) P. 449, 7.

soldier, OF. soldier, 'soldier'; P. 21, 12. 25, 13, 22, etc. Very frequent.

soldierse, OF. soldeiere, 'prostitute'; P. 341, 24.

soldiment, OF. soldoiment, 'wages'; : present (soldem. *Gg*) P. 77, 5. : Trevrizzent (soldment *g*, soldement *G*) 493, 10. soldemente : presente T. (B.) 158, 3.

solt, OF. solde, 'wages'; P. 14, 10. 17, 21. 37, 8, etc. Very frequent.

spânôl, OF. espanol espagnol, 'Spaniard'; (Spangol *G*, spaniol *ggg*) P. 39, 15. (spangol *G*) 91, 15.

stanthart, OF. estandard, 'standard'; (zarckant *o*, sariant *p*) W. 368, 7.

¹ In MHG. it is the name of some wine, probably made of some fruit-juice, as the form *siropel*, which is found in most manuscripts, would indicate.

stivål, OF. estival, 'boot'; (stifal *g*, stivale *D*, stifol *G*, stivel *g*, stiffel *d*) P. 63, 15. (stivåle *D*, stifal *g*, stivel *g*, stifelen *d*) 588, 21.

stiven, from OF. estive, 'to play a kind of flute'; P. 764, 27.

storje, OF. estorie estoire, 'crowd, tumult, armament'; (storie *d*, storl *D*, sturie *Gg*, stiur *Fg*, strite *G*, stosse *g*) P. 684, 16. (storie *g*, storien *G*, stoiren *g*, stiuren *g*, sturierin *G*, rore *d*, rotte *D*) 690, 17. (storle *D*, sturie *Ggg*, stör *d*, storien *g*) 705, 2. W. 20, 8. 22, 13, etc. Very frequent.

sukni, OF. sògenie, 'garment of the common people'; (suknei, *g*, sukenle *D*, suggenie *gg*, rok *Gg*, mantel *d*) P. 145, 1.

surköt, OF. surcot, 'upper dress'; P. 145, 1. 570, 3. W. 196, 2. 296, 6.

surzengel, OF. sourcengle, 'upper girdle'; (surzingel *gg*) P. 257, 6. (sur zingel *g*) 295, 26.

surziere, OF. sorciere, 'sorceress'; (surzier *alle ausser D*) P. 312, 27. 319, 1. surzier (surzir *gg*, surziere *Dd*, surtziere *g*) 319, 14. 439, 1. 442, 15. 579, 24. 780, 11. 784, 2. surzier 821, 16.

T.

talfin, OF. dalphin, 'dauphin'; T. 92, 2. 94, 2. 126, 1. 127, 2. (B.) 144, 1. 135, 2. (B.) 207, 1; 233, 2.

talfinette, formed from the above word—'wife (daughter?) of a dauphin'; (talftalte *I*, talfinete *G*) T. 126, 3.

tambûr, OF. tambor, 'tabor'; P. 19, 9. 63, 5. W. 12, 29. 29, 22. 40, 3. (tambuor *K*) 187, 25. 225, 14.

tambûren, verb from the above noun—'to play on the tabor'; P. 511, 26. (tambuoren *D*) 764, 27. W. 34, 6.

tamburr, OF. tamburer, 'one who strikes the tabor'; (tamburre *g*, tambuorer *g*, tambur *Gd*) P. 19, 8. (tambuor *D*, thambur *d*, tambur *G*, tamburre *g*, tambure *gg*) 379, 14.

tämris, OF. tamarie, 'tamarisc'; (tempris *g*, tempreis *g*, ten pris *G*, tampris *g*) P. 601, 12.

tanz, OF. dance, 'dance'; P. 242, 5. 639, 10, 11. (tantz *Fgg*) 639, 17. 640, 3, 11. 641, 1. W. 128, 19.

tanzen, verb from the above noun—'to dance'; P. 511, 26. 512, 30. 639, 16.

tärkis, OF. tarcois, 'quiver'; (taerkis *I*) W. 321, 20. (taerkis *t*, tarkis *Kp*, terkys *l*, terkeis *m*, rerkis *n*, taerkeis *v*) 357, 2.

tavelrunder, OF. table ronde, 'Round Table'; (tavelrunde *Ddgg*) P. 284, 21. (tafelrunde *D*) 380, 11. (tavelunrunder *G*, tavelrunden *Dd*) 652, 8, 10, etc. Very frequent.

tavelrunderaere, formed from the above noun—'member of the Round Table'; (*tavelrundaere alle ausser D*) P. 652, 13.

taverne, OF. *taverne*, 'tavern'; W. 44, 12. (*tavern Km*, *tabernen tz*, *taberne p*, *trowern o*) 326, 10.

tehtier, OF. *testiere*, 'head-covering (of a horse)'; (*testier lnp*, *testir t*, *tyostier o*) W. 412, 24.

temperie, from OF. *temperer*, 'proper mixture'; (*temprle D*, *temperi Fd*, *tempre G*) P. 643, 23. (*temprle DG*) 680, 26. W. 420, 2.

templeis, imitation of OF. formation, 'knight templar'; (*tepeleis G*) P. 444, 23; 468, 28. *templeys* 702, 24, etc.

tepitch, OF. *tapis*, Prov. *tapit*, 'tapestry'; (*tepech G*) P. 69, 10. *teppech* (*tepech G*) 82, 29. *tepch* (*tepech G*, *tepitch gg*, *teppich d*, *teppiche D*) 83, 29, etc.

terre, OF. *terre*, 'country'; P. 685, 22. 753, 4.

tjost, OF. *joste*, 'joust'; P. 25, 30. 27, 30. 37, 25. 38, 21. (*tiostr D*) 38, 28, etc. Very frequent.

tjostieren, verb from the following noun—'to attack in the joust'; (*tiustiren D*, *tiostiern G*) P. 15, 29. (*tiŭstiren D*) 23, 9. (*tiostfren D*) 32, 3. (*tiustieren D*) 36, 10, etc. Very frequent.

tjostiure, OF. *josteor*,¹ 'combattant in the joust'; (*tiostiure G*) P. 38, 19. *tjostiur* (*tiostiure D*, *tiosture Gg*, *tyostier g*, *justier d*, *tiostiern gg*) 174, 19. (*tiostiure G*, *tyostiern gg*) 496, 14. (*tiostur G*) T. 162, 2. (*thiosture K*) W. 26, 11. (*thiostiŭre I*, *tyostür z*, *tyosteur mp*, *tiustür K*, *tiostiure k*, *schustuore I*, *tyostier o*, *tyostire n*) 335, 12. (*tyosteur mp*, *tiostiure Klt*, *zu sture n*, *tyostier o*) 351, 25. 362, 3. 379, 15. *tiostiur* (*tiostfure KI*) 412, 3.

topel, OF. *doublet*,² 'game of dice'; P. 115, 19. *topelspil* 289, 24. W. 427, 26.

topeln, verb from the above noun—'make a lucky throw'; (*getopelt Ggg*, *getupelt g*) P. 248, 11. *ertoppeln* W. 368, 15. (*topeln mnoplx*) 415, 17.

treif, OF. *tref*, 'tent' or 'hut'; (*trufe t*) W. 197, 10. (*trefse I*, *treus o*, *trevirs p*, *treib n*, *triels ten I*, *treisten t*) 316, 7.

treimunt, OF. *dromon*, 'fast warship'; (*troyamunde mn*, *try-münde x*, *tremunde t*, *tragem. I*, *tragam. op*) W. 9, 2. (*troyam. n*, *tragem. op*, *tragen munden I*, *tramungen t*) 197, 29. *tragemunt*

¹ Cf. *schantiure*.

² So given by Lexer and Bartsch, but I can find nothing approaching the German meaning in O.French.

W. 431, 28. *tragamuont* (tragemunt *mnt*, tragmunt *los*) 438, 6. *tragamunt* 440, 29. 443, 14.

tremuntane, OF. *tresmontaine*, 'Polar star'; (*trimuntane D*, *trehm. gg*) P. 715, 17.

treviers, OF. *trevers*, 'from the side'; *triviers* (*treviers Ggg*) P. 812, 12. (*trevers KI*) W. 87, 4. (*trevirs K*, *terviers o*, *trevris t*, *triviers n*, *trivirs l*) 88, 17. *triviers* (*treviers pt*, *triviez l*, *teniern o*) 391, 2.

trippânierse, OF. *troppendiere*, 'prostitute?'; *trippenierse P*. 341, 23.

tropel, OF. *tropel*, 'band, army'; (*troppel gg*) P. 68, 26. T. (B.) 220, 4. W. 57, 9. 407, 19.

trunzûn, OF. *truncun*, 'broken piece of a spear, splinter'; (*drumzel g*) P. 106, 17. 175, 2. 262, 18. (*drunzun G*) 304, 23. 480, 7. 665, 17. (*drumzûn K*, *trumsun o*, *druom czuon p*, *strunt zun l*, *trutzen z*) W. 269, 23. (*trumzune K*, *drumczune p*, *ttrunzen t*, *drumsel o*) 351, 24. (*trumzûn K*, *trunzit l*, *drumczun p*, *drümer o*) 362, 25. (*drumzun K*, *drunzun t*, *drumczunen p*, *truntzen z*, *drümer o*) 379, 13. (*drunzun K*, *drunzen l*, *trunzunne t*) 429, 23.

tubieren, from OF. *adouber*, 'to deck out'; (*getuppiert l*, *getupiert u*, *getuppiert t*, *getoubiert m*, *lab gezieret op*) W. 155, 3. (*gezimiert*, etc., the others) 431, 15.

tumbrel, OF. *tumberel*, 'downfall'; (*tumerel l*, *tumbel z*) W. 373, 23.

turkopol, OF. *turcople*, 'light-armed soldier'; (*turchopel Ggg*, *durkopele g*) P. 351, 12. (*turcopol G*, *turkoppel g*, *türchopel g*) 386, 9. (*tuorchopel G*) 631, 20. W. 18, 17. 170, 19. 185, 1. (*torkople n*) 304, 26. 350, 27. 375, 7.

*turkoy*s, OF. *turquois*, 'turkoy'; P. 741, 6.

turnei, OF. *tournei*, 'tourney'; *turney P*. 60, 11. 79, 11. 81, 8. *turney* 95, 14, etc.

turnieren, verb from the above noun—'to take part in the tourney'; P. 80, 27. 86, 22. 96, 29. 222, 22. 495, 21. 772, 24. 812, 9.

U.

ulter, OF. *ultre*, 'beyond'; *ultre juven poys (ultr D)* P. 286, 26.

ussier, OF. *ussier wissier*, 'boat'; (*vesier G*, *ursier g*) P. 596, 10. (*ursier g*, *urfier G*) 621, 12. (*visier G*) 663, 12; 667, 30. *urssier* (*üssier m*, *ussier onp*, *ussir l*, *gelein x*) W. 9, 3. (*ursier t*, *örser l*, *üssier mop*, *wisir n*, *hussier x*) 9, 24; (*ürsier m*, *usser n*, *uzier lop*) 438, 6.

W.

walap, OF. *walop*, 'galop'; P. 37, 23. 173, 30. 211, 3. 262, 2. 295, 10. 444, 12.

wastel, OF. *wastel gastel*, 'cake'¹; P. 423, 21. 551, 6. 622, 10. (*wâstel K*, *pastel l*, *wasten t*) W. 136, 6.

Z.

zimierde, OF. *cimier*, 'adornment'; (*zimier g*) P. 164, 21. *zimierd* (*zimierde Dd* = *zimier das Ggg*) 319, 25. (*zimere G*) 357, 19. 447, 3. 598, 10, etc. Very frequent.

zimieren, verb from the above noun—'to adorn'; P. 36, 22. 39, 17. 65, 1. 70, 26, etc. Very frequent.

zindâl, OF. *cendal*, 'a kind of taffeta'; (*zendal Ggg*) P. 19, 1; 59, 6; 64, 30. (*zendal Gg*) 301, 29. (*zendal G*) 377, 30. 549, 30. 579, 13. (*zendal lmot*) W. 16, 6. *zendâl* 96, 17.

zingel, OF. *cengle*, 'girth, outer fortifications'; P. 376, 11, 13. 378, 29. 382, 10. 386, 13. 664, 11. (*zingen g*, *rigeln t*, *zinnen die op*) W. 94, 20. (*zinnen op*, *rigeln t*) 97, 9.

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¹ Körtling gives with Diez F. *gâteau* from MHG. *wastel*, but evidently the reverse is true. In all but the last case *wastel* rhymes with French oxytones (*Kyngrimursel*, *mursel*, *barel*); this would not happen if it were a German word.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Progress in Language, with special reference to English. By OTTO JESPERSEN, Ph. Dr., Professor of English in the University of Copenhagen. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894. Pp. xii, 370. \$1.90.

The work whose title is given above is interesting to the student of language, but cannot be called either *bahnbrechend* or *epochmachend*. The author may be denominated "a free lance in the field of philology," who sets himself to tilt against the views of the recognized masters in the science of language, and to overthrow what have been heretofore regarded as well-established positions in that science. The work, however, is unsystematic, and might have been divided into two, one of which would embrace chapters I-V, with which chapter IX should go as an appendix, and the other, chapters VI-VIII, the former treating of language in general, and the latter of specific points in English grammar. This may be seen from the titles of the several chapters as given below: I. Introduction; II. Ancient and Modern Languages; III. Primitive Grammar; IV. The History of Chinese and of Word-Order; V. The Development of Language; VI. English Case-Systems, Old and Modern; VII. Case-Shiftings in the Pronouns; VIII. The English Group-Genitive; IX. Origin of Language. The author tells us that the work "is to a certain extent an English translation of my *Studier over Engelske Casus*," with omissions and additions. The three chapters on English grammar are given "as specimens of the manner in which I hope, by-and-by, to treat the most important points in the development of English grammar; a few more chapters of the same description are nearly ready, dealing chiefly with the relations between adjectives and nouns (or first parts of compounds) and those between nouns and verbs." We are glad to hear this, for we regard these chapters as the most useful and practical part of the book, and if the author will continue his work and cover the whole ground, he will deserve the thanks of all students of English.

The Introduction gives the author's point of view, and we shall endeavor to present a brief résumé of it. The opening sentence shows the connection of English with the general subject: "No language is better suited than English to the purposes of the student who wishes, by means of historical investigation, to form an independent opinion on the life and development of language in general." While this is very true, it is doubtful whether it will lead to the general conclusions as to the science of language that the author has deduced.

Friederich Müller is quoted as to "the distinguishing traits of the languages of the Arian [I should prefer *Aryan*] type," and the question is asked, "Is modern English superior or inferior to primitive Arian?" The author thinks that the answer cannot be doubtful, but that it is "the exact opposite of what

an older generation of linguists would have given as their verdict"; and he proceeds to controvert this verdict as represented by the views of August Schleicher, whom he styles "the spiritual father of every comparative philologist of our own times"; for his ideas "form the basis alike of Max Müller's brilliant paradoxes and of Whitney's sober reasonings." As illustrating Schleicher's views the author takes up the well-known morphological classification of languages as *isolating*, *agglutinating* and *flexional*, which Schleicher regarded as representing "three stages of linguistic development," and discusses it at considerable length. Now, while Schleicher did not originate this classification, for it has been attributed to Pott, after Wilhelm von Humboldt, and to August Wilhelm Schlegel, he accepted it, and so have later philologists done. Max Müller's views will be found in his Lectures, First Series, Lect. VIII, p. 286 (Amer. ed. of 1870), and Whitney's, in his 'Language, etc.,' Lect. X, p. 360, and he adds: "No better scheme of division, of a simple and comprehensive character, has been devised than this, and it is likely to maintain itself long in use. It faithfully represents, in the main, three successive stages in the history of language, three ascending grades of linguistic development."

George Curtius, too (whose lectures on Comparative Grammar the writer had the pleasure of attending some years ago) adopted this classification, but both Schleicher and Curtius held that there is no historical proof that inflectional languages ever were agglutinative or isolating, or that agglutinative languages ever were isolating; that these are not three stages of the same language, but three distinct forms of development as seen in *existing* languages. Hovelacque, however, goes a step further and says that "all linguistic systems have passed through this monosyllabic period"; but he adds that "it must, doubtless, be removed back to extremely remote prehistoric ages, and in all probability it succeeded itself to a still more primitive period during which the roots were formed by the cohesion of the simple phonetic elements" (Science of Language, Amer. ed., pp. 32, 33). Pezzi, too, well summarizes these views without dissent (Introduction à l'étude de la science du langage, French ed., pp. 121-2). Pezzi calls these stages "trois périodes de formation par lesquelles toutes les langues *doivent* passer pour atteindre les formes les plus riches, les plus synthétiques et les plus artistiques." This coincides with Schleicher's view, who regards the movement of languages in historical times as tending "only downhill," "nothing but retrogression and decay," and this feeling Jespersen regards as "but a grammar-school admiration, a Renaissance love of the two classical languages and their literatures." It is this view that he sets himself to combat, and he argues that the forms of the modern languages show progress rather than decay. But if we regard "the practical interests of the speaking (or talking) community," the only test of the comparative merits of languages—he thinks with Wilhelm von Humboldt—is that "that language ranks highest which goes farthest in the art of accomplishing much with little means, or, in other words, which is able to express the greatest amount of meanings with the simplest mechanism" (p. 13). He supports this view with quotations from Rask, Madvig, Grimm, Kräuter, Osthoff, and E. Tegnér, who says: "so far from being more perfect than both the other groups, the flexional languages are radically inferior to them because they impede liberty of

thought." But "as the great majority of living linguists are in many respects still in the toils of Schleicher's system," the author proceeds to emancipate them through the four chapters following, beginning with the comparison of ancient and modern languages, based on a preference for English *had* over Gothic *habaidtdeima*. Now, all English-speaking people will readily concede that *to them* the absence of inflections is a great advantage, but whether the Goth experienced any more difficulty in the expression of his thoughts by means of the various inflections of *habaida* than the Englishman by means of the simple *had* for all persons and numbers—leaving out of view the second person singular, which still holds on with an incorrigible persistence—may well be doubted.

It seems to me that two things are confused in this method of argument—form and utility. Every classical scholar will hold that the fuller inflections of the older Aryan languages show greater perfection of form *per se* than the simpler inflections of the modern languages, but he will not deny that the latter are equally as useful in the expression of thought. It is simply a question of words whether we regard the reduction of longer to shorter forms as retrogression or progression. In the case of English we know historically that this simplicity of forms has resulted from the wearing away of terminations and the contraction of roots, and if this is not "phonetic decay," what is it? Modern English is the result of centuries of change acting upon the fuller forms of a thousand years ago, and so with other modern Aryan languages. But suppose we compare Chinese and Greek, for example. Will the author hold that the former is in any respect equal to the latter in the expression of varying shades of thought and feeling? (See chapter IV.)

The author is much enamored with the word-order of the modern languages, and asks, "What is the direction of change in languages *as they actually exist*? and secondly, Is this or is it not a direction towards progress?" From the preceding argument he naturally answers the latter question in the affirmative, and considers that "The substitution of word-order for flexions means a victory of spiritual over material agencies" (p. 111). This may well be doubted. The material agency in Latin, for example, aided the spiritual, and it may well be argued that "*Arma virumque cano*" is superior from many points of view to "I sing of arms and the hero."

We have not space to follow the author's argument in detail. It is summed up in the opening sentence of chapter V on "the development of language": "languages seem to be on the whole constantly progressive, not only with regard to the development of their vocabulary, where nobody ever denied it, but also in grammar, where philologists of the old school were able to see only decay and retrogression." This chapter is devoted to an onslaught on the morphological theory itself, and the conclusion is reached (p. 121) that "the old theory which imagined the prehistoric development of Arian speech from roots through agglutination to flexion is untenable." But many holders of the morphological theory do not agree with Hovelacque that "all linguistic systems have passed through this monosyllabic period." They simply use this classification as a convenient designation of an actual state of things, and do not imagine that our Aryan ancestors "talked in roots." The author well says that "if, in historic times, we find definite and comprehensive laws of



evolution, we cannot help assuming the same laws as valid for prehistoric times as well." The direction of change is from the "longer, more complicated, more concrete, and more irregular" forms, to the "shorter, fewer, simpler, more abstract, and more regular." "We seem, therefore, justified in believing that the pre-Arian languages spoken in a remote past by our ancestors were still more complicated than the oldest languages we are now acquainted with"; and as "on every point our investigation has led us to scepticism with regard to the system of the old school of philology," we finally reach the conclusion, *contra* Schleicher, which the author prints in small capitals: "The evolution of language shows a progressive tendency from inseparable irregular conglomerations to freely and regularly combinable short elements." He does not think that his "theory of the progressive tendency and direction of language has been expounded before by any one"; he finds the nearest approach to it in Prof. Sayce's works, and acknowledges the great influence they have had upon him, but Sayce "is in some very important points as much warped by prejudices as most other philologists." For example, he says, "the history of the noun is one of continuous decay," whereas, according to Jespersen, it is all progress; there is no decay. Jespersen rightly thinks that, if his theory is true, "it must also throw some light on that vexed question, the origin of language"; and logically the chapter on that subject should come in just here, but he interrupts the discussion to interject three chapters on special points of English grammar. We shall not follow this arrangement, but skip to the last chapter.

After briefly summarizing and discarding the older theories, the author proceeds to "look out for new methods and new ways," and suggests two, "one of these has its starting-point in the language of children," and the other is "to trace our modern nineteenth-century languages as far back in time as history and our materials will allow us; and then . . . to deduce definite laws for the development of languages in general, and to try and find a system of lines which can be lengthened backwards beyond the reach of history." The subject is treated in three sections—*sounds*, *grammar* and *vocabulary*.

As to *sounds*, "we observe everywhere the tendency to make pronunciation more easy, so as to lessen the muscular effort"; also, "we find a gradual disappearance of differences of musical accent (or pitch)"; and, as to sentence-melody, "the speech of uncivilised and primitive man was more passionately agitated than ours, more like music or song"; and lastly, "linguistic evolution seems constantly to display a tendency to shorten words"; so Jespersen arrives at the conclusion, *contra* Max Müller and Whitney, having no fear of the latter's "bull of excommunication," as he calls it, that "we must imagine primitive language as consisting (chiefly at least) of very long words, containing many difficult sounds, and sung rather than spoken."

As to *grammar*, reasoning back from the modern analytic tendency, we do not reach *synthesis*, for that implies putting together elements that had an independent existence, and this Jespersen denies, but we reach entanglement or complication: "primitive linguistic units must have been much more complicated in point of meaning, as well as much longer in point of sound." Also, "primitive language no doubt had a superabundance of irregularities and anomalies, in syntax and word-formation not less than in accidence."

Finally, as to *vocabulary*, "the old words spoke more immediately to the senses; they were manifestly more suggestive, more graphic, more pictorial," hence "we see a close relationship between primitive words and poetry"; metaphor, too, "played a more prominent part in old times than now." The speech of modern savages abounds "in similes and all kinds of figurative phrases and allegorical expressions"; "poetic language is older than prosaic language." These being the characteristics of primitive language, the author concludes that it "had no great store of ideas, and if we consider it as an instrument for expressing thoughts, it was unwieldy and ineffectual." Emotions and instincts caused language: hunger and love produced germs of speech; it is useless to discuss which was the more powerful, but the author decides in favor of the latter. He agrees with Madvig and Whitney that communication of thought was the end of language, but says that they leave the impression that "these 'first framers of speech' were sedate, alderman-like citizens," and, according to Madvig, "women had no share in the creating of language." Now, according to the author's method of reasoning from the known to the unknown, one would naturally suppose that women had the largest share in the evolution of primitive speech, especially too as he agrees with Darwin that "the effort to charm the other sex" was the leading motive in this evolution. "Language," says he, "was born in the courting-days of mankind: the first utterance of speech I fancy to myself like something between the nightly love-lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious love-songs of the nightingale" (p. 357). "Men sang out their feelings long before they were able to speak their thoughts. But they did not originally sing in order to communicate their ideas or feelings; in fact they had not the slightest notion that such a thing was possible" (p. 360). As primitive picture-writing developed into alphabetic writing, so with language. The conclusion is reached that "language began with half-musical unanalysed expressions for individual beings and events" (p. 365), and, while at first a clumsy and insufficient instrument, it gradually progressed in its evolution. Certainly many aeons must have been required.

I have thus endeavored to summarize, as fully as is consistent with a brief notice, the author's view as to the origin of language and his views as to the development of language in general. As to the former question, we must confess to being agnostics all, and while the author's theory is an interesting and ingenious speculation, we cannot concede that it has advanced the solution of the problem. As to the latter question, *on the author's method of reasoning* we get back to an inevitable *synthesis*, no matter how much he may dislike the word, and the logical conclusion is that language sprang into existence ready made, as Minerva from the brain of Jove, the whole paraphernalia in a fuller and, *pace* Jespersen, more perfect form than is shown in any existing language. This leads us to the old theory of the divine origin of language, and while the author does not even hint at such a result, it seems a legitimate conclusion from the principles and method of reasoning adopted. Who will advocate that view?

Little space is left to notice chapters VI-VIII, but they can be more briefly considered. Chapter VI discusses "English case-systems, old and modern," and the author classifies the cases according to "analogies of form," which he

terms "the morphological classification," and "resemblances of function," "the syntactical classification." He introduces a new term, *kernel*, for what some grammarians term *root* in distinction from *stem*; for example, *eag* is 'kernel,' *eagan* 'stem,' in Old English, but in Middle English *cie* is 'kernel,' "to which the ending *-n* is affixed in the nominative plural." The classification adopted is a difficult one for the memory, and may be regarded as a philosophical analysis of the declensions, useful indeed to one who knows the declensions already, but it is not to be supposed that any human being would ever adopt it as a means of learning the language. We cannot improve upon the usual arrangement for practical utility.

Chapter VII discusses "Case-shiftings in the pronouns" under the several heads of (1) relative attraction, (2) blendings, (3) anacoluthia, (4) influence from the nouns, (5) position, (6) phonetic influences, and is a useful collection of examples, arranged historically, of idiomatic and colloquial usages, some of which have been regarded by certain grammarians as ungrammatical. The accusative after *than* is pronounced to be "now so universal as to be considered the normal construction," not only in the inevitable *than whom*, but elsewhere. I would commend to would-be purists the author's examples of and remarks on *had rather* (pp. 226-7), although he does not seem to be familiar with Dr. Fitzedward Hall's valuable article "On the Origin of 'had rather go,' etc.," in this JOURNAL, II 281 (October, 1881). As to *it is me* he remarks (p. 237): "The stamp of vulgarity would have disappeared completely by now from the expression had it not been for grammar schools and school grammars; even to the most refined speakers *it's me* is certainly more natural than *it's I*." Jespersen is a strong upholder of colloquial English as illustrating progress in the language.

Chapter VIII presents a like collection of examples of "the English group genitive," arranged under six heads—attributive words, words in apposition, words connected by a preposition, defined by a following adverb, connected by a conjunction, and defined by a relative clause. These are discussed with a view to finding some common explanation of the forms, and three rules are deduced dependent upon the position of the governing word (p. 314). The appendix to this chapter discusses the expression 'Bill Stumps his mark,' which idiom is not confined to English, but is found in other Germanic dialects also. The author questions Prof. Skeat's view (p. 323) that in "Heer beginnith the Chanouns yeman his tale," *tale* is to be taken as accusative, for "in most other mediaeval rubrics *begin* was taken intransitively." He refers very briefly to the well-known usage in the B-text of Layamon, *þe bissoþ his broþer*, etc., and says it "may be only another way of writing *bissopis* or *bissopes*." There is no doubt, to my mind, that this is the correct explanation, for we frequently find in Layamon *his* for *is*, 3d pers. sing., an early Cockneyism in the prefixing of *h*.

But I must close this notice with the expression of the hope that Prof. Jespersen will continue his investigations of special points in English grammar and will give us a systematic treatise on the subject. He has adopted the only fruitful way, the collection of historical examples and the deduction of conclusions from them by examination and comparison. There is no room for *a priori* reasoning in grammar. However much a certain expression may

run counter to our feeling for grammatical regularity, if it is the established usage of the language, it must be allowed. Grammarians cannot make language, but must take it as custom makes it, and Prof. Jespersen realizes this fully. Whether we shall call these changes 'progress' or not is another matter. I shall not quarrel with the term if he will give us the facts, and allow us to draw our own conclusions from them. He must not shut us up to endorsing his philosophy of the matter, but permit us to call it 'retrogression,' if we choose.

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JAMES M. GARNETT.

Lateinische Schulgrammatik von W. DEECKE. Berlin, Calvary, 1893.
Erläuterungen zur Lateinischen Schulgrammatik, by the same.

There is no lack of Latin school-grammars in Germany, and the appearance of a new one is a matter of interest only as indicating new methods of presentation or new ideals in treatment. The present book is more noteworthy than usual by reason of the high standing of its author. Prof. Deecke has long been well known as an important student of Italian dialects, and has contributed not a little to the advancement of that department of Latin philology. As a grammarian in the usual acceptance of the term, he has been prominent only during the last few years; and this is his most important production, his previous work in this line having appeared in programmes, 'berichte' and reviews. His experience as a teacher stretches over a period of forty years, and the present embodiment of that experience takes in many ways the form of a protest against existing methods.

The writer of grammatical text-books now-a-days is confronted by the assertion on the part of many teachers, that no preliminary or school grammar should extend beyond the small size of, say, 200 pages; that a book of larger size is only confusing to the student and should be reserved for more advanced classes. Prof. Deecke works apparently upon this basis, for his grammar contains but 264 pages of large type. But the position is not sound. No parallel can be drawn between a grammar of Greek and Latin, and a preliminary text-book in a scientific subject; for in the latter case the text-book is at the same time the material and the instrument of study, while in the former the material is found in the authors read and the grammar is merely a help. Now, no general grammar of Latin, of only 200 pages, can be sufficient for the systematic study of any one Latin author. Hence in reading, either an edition must be used that supplements the grammar or renders it wholly superfluous, or the peculiarities of the author which give him his individuality and color his style must be unobserved. Such a grammar, while incomplete for the student, is even more so for the teacher, who is perforce driven to other treatises.

The most patent peculiarity of Deecke's grammar is that for which he claims especial credit in the preface—the consistent employment of a German terminology for all linguistic terms except *deponent*, *gerund* and *supine*. Every one will admit that the present grammatical terminology is in many respects defective, and in some cases absolutely meaningless. The temptation to contrive a new and better system is an old one, and one to which many

scholars before Deecke have fallen victims. Even in syntactical constructions some have hoped to solve difficulties by the invention of terms, in most cases satisfactory only to the inventor. Without entering deeply into the Deecke system, it may be sufficient to say that some categories are named for their most characteristic usage, as the cases and the moods, which appear as *Wesfall*, *Wesfall*, *Wemfall*, *Wenfall*, *Woherfall*, and *Wirklichkeitsform*, *Möglichkeitsform*, etc. Some names are at the same time definitions, as *Eigenschaftswort* (adjective), *Zeitwort* (verb), *Empfindungswort* (interjection), while others are but translations of the Latin names, both where they are defensible, as *Bindewort* (conjunction), *Zahlwort* (numeral), *Thätigkeitsart* (active), *Leidensart* (passive), and where they rest upon false or metaphysical conceptions, as *Fall* (case), *Fürwort* (pronoun), *Mitwort* (participle), *Vorwort* (preposition), *Biegung* (declension), etc.

It may seem that something is gained in simplicity and directness by such a nomenclature, but this gain is only illusory. Even in the case of the best of these names, those of the cases, we get almost no assistance for that most difficult chapter of Latin grammar—syntax; for the genitive, for example, is the *Wesfall*, to be sure, but the fact that it is above all the complement of the noun has to be explained to the student, whichever name be applied to the case. And the same applies to all the other cases. Of course, no justification whatever can be made for *Biegung* instead of *Deklination*, nor is the translation of the ancients' confession of weakness, *participium*, by *Mitwort* either a gain to the subject or a credit to the translator. A greater objection is that for linguistic students of all nationalities the grammatical terminology is a *lingua franca* inherited from our grammatical forefathers and everywhere current, and the sooner the student becomes familiar with it the better. A German student is learning at the same time French, English, etc., when he learns the time-honored terminology.

There are numerous points of treatment in the grammar of general interest to grammarians, of which a few only may be alluded to. Deecke distinguishes between substantive (*Hauptwort*) and adjective (*Eigenschaftswort*) as subdivisions of the noun (*Nennwort*). There is a regrettable tendency, both in England and in this country, to obscure this thoroughly scientific distinction, and to restrict the term *noun* to the substantive only. Deecke, whose practice it is to mark quantities only when they are certain, gives as the dative case of *hic* and *qui* the forms *huic* and *cui*. This is of course right, though exception may perhaps be taken to Deecke's derivation from *ho-i-i-c* and *quo-i-i*. It may be added that it has been found necessary to introduce *quoniam* into Plautus. Deecke avoids the blunder of giving the genitive of *alius* as *allerius*, though he likewise overlooks the use of *alienus* in this connection. He also insists that the feminine of *quis* the interrogative is not *quae*, which some American grammars strangely maintain. The designation 'supine stem' is retained in spite of its disadvantages, Deecke rightly supposing that it has claims that are not offset by the other designations proposed.

The *Erläuterungen* are almost twice the size of the grammar, and contain valuable but short, and in the syntax very incomplete, compends of the present state of Latin grammar. While they supplement the grammar in affording more detailed information about individual usages, they afford Deecke, at the

same time, an opportunity to summarize the views as to the origin of various forms and usages that he has set forth elsewhere, and to advance some new theories. Reference is made throughout to Greek usage, and in the *Wortlehre* especially the cognate languages are often drawn upon. He is pre-eminently a morphologist rather than a syntactician, and this is painfully evident when we observe that in the *Erläuterungen* the *Wortlehre* covers pages 23-312, the *Satzlehre* 312-444. A general criticism applies to the whole, that in spite of the disclaimer in the preface, the views given are advanced with a positiveness that is hardly warranted in the present diversity of opinion, and very rarely is there any indication that the view advanced is opposed by scholars of authority. A few examples will suffice. In §14 the accentual view (as Deecke understands it) of the Saturnian measure is accepted without remark. In §53 *macte* is regarded only as a vocative of the perfect participle passive. In §64 the *is* of the superlative is a weakened form of the comparative *iōs* (*ior*). In §68 *quattuor* is a contamination of *quatuor* and *quattor*. In §79 *hic* is compounded thus: *he-i-c*. In §82 *ecquis* is derived from *ec* (= *en*) and the indefinite *quis*. In §201 *dum* is from *diu* (= *dies*). In §393 the gerund and gerundive are held to have been originally passive. In §343 the infinitive is considered only as a locative. In §485 *nōn* is given without remark as *ne—unum*. All these questions are matters of dispute among Latinists, and a certain caution should be maintained in statements concerning them.

In §7 we are told that the pronunciation of *nēuter* is *nūter*, as *neutiquam* is pronounced *nūtiquam*; but it is more likely that *neuter* was trisyllabic, and we know that in early Latin *neutiquam* is pronounced *n(e)ūtiquam*. In §34 Deecke protests against Wagener's dictum that *coniunx* is the proper form; but in §46 he uses *coniunx* without question. In §54 we are told that the collective use of the singular is common where the plural, also in common use, denotes rather an enumeration of individual persons or things; but it would have been well to give some historical treatment here, as the statement will not hold for all periods or for all varieties of literature. It might be added here that the lack of information as to historical usage is a serious defect throughout the book. In §91 we have a long and not very clear exposition of the temporal relations in Latin, arranged in a table according to the sphere and the kind of time. He fills out the 'ingressive' kind of time by the inchoative present for the present and the periphrastic for the future, leaving the historical perfect for the past. He deduces the aoristic use of the historical perfect from the ingressive, by a process that is not very convincing. It is well to remember that an ingressive use of any tense is quite possible if the context demands it. The present and the imperfect indicative may be so used in Latin; and the historical perfect is only ingressive in the case of certain verbs whose meaning lends itself to such uses. English poetry shows ingressive aorists in *he slept*, *he wept* and the like, and there is no reason why it should not.¹ It is much more natural to derive the ingressive perfect from the historical than the reverse. The growth of a separate inceptive form was a conscious attempt to fix a category already existent but merged with others in the present system.

¹ A good example of the use of the ingressive and historical perfects in English is to be found in the Authorized Version where 'reigned,' of Kings and Chronicles, the equivalent of the Septuagint *ἡβασίλευσε*, is often historical and ingressive in successive sentences.



In the treatment of the syntax Deecke is less at home, and gives occasion for numerous objections. I shall touch upon a few points.

In §223 he says: "to call the predicate noun with *esse* simply the predicate and to designate *esse* itself as a mere copula, is unjustifiable, and renders the logical and grammatical conception more difficult by the unnecessary separation of *esse* from other verbs similarly construed." But *esse* is properly thus separated. It is well known that *esse* is omitted almost at will, and in Tacitus this reaches such a pitch that subjunctive forms of *esse* are likewise suppressed. This is not the case with *manere*, *existere* and the like. No emphasis can be laid upon the fact that *esse* = *dasein*, for this usage of it is infinitesimal compared with its use as a copula. In §226 there are some interesting remarks about apposition. Thus in proper names the *praenomen* is the word defined, the *nomen* is the appositive, and the *cognomen* a further appositive. It is much more natural, however, to consider the *nomen* as the important word, the *praenomen* as the attributive and the *cognomen* as appositive. But to read into a simple combination like *Scipio Africanus* the meaning *Scipio qui Africani* (or *ab Africa*) *cognomen accepit*, as Deecke would do, seems to be the height of perversity. It is, moreover, quite legitimate, if one desires, to consider *Africanus* as a postponed attribute, though it is better to look upon it as an appositive. In §232 Deecke says that subordinate clauses with *if* are sometimes translated by the Latin dative of the participle: *aestimanti* = *wenn man abschätzt*. In addition to the fact that such translation is wrong, it may be well to remark that the usage is extremely rare and is post-Ciceronian.

In his treatment of the cases Deecke is a 'localist.' The most prominent recent upholder of the 'local' theory has been the late Prof. Whitney. Despite, however, of his potent influence, the 'grammatical' theory has been steadily gaining ground, under the prestige, perhaps, of Delbrück's name. Deecke continues the succession, now that Whitney is dead, and shows no lack of enthusiasm for his view. He is not willing to go to the length of maintaining that the genitive is a 'lokaler Kasus der Herkunft,' and is inclined to regard it as nearly related to the adjective. The dative, however, he assumes to have been originally local of motion *whither*, a function later assumed by the accusative. It is not necessary to open the whole question, but it is interesting to observe that Deecke conceives that the 'final' dative shows a trace of this original local force, *sofern er den Ort oder Gegenstand bezieht, an dem eine Handlung zur Ruhe kommt*. Now, the explanation of the origin of the final dative is a difficult one for the upholders of the 'grammatical-case' theory, which assumes that the dative is the case of the remote object, originally a person, later on extended by personification. But they would certainly not admit that a usage that is a mark of later Latin, except with a few verbs—*esse*, *dare*, *ducere*, *habere*, *vertere*—none of which necessarily involve motion, can be accepted as indicating a 'place at which an activity comes to rest.' Such an assumption has no terrors for a 'localist.' Further, Deecke maintains that the accusative of motion *whither* passes over into that of the direct object through the usage of compound verbs; such as *aggredi aliquem* for *gradi ad aliquem*. In this he fails to observe that the usage of the accusative of the direct object must be assumed as original with uncompounded verbs, and that there is no reason whatever to suppose that simple verbs had to wait until compounded

verbs took the accusative before they were permitted to take one. Such an assumption is, however, easy for a 'localist.' In §252 the construction with *refert* is assumed to be originally *mea re fert*, without any indication that to make the construction possible it must have been *e mea re fert*, and that even then the explanation is very doubtful. In §259 Deecke thus speaks of the predicative genitive, in which he lumps together the genitive of quality and *genitivus generis* (a variety of the partitive): "die deutschen Ausdrücke 'ein Mann von Talent, von Ehre' können lateinisch nicht durch den blossen Genitiv wiedergegeben werden, sondern müssen entweder durch *vir ingeniosus, probus*, oder durch *vir non parvi ingenii, perfectae probitatis* oder dgl. übersetzt werden. Es liegen im Latein Gedankenwendungen zu Grunde, wie: *vir cuius ingenium non parvum*, oder *cuius probitas perfecta est*, so dass das Adjectiv als ursprüngliches Prädikat, auf dem als solchem der eigentliche Nachdruck lag, nicht entbehrt werden kann." This is a good illustration of Deecke's non-illuminating method in dealing with syntactical phenomena. The statement of fact is correct; the explanation is faulty. There is no need to explain why the simple genitive is inadmissible, beyond saying that the modifier of the substantive is an adjective, not a genitive. The adjective is capable of modification only by adverbs of degree. Hence, when the attribute is to be modified in a way other than by comparison, it becomes necessary to change it to a form capable of such modification, i. e. to the substantive. When the substantive can be used so that it *includes the adjective*, it may occur in the genitive alone; but this is modern Litotes and does not appear in Latin before Apuleius, probably. In §316 Deecke claims that the ablative with *plenus, refertus* and the like is one of respect, not of means. It is difficult to see why.

Without commenting on the treatment of the moods, which is not very satisfactory, we pass to the infinitive. Deecke holds rigidly to the view that it is originally a locative. No great objection need be made to this even by believers in the theory that it was originally a dative, but Deecke goes to extremes. Here are some examples where "die lokale Grundbedeutung zu erkennen ist": *paro bellare* = *ich rüste mich* (whence the reflexive for *paro*?) *im Kriegsführen*; *studeo excellere* = *ich bemühe mich im Uebertreffen*; *consilium cepi proficisci* = *ich fasste Entschluss inbetreff (local?) der Abreise*; *audeo dicere* = *ich bin verwegen im Behaupten (!)*. When local meanings can be recognized in such combinations we are not surprised that it is 'klar' in a sentence like *omnium interest bene beateque vivere*, even if *interest* is of later development than *refert*, which rarely has a complement; or that it even 'schimmert durch' in *urbs obsideri coepta est* = *die Stadt ist (begonnen) im Belagert-werden*. In §367 we find that a sentence like *senatus decrevit captivos non redimere* is incomplete, considered as indicating necessity or design; this is true, but the sentence indicates neither, but merely the will of the senate—a common usage of the negative with the present.

This notice would be incomplete without reference to Deecke's fondness for explanation by subaudition. The following are some instances:—In §222 *senem ante tempus fieri miserum est* (sc. *aliquem*); but *senem fieri* = *senescere* and properly has no subject. In §230, with object clauses *id, hoc* or the like may be supplied as subject of a following verb. In §251 the predicate genitive of

possession must have a substantive supplied; *hic ager est (ager) parentis mei*. In *levitatis est secundis rebus superbire* supply *signum, testimonium* or anything that will suit. In §252 genitive of the gerundive to indicate finality is explained by the ellipsis of *causa*. In §253 the construction of *interest* with the possessive pronoun is likewise to be explained by supplying *causa*. In §256 the explanation of the genitive with verbs of reminding, etc., is due to the ellipsis of *memoriam*. In §257 the genitive with judicial verbs is due to the ellipsis of *crimine*. In §259 the predicate genitive of quality labors under the same difficulty as that of possession. In §263 the dative with substantives is due to the ellipsis of a participle. May we look upon Deecke as a Sanctius Redivivus and obliterate the efforts of the last century to expunge ellipsis from the list of syntactical appliances?

While the book is thus disfigured with misleading views and some false statements, the verdict made above may be well repeated, that it is a valuable compendium, though always to be used with caution. It will afford a good introduction to the larger works on Latin grammar and syntax, and contains in itself a large number of keen remarks and a good deal of helpful advice for a teacher who may not know how far to go with a class in initiating the students into the vexed field of historical and theoretical investigation.

GONZALEZ LODGE.

The Ancient Boeotians: their Character and their Culture and their Reputation, by W. RHYS ROBERTS. Cambridge, At the University Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1895.

An Attic neighbor is an old proverb. The Peloponnesians could be bad neighbors too, as Thukydides (III 105) says, perhaps in allusion to the proverb; but the Attic was undoubtedly a bad neighbor. Boeotia on the north and Megara on the west fared alike ill at his hands, as ill as Connecticut and New Jersey at the hands of the Manhattanese. When Dicaeopolis in the Acharnians of Aristophanes opens his peace-shop, the first trader from abroad is a Megarian, the second is a Boeotian, and it is hard to tell which is the more contemptuously treated, the Megarian, who is starved out of all human feeling, or the Boeotian, who has been fattened into hopeless stupidity. But whereas no one takes Diedrich Knickerbocker's chapter on the Yankees seriously, most writers on Greek antiquity have passed down the Attic caricatures of Boeotia with scarcely a criticism, and it is only of comparatively late years, and only among scholars of a certain degree of historical imagination, that there has been any decided protest against the diabolical malice of the 'Attikonikoi.'

In his chapter on Hesiod, Bergk, whose vision of things Hellenic was very much widened, as every scholar's must be, by the close study of Greek lyric poetry, has some excellent remarks on Boeotia and the people of Boeotia, and recent writers have modified to some extent the old prejudice that has incorporated itself in the familiar classical phrases which always do duty whenever Boeotia is mentioned, such as 'thick air,' 'land of wethers,' 'Boeotian swine,' and the 'ox-eared dwellers in Oxearshire.' But no one that we can recall has

gone into the matter with so much fulness as Mr. Roberts in his attractive little volume on 'The Ancient Boeotians,' which will do good service in rectifying crooked judgments on the northern neighbors of the Attic state. Mr. Roberts is a Welshman and professor in a Welsh college, and his book was put together at Saint Andrews, and somehow these conditions seem to fit the advocate of a lost cause. The Welsh have had to suffer many things of their English neighbors, and that is the reason why Shakspere's triumphant Welshmen are so effective. Falstaff's 'I am dejected. I am not able to answer the Welsh flannel: ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me' might well represent the Athenian's despair at Theban supremacy. And though Edinburgh is the Athens of the North, the Scottish dialect which the North Britons complacently call Doric seems to be much nearer the Boeotian Aeolic, and reminds one of the sharp difference that has been made between English 'wit' and Scotch 'wut.' But of late years foreigners like Max O'Rell have had much to say for Scotch *esprit* as against English, and as an exemplar Andrew Lang may serve *instar omnium*. Cambria and Scotia have been justified as Mr. Roberts has tried to justify Boeotia. And yet by some perversity no one likes to have his special home paralleled with Boeotia. Mr. Roberts is not enthusiastic over the Welsh 'Fery true' by which Dr. Jowett renders Cebes' Boeotian ejaculation in the Phaedo, and when Professor Tyrrell translates the part of Aristophanes's Boeotian into Irish-English, he is careful to tell us that his character is the 'stage' Irishman. The fact is everybody is an Athenian, and it is as Athenians, but Athenians free from malice, that we are to read Mr. Roberts's book.

One trouble about the designation 'Boeotian' is the great variety of elements that pass under the common name. Close scrutiny will reveal diversity enough in the stratification of Attica, but the jarring layers had been compressed into a unity under the dominion of Athens, whereas Thebes never succeeded in making her rule permanently conterminous with the canton. We do not look for echoes of the far-off struggle between Athens and Eleusis in the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and the contest of Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Attica, though perpetuated in plastic art, is not taken seriously. It has become a friendly suit. But a glance at Boeotian territory reveals name after name that recalls undying feuds. Thebes against Plataea and Plataea against Thebes. Orchomenus against Thebes and Thebes against Orchomenus. We are reminded of Florence and Pisa, of Siena and Perugia. So it is hard to write about the Boeotians, as if they were of one blood, of the same set of traditions; and this witches' caldron of conflicting elements explains a great deal. It explains the hatred of Athens for Thebes. It explains the 'Medism' of Thebes in the Persian War, about which much 'patriotic' nonsense has been written. Even Mr. Roberts finds it necessary to extenuate the behavior of the Thebans during that period and to prove that there was a sound remnant in the state. Indeed, so innocent a Pan-Hellenist is he that he falls headforemost into the trap laid by the Theban speakers in Thukydides, and puts all the blame for the lack of Hellenic patriotism on the dominant oligarchical faction. Herodotus, with his clear vision, saw that Greece was the result, not the cause, of the Persian War, and that a good old-fashioned hatred is as potent an historical factor as anything else.

In the chapter on literature and art in Boeotia, Mr. Roberts passes in rapid review the figures that illustrate the annals of Boeotia from Hesiod and Pindar down to Plutarch. Chief among the arts in which Boeotia excelled was flute-playing, and here again we have an antagonism between the Attic cithern and the Boeotian fife—which explains so much in a land and age of musical antipathies. He then counts up the painters and sculptors that have done Boeotia honor, and repels the theory that the Tanagra figurines, which have revolutionized our notions of antique art, are other than native productions. Tanagra had no reason to love Athens.

A special chapter is given to Epaminondas, in whom 'character and culture were uniquely united.' *Princeps meo iudicio Graeciae*, says Cicero in a familiar passage. Cicero, vainest of mortals, doubtless saw a certain likeness between the hero of Leuctra and Mantinea and the *imperator*, who quelled the robber tribes of Mt. Amanus in Cilicia. Renan, it may be remembered, solves the question why such exceptional geniuses arise in such unlooked-for localities on the simple ground that great men are the flowering of generations of dullards. Of himself he says: "Je suis l'aboutissant de longues files obscures de paysans et de marins. Je jouis de leurs économies de pensée; je suis reconnaissant à ces pauvres gens qui m'ont procuré par leur sobriété intellectuelle de si vives jouissances . . . Une race donne sa fleur quand elle émerge de l'oubli. Les brillantes éclosions intellectuelles sort d'un vaste fonds d'inconscience, j'ai presque envie de dire, de vastes réservoirs d'ignorance." As Renan to Brittany, so Pindar and Epaminondas to Boeotia. But this line of defence would hardly fit into the scheme of Mr. Roberts's apology.

In the fifth chapter Mr. Roberts draws an interesting parallel between Boeotians and Batavians, in which Epaminondas figures as a William the Silent, while Plutarch is a less clever Erasmus; and in the sixth and last the case for the Boeotians is summed up. Of course, every local history, like every biography, is apt to become a piece of special pleading, but Mr. Roberts evidently tries to be fair. Like Gorgibus in 'Les Précieuses Ridicules,' the Boeotians 'avaient la forme trop enfoncée dans la matière.' They were too much given to good living. They were too much devoted to local interests. But their political faults were Greek faults, and we are not to be swayed by the Attic verdict. We are to recognize freely 'the supreme effort which they made for freedom and peace,' and we are to do homage to the great names of their literature. We are not to say that King Lear speaks of a 'learned Theban' simply because he is insane, without emphasizing the fact that he speaks also of a 'good Athenian.' We must learn to appreciate the wide spread of culture in Boeotia and Boeotia's remarkable achievements in art. We must do justice to Boeotia and do justice to Holland, and finally we must thank Mr. Roberts for his contribution to the closer study of Greek cantonal life. The life of Greece cannot be understood without such special investigations as these into the varied elements that make up the complex nationality of the most interesting people known to history.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Cicéron, Verrines. *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium et Actionis Secundae libri IV et V, De Signis et De Suppliciis*. Texte latin publié avec un Commentaire critique et explicatif, une Introduction générale et un Index détaillé. Par Émile Thomas. Nouvelle édition. Paris, Hachette, 1894. 8vo, 389 pp. 8 fr.

This new edition contains in one volume the three Verrine orations which Professor Thomas had published separately. The three introductions have been deftly moulded into one, the principal change being the addition of a brief analysis of the four remaining Verrines, and the various notes, historical, syntactical and stylistic, are now provided with a very complete and useful index.

The introduction treats of the following subjects: I. Verrès (pp. 3-10); II. Le procès (10-18); III. Brève analyse de l'*Actio prima* et des trois premiers livres de la Seconde Action (18-27); IV. Qu'était-ce qu'une *Divinatio*? (27-30); V. De l'éloquence de Cicéron dans les *Verrines* (30-51); VI. Texte (52-61); VII. Bibliographie (61-62). The text and commentary occupy pp. 63-354; the index, pp. 355-89. Then follow maps of Sicily in the days of Cicero, of Syracuse under the Romans and modern Syracuse, and, finally, a facsimile of the *Regius* (Paris. 7774 A), In Verrem, V 57, 147-58, 149.

The main purpose of the introduction is found in the fifth chapter, where we have an excellent statement of the merits and defects of the Verrine orations. The history of the life and trial of Verres is given only so far as it is of interest to the modern reader, or necessary for the understanding and enjoyment of these speeches. For the *De Signis* and the *De Suppliciis* the editor has made the *Regius* the principal source of his text, as well as the principal basis for the orthography. His treatment of the text is conservative, though he has some tempting conjectures to offer. These are collected in a footnote to p. 60. The explanatory notes are, with one or two exceptions, models of clearness and brevity, and much attention has been paid to Ciceronian usage. On IV 7, 16 (p. 130) si, utrum vellet, liceret, we have the note: '*Utrum* est un nominatif neutre (cf. Div. 45: ut eligas *utrum velis*),' etc., the point of which is not very obvious. On V 71, 183 (p. 350) Quam ob rem mihi, iudices, optatum illud est in hoc reo finem accusandi facere, we have the comment: '*Facere*, l'infinifitif après *optatum est* comme avec *optabile est*.' This comment, which is found also in the Richter-Eberhard edition of 1886, seems to take no account of the *illud*. On V 55, 123 (p. 208) the date of the battle of Clastidium is given as 532. This might be changed in the next impression to 222; it is perhaps the only date in the volume which is given with reference to the founding of the city.

Professor Thomas has made free use of the works of Schmalz, Nägelsbach and Merguet, and of all the important editions and periodical literature from Zumpt to Zielinski. His book is indispensable to the student of the Verrines, and, thanks to its copious index, valuable to all students of Cicero.

The proof-reading has been very carefully done, and few of the misprints which remain are likely to cause any difficulty. In the text we have, p. 169, l. 3, *gnas* for *quas*; p. 192, l. 10, *cum* for *eum*; p. 269, l. 7, *romanum* for *Romanum*; p. 270, l. 8, '?' omitted; p. 301, l. 13, *incolomes* for *incolumes*; p. 326, l. 11,

potestatem for *polestatem*; p. 126, l. 4, *removerunt* for *removerent*. The reference, p. 32, n. 1, to 'p. 30' should be to 'p. 62'; on p. 62, l. 9, we have *Dei* for *De*; on p. 131, n. 1, *ἀρίμια* for *ἀριμία*; and there are a number of slight inaccuracies in the smaller type.

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Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae. Iussu Instituti Savigniani composuerunt Otto Gradenwitz, Bernardus Kuebler, Ernestus Theodorus Schulze. Fasciculus I. *a, ab, abs-accipio*. Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1894. 6 m. 40 pf.

The actual publication of the Thesaurus of Latinity for which the five great German academies have taken the initiatory steps is likely to be long deferred. Meanwhile it is encouraging to note the signs of activity in the field of lexicography in other quarters. Meusel's invaluable Index to Caesar is completed; so too the lexicon to the Philosophical Works of Cicero, by Merguet; the Lexicon Taciteum, begun in 1877, after slow progress, has now reached *reliquus*; the Lexicon Livianum has made only a fair beginning; Marx, in his edition of the Auctor ad Herennium, has given a complete *index verborum* to that author, which he designates as 'Thesauro Hertiziano Symbola.' It will be seen that all the above-named works will lighten the labor of the compilers of the Thesaurus. So too will the Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane, which in its 43d fascicule has advanced to Civitas.

The work above announced, which will give with an exhaustiveness never before attempted the vocabulary of the Jurists, will not be at once available for use, as it is advertised to appear in fifteen Lieferungen, one yearly. The vocabulary is to embrace the Digests of Justinian, following Mommsen's large edition, Gai institutiones, Ulpiani regulae, Pauli sententiae, and such excerpts from classical Jurists as are contained in the Fragmenta Vaticana, the Collatio and the Consultatio. The citations are given in the chronological order of the Jurists, and the references follow a certain system which combines great exactness with brevity. Some idea of the completeness of treatment may be gained from the fact that the article on *a, ab, abs* alone extends to fifty-four pages, while the remaining thirty-six pages contain only seventy-three words, with *accipio* still unfinished. Many of the articles, as *abduco, abeo, abhorreo, abigo*, etc., may be compared with the full treatment of these words in various volumes of the Archiv. It is interesting to note the comparative infrequency of *abs te*, only six examples being given, all from Julius, Pomponius and Ulpian. *a* is regularly used before consonants except in the phrase *ab re*, and also once in Ulpian, *ab domesticis*, and once in Paulus, *ab nepote*. Before vowels and *h* *ab* is regularly used. Before consonantal *i* *a* is preferred, though not universal. For *absque* but one citation is given. Other ἀπαζ λεγόμενα are *abiudico, abominandus, absce, absolutorius, absumptio* and *accensi*. The articles requiring special legal knowledge seem to have been prepared by Gradenwitz; the long article on *ab*, and the articles on *abhinc, absque*, by Schulze, while the greater number of words in this fascicule are signed K. (Kuebler). Everywhere, however, the same thoroughness and good judgment are manifest, for which philologists and jurists alike ought to be duly grateful.

M. WARREN.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, L (1891).

I, pp. 1-12. E. Rohde reiterates his views (Philol. 49, p. 230) on the date of the composition of Plato's Theaitetos. The article is devoted to the discussion and refutation of Zeller's view (Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos. 4, 189-214) that the proper date is about 391 B. C.

II, pp. 13-30. R. Opitz attempts to re-arrange the 'Weiberspiegel' of Semonides of Amorgos (lines 1-96) in such fashion as to carry through consistently the principle of contrasted pairs. He opposes the sow to the mare, the fox to the ass, the bitch to the cat (weasel) and the ape to the bee. The simile of the sea illustrates further the disposition of the fox, and the mole, that of the ass. The ancient editors are responsible for the MS text.

P. 30. Crusius solves the obscure proverb Λεωκόριον οἰκεῖς by showing it to be merely a *lemma* in some old lexicon which was turned into a phrase by the addition of a verb.

III, pp. 31-42. Schmid's view (Philol. 49, 21) that Kratippos was the editor of Thukydides calls forth a denial from Stahl. "It is impossible that Kratippos could have been a contemporary of Thukydides."

P. 42. C. Wagener. Note on *nequa*.

IV, pp. 43-8. K. Tümpel. Analysis and criticism of Diodorus, V 55.

P. 48. C. Wagener. On Cyprian, p. 292, 2 (H).

V, pp. 49-57. K. Prächter, after a critical survey of the fragments of Metopos, Theages and Archytas (Stob., Fl., I, 64-7), finds a relation between them and the Peripatetic teachings of Arius Didymus.

P. 57. H. Köstlin emends Iustin. 61, 2, 1.

VI, pp. 58-64. S. E. Anspach emends some passages in Cicero's Republic.

Pp. 64, 336-53, 498, 544, 565, 730 and 742. M. Petschenig emends various passages in Ammianus Marcellinus.

VII, pp. 65-73. O. Günther. Zur Textkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus.

VIII, pp. 74-80. Th. Stangl. Zu Lucifer Calaritanus. Textual criticism.

IX, pp. 81-5. E. Ströbel. Zu Cicero's Tuskulanen (continued from Philol. 49, 49). MS readings.

X, pp. 86-92. G. Busolt thinks that the Καλλίας εἶπε of the important Psephisma of 435-4 (CIA. I, 32, A) refers to the Καλλίας ὁ Καλλιάρχου of Plato,

Alkib. I, 119, and that he was the son of Kalliades who was strategos in 432-1 and fell at Potidaia (Thuk. I, 61).

P. 92. M. Petschenig emends Ian. Nepotianus.

XI, pp. 93-107. O. Crusius, *Die Epiphanie der Sirene, à propos of Schreiber's Reliefbilder*, T. LXI (reproduced here at p. 104), which Michaelis terms "Das räthselhafte Symplegma eines Silen und einer Sirene," writes a very interesting article on the place and attributes of the Sirens in Greek popular tradition. He shows that the Siren in folk-belief was a *succuba*, and as such is to be reckoned under the rubric of vampirism, a belief which has more extensive ramifications than any one has yet suspected. As a vampire the Siren might follow men to their graves and prey upon them there. Hence it becomes clear that the figure of a Siren, which is so often found carved on tombs, was put there as an *apotropaion*. Moreover, the male figure in the relief which Crusius has reproduced has not the most remote resemblance to a Silenus: it is merely a weary man taking his siesta at the midday hour of Catullus and Ovid.

XII, pp. 108-36. A. Mommsen investigates the usage of the word *σκίρα*, which, whatever its meaning, was the name of something carried in the festal processions of both Athena and Demeter. He rejects the theory of Lysimachides that it has to do with *σκιάδιον*, and by a long and interesting series of proofs shows the plausibility of another old theory connecting the word with *σκίρος* (gypsum). Especial reference is made to Schol. on Lucian, *Hetair. Dial.* 2, 1 (*Rhein. Mus.* 25, 549, Rohde).

XIII, pp. 137-62. Th. Zielinski examines the legend of Erysichthon as told by Ovid (*M.* 8, 728 ff.). The introduction of Fames is, of course, Roman. The Mestra episode is not a late invention, but it has no organic connection with the rest of the story. Z. quotes a number of parallel folk-tales, most of them of Slavonian origin. Erysichthon = Poseidon, and the legend of his hunger, Z. thinks, pictures the continual encroachment of the sea upon the land.

XIV, pp. 163-72. O. Crusius examines the fragment of a song (with musical notation) found on the base of a statue (*Bull. de corr. Hell.* VII).

Pp. 173-84. Miscellen.—O. Crusius supports the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* as a genuine work of Aristotle.—K. Neumann. *Zur Lehre vom Zusammenhange des kaspischen und erythraeischen Meeres*.—A. Wiedemann connects the story which Herodotos (II, 91) tells of Perseus with the Egyptian district of Pers (*Recueil de mon. égypt.* 4, 72-6).—M. Kiderlin emends Quint. 7, 3, 34; M. Petschenig, several passages of Seneca, and A. E. Schöne, Tacitus, H. 2, 62, 1.

XV, pp. 185-90. P. Hartwig discusses two vase-paintings of the fifth century B. C. representing the contest of Herakles and Geras. Realism is evident. The story has no known root in early tradition, and the author agrees with Dümmler that the subject was one suggested by the comedy.

XVI, pp. 191-229. G. F. Unger. Eudoxos of Knidos and Eudoxos of Rhodes. Unger places the birth of Eud. of Knidos at about 422-1 instead

of 408-7 (Boeckh), and the publication of the *Oktæteris*, the first work which would make applicable to him the term *ἐγκυρίζω*, at 391-90. In the second part of his article Unger undertakes to show that the *τῆς Περιόδου* was not, as Boeckh contended, the work of Eud. of Kn., but of Eud. of Rhodes, and was written not earlier than 261 B. C. The work consisted of nine books. In conclusion Unger attempts to give some idea of their contents.

Pp. 229 and 400. C. Radinger emends Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολιτεία*, p. 15, 10 and 20, 2.

XVII, pp. 230-47. L. Bornemann. Notes critical and exegetical on Pindar's eighth Pythian. B. follows the scholiast in fixing the date at Ol. 83, 3, which would make it the latest ode of Pindar. This adds the eighth to the list of supposed dates for this poem, beginning with Hermann, who placed it at Ol. 75, 3.

XVIII, pp. 248-61. B. Todt emends or discusses various passages in the *Seven* against Thebes (274-355). He thinks that the author has here given expression to his sympathy with Mykenai, which was overrun and destroyed by the Argives the year before the play was brought out.

XIX, pp. 262-87. P. Natorp supports well, against Gomperz, his thesis that the *Περὶ Τέχνης* (Pseudo-Hippokrates) is not the work of either Protagoras or his 'Doppelgänger.' The treatise shows traces of sophistic, but it is not the composition of a sophist. The *Περὶ Τέχνης* is a defence of the art of healing, evidently written by a physician. Protagoras was not a physician, and, moreover, in common with all sophists, would be attacking, not defending, the healing art.

XX, pp. 288-96. F. Dümmler. Zum Herakles des Antisthenes. Opposes Kaibel's views (*Hermes*, 25, 581 ff.).

XXI, pp. 297-319. W. Schmid. Bemerk. über Lukians Leben und Schriften. Discusses the genuineness of certain disputed works and attempts to establish some definite dates in the life of the author.

Pp. 319 and 335. Grau emends Terence, *Adel.* 1, 1, 15-16 and *And.* 5, 2, 21.

XXII, pp. 320-35 and XLVII, pp. 731-42. H. Köstlin. Critical and exegetical notes on Valerius Flaccus. *Con.* from *Philol.* 48, 647.

XXIV, pp. 354-72. Manitius. Beiträge zur Gesch. der röm. Dichter im Mittelalter (*con.* from *Philol.* 49, 554 ff.). Devoted entirely to Juvenal.

Pp. 373-84. Miscellen.—Crusius. Note on *onoskelia*, *ὄνος ἕρα* and *ὄκνος*.—R. von Scala. On a proverb in Polybius, *Frag.* 121.—H. Fischer. On the hexameter at the beginning of the Epistle of James, 1, 17. He thinks that this proverbial monostich is a reminiscence, not a citation, and in its original setting corresponded to our English expression "Never look a gift horse in the mouth."—H. Fischer explains the much-disputed method of dressing the hair among the Suebi (*Tac.*, *Germ.* 38) by reference to the Column of Trajan (*Fröhner*, pl. 52).—P. Hagen. Zu Antisthenes.

XXV, pp. 385-92. G. Wentzel. Περὶ δῶνος γοραί. W. opposes Immerwahr's view (Bonner Studien, p. 191) of the legend told by Pausanias, 8, 8, 2. The story is the result of contamination. There is no original Illyrian legend at the bottom of it, but a legend of Poseidon, of which the development can only be due to some cult of Poseidon. The original notice upon which Pausanias is based has passed through many hands and suffered accordingly, but neither Verrius Flaccus (P. Diac. 101, M.) nor the Vergilian scholium (G. 1, 12) can throw any light on the subject.

XXVI, pp. 393-400. G. Busolt. Zur Gesetzgebung Drakons. Aristotle's exposition of the Draconian Code may be accurate, but it can hardly be said to have rested on an immediate examination of the code itself, as Kaibel seems inclined to believe. Aristotle's account impresses one as the result of varied historical reading.

XXVII, pp. 401-29. A. Bauer. Ansichten des Thukydides über Kriegführung. Bestows the highest praise upon the thorough knowledge and far-sighted sagacity of Thukydides as a soldier and commander, and draws some interesting parallels from the conduct and outcome of the war of 1870. He shows that those much-needed reforms in the Athenian military policy, the necessity of light-armed troops to reinforce the old-fashioned heavy infantry, as demonstrated in Aetolia (Thuk. 3, 112); the advisability of cavalry, as shown in the Sicilian expedition; the futility of not giving a general full discretionary powers, especially in the conduct of a distant war, as shown in the lamentable experience of Nikias and Demosthenes—reforms which, when they were at last put consistently into practice, made the fortune of Philip and Alexander—were all pointed out by Thukydides, and in such a way as to show that he recognized the impossibility of Athenian success without them. In conclusion Bauer administers a timely and deserved rebuke to those philologists who approach Thukydides entirely upon the rhetorical side and assume at all times the liberty of correcting the text into something which *they* can understand. It is possible that Thukydides knew as much about Greek as do several of his critics in modern times, and it seems evident that he knew more about military tactics.

XXVIII, pp. 430-5. G. Hirschfeld discusses several inscriptions, found near Miletus and Halicarnassus, consisting of νίκη followed by some proper name in the genitive. It is apparent that they all belong to Christian times. H. draws attention to the fact that in the N. T., especially in the writings of John, whose influence was very strong in Asia Minor, the words νίκη and νικάν have a special meaning of "remaining steadfast in the faith." In some cases the workmanship would suggest that the inscription had been secretly cut by friends of the deceased, and H. is inclined to think that νίκη here is used in its special Christian sense, and as such was a sort of password among the faithful, the real meaning of which was unintelligible to the outside world.

XXIX, pp. 436-46. Holzinger. Aristotle's Politeia and the Excerpta of Heraklides. H. thinks that the author of these Excerpta was Heraklides of Pontus. He did not, as Rose believes, draw largely from Didymus.

P. 446. O. Crusius. Note on the scazon in the light of the Herondas Papyrus.

XXX, pp. 447-57. W. Soltau. Zur röm. Chronologie. Astronomical basis for Roman chronology and discussion of the nundinal letters between 445 and 190 B. C.

XXXI, pp. 458-68. R. Heinze thinks that Lucian's Anacharsis follows a tradition which gave the conversation of Solon and Anacharsis on the Greek athletic training, and in the end justified Anacharsis in his disapproval of it. It is pointed out that the earlier work, whatever it was, had its origin among the Cynics, whose opposition to every phase of purely national culture as such was characteristic of a school which preached cosmopolitanism and a return to nature.

P. 468. C. Radinger emends three passages in Herodotos in the light of Aristotle's *Politeia*.

XXXII, pp. 469-98. M. Faber. On the Greek Pentathlon.

XXXIII, pp. 499-506. W. Nestle. Ueber griechische Göttermasken. The habitual use of masks in the Dionysos worship is, of course, well known. But the author goes on to show (beginning with Hyperides, *Eux.* 35 f.) that it must have been the custom of the Greeks at certain intervals to drape in rich garments, and also to furnish with an appropriate mask, the rough image in which the divinity was worshipped. This gives special force to Pindar's simile (*Isth.* 2, 8), a new point of view for the use of masks in the theatre, and suggests an explanation of the numerous representations of masks which are being unearthed from time to time. The author will find many instructive and interesting parallels in analogous practices still current among the North American Indians and Pacific Islanders of to-day.

P. 506. Häberlin emends Juvenal, 11, 56. *Draucus* for *raucus*.

XXXIV, pp. 507-28. B. Todt. Emendations to Aeschylus, Seven against Thebes. The author's death occurred while this, his last piece of work, was still in the press. "Unsre Wissenschaft," says the editor in a closing note, "verliert an ihm einen rüstigen Arbeiter und Vorkämpfer der auch für ihre alten Rechte in der Schule und im Leben mit ganzer Persönlichkeit einzutreten gewohnt war."

XXXV, pp. 529-44. Fr. Cauer. Studien zu Theognis. Continued from *Philol.* 49, 662.

XXXVI, pp. 545-9. L. Holzapfel emends passages in Plutarch's *Lives*. To be continued.

XXXVII, pp. 550-65. Th. Wiedemann opposes Landgraf's theory that the author of the *Bellum Africanum* was Asinius Pollio. W. thinks that the author, who was very likely a centurion, was a member of the fifth legion, to which Pollio did not belong. Moreover, the point of view with regard to Caesar is not such as we can ascribe to Pollio. It is evident,

too, that the author took part in the whole campaign, whereas it is hardly possible that Pollio did so. The argument of syntax and style is one which must never be pushed too far, and it is especially dangerous here, where the amount of unimpeachable testimony is almost nothing.

Pp. 566-76. Miscellen.—In connection with Homer, II. I 128 ff., K. Tümpel calls attention to a gloss of Hesychius (s. v. Πυλαϊδῆες) hitherto overlooked.—J. Baunack. Zu den Weihgeschenklisten aus dem Kabirion.—R. Meister. Translation of the votive inscription from the Cretan Asklepieion.—E. Klussmann. Critical notes on Boetius, De Consol. Philos.

XXXVIII, pp. 577-82. Th. Baunack. On the fragment of a Cretan sepulchral inscription.

P. 582. R. Peppmüller adds a note to Zacher's article (Philol. 48, 313).

XXXIX, pp. 583-606. G. Busolt. On the Psephisma, CIA. IV, 2, No. 35, C.

P. 606. Graf emends Lucian, Fisherman, c. 45.

XL, pp. 607-36. In the first part of this article, Omphale—Hebe—Thrassa, K. Tümpel undertakes to show that Herakles and Omphale is simply another version of Helios and Hera. The peculiar relations of Herakles and her who is no longer to be called a Lydian queen find their origin in the 'Mutterrecht' which in early times prevailed in the Greek islands and elsewhere. The second part of the article, Die Enchelys von Kos im Poseidon-Polybates-Kampf, is an excursus on Pausan. 1, 2, 4.

P. 636. F. Polle thinks that βάραθρον is a proper name.

XLI, pp. 637-50. B. Heisterbergh. On the *ius Italicum*. In 1852 Th. Mommsen (Röm. Feldmesser, p. 191) said: "After Philippi, Cisalpine Gaul acquired the *ius Italicum*, i. e. exemption from taxes and conscription. Dion Cassius (48, 12) names it in so many words: τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας νόμον." This statement and the quotation which supports it have been reiterated for over forty years by the various scholars who have dealt with the question. Now H. looks into his Dion Cassius and finds that the passage is not and never has been τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας νόμον, but τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας νομόν. This knocks a prop from under much that has been written about the *ius Italicum* and also tells a little story with a moral, of which the application is obvious. The term *ius Italicum*, as is shown in the Digest, is only a shortened expression for *ius coloniae Italicae*, and simply defines the political status of one class of colonies, the *coloniae Romanae*, as opposed to the other classes of colonies. Italy as a whole never possessed the *ius Italicum*. The *coloniae antiquitus Romanae* (Tac., A. 4) were termed *coloniae Italicae*, and their privileges defined by the term *ius Italicum*, because, after Gracchus' colony of Carthage and the colony of Narbo in Gaul were replaced by military colonies, it happened that *coloniae Romanae* were confined to Italy. It was their rights which, under the name of *ius Italicum*, were given to those transmarine cities which are known to have possessed it. The use of the so-called Marsyas statue upon certain coins

struck by such places was suggested by a similar statue in the Forum, and was meant to symbolize the city using it as a *colonia Romana*.

P. 650. F. Polle emends Phaedrus, 1, 3 and 3, 18.

XLII, pp. 651-8. R. Peppmüller. Critical notes on Homer and Hesiod.

P. 658. O. Crusius. Note on the Flinders-Petrie Papyri.

XLIII, pp. 659-88. H. Düntzer. Der Apologos der Odyssee. There is no reasonable ground for believing that the Apologos of the Odyssey originally contained fewer adventures than are now related in it. The poem is an organic whole, the work of a great poet, founded on the current lays and traditions at his command.

XLIV, pp. 689-712. C. Häberlin. Quaestiones Theocriteae. Theoc. composed the *Fistula Coi* 276-5, then seems to have gone to Antigonus 275, from him to Sicily, 273-2, and from there probably to Egypt. The *Hiero* was written about 273-2 and the *Ptolemaei Encomion* in 271, i. e. after the *Hiero*.

XLV, pp. 713-21. O. Crusius. Proben aus den Mimiamben des Herondas.

XLVI, pp. 722-30. I. Moessler. Critical notes on Petronius.

XLVIII, pp. 743-9. S. Linde. Coniect. in Senecam Rhetorem.

XLIX, pp. 750-8. W. Büchner. Ueber die Lykiarchen.

Pp. 751-68. Miscellen.—F. Polle. Sprachliche Missgriffe alter Schriftsteller.—C. Radinger, referring to Anthol. Palat. 14, 148, thinks Julian was born in May, not Sept.—October, 331. K. Neumann, in the following note, agrees to May, but thinks it should be May, 332, on account of the statement of both Ammianus and Eutropius of the emperor's age at the time of his death.—Th. Zielinski. *Flamen Sacrorum Municipium* (?).—F. Rühl interprets the obscure and much-disputed "*O admirabile Veneris idolum*" (Anthol. Lat. I 2, p. xl, Riese) as the farewell to a boy who leaves his friend or lover to follow another.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Vol. XLVII.

Pp. 1-42. C. Brockelmann's article on Greek loan-words in Armenian is a most welcome contribution toward the study of the influence of one literary language upon another just developing its own literary style. The article shows the same excellence noticed in Hübschmann's on Syriac and Arabic loan-words in Armenian (ZDMG. XLVI 226-68; A. J. P. XIII 515). Armenian literature from its beginning has largely been influenced and its language moulded by the Greek, the bulk of its early literature being simply translations from Greek authors. Due credit is given by Brockelmann to the labors of J. J. Schroeder, Fr. Müller and Paul de Lagarde. The main interest in a

discussion of loan-words does not centre in the question as to the origin of this or that word, but in the perception of the influence which the nation from which it was taken exercised upon the borrower. Such knowledge can only be gained by a discussion of an almost complete material. We must distinguish between (1) loan-words that have become part and parcel of the thesaurus of the borrowing language, (2) foreign words adopted and used only by some authors, and (3) vocables which the translator merely transliterated partly because of an incomplete knowledge of the foreign language, and partly because of an obvious lack in the vocabulary of the home language. Brockelmann discusses, before taking up these three groups, 11 words that are usually but wrongly considered borrowed from the Greek. These are *behes*—βύσσος, *burgn*—πύργος, *iul*, *eul*—ἐλαιον, *metak's*—μέταξα, *ḡandīṭn*—πανδοῦριον, *aušindr*—ἀψίνθιον, *tatrak*—τρυγών, *mor*—μορτα, *ark'ay*—ἀρχων, *ḡ'alerut'iwn*—φάλης, φάλλος, *ḡ'ennay*—φαίνης. Then follows a discussion—(1) Of the 109 real loan-words, in 11 sections, of which that referring to the church and to ecclesiastical terminology is by far the more numerous (37). (2) Of 151 foreign words used only by certain authors, most of whom are theologians, for stylistic purposes. These men were, without exception, following Greek models. Words mentioned in this section occur not only in translations, but also in original Armenian compositions. (3) Words which occur only in translations from the Greek, simply transliterated by the translator for reasons mentioned above. This last case is very much analogous to that of the Greek translators of the Hebrew Old Testament writings. In this section 71 words belong to several translators and 50 others are found only once in extant Armenian literature, so far as this is accessible. Twenty-two words borrowed from Latin sources complete the whole list. A careful discussion of the Armenian equivalents of the Greek sounds concludes this most interesting contribution.

Pp. 43–85, 163–201. Ignaz Goldziher concludes the critical edition of the Divan of Garval b. Aus Al-Ḥuṭey'a, begun in ZDMG. XLVI 1–53, 173–225. He prints the text of poems 34–94.

Pp. 86–91. Richard Pischel calls attention to von Oldenburg's proof that the story of *aiḡ tēn máχairan* occurs in the *Jātakan* 481. It is, therefore, of Sanskrit origin, not originally Greek, as Fränkel, in ZDMG. XLVI 737, maintained, explaining it as a Corinthian local legend.

Pp. 92–5. G. Bühler corrects some erroneous statements by K. Simon in the latter's edition of *Amaruṣataka*, Kiel, 1893, p. 24 fol., with regard to the *Rasikasamjivini* of King Arjunavarman.

Pp. 96–105. Theodor Nöldeke sends valuable remarks toward the study of the Aramean inscriptions of Sendschirli (سندشیرلو) in Syria. The excavations have just begun, but the results are of such importance that it is highly desirable to continue the work speedily and with all energy.

Pp. 106–17. M. J. de Goeje speaks of the Imām aṣ-Safī'ī, correcting some old blunders and errors in the current biographies of the learned Muhammedan.

Pp. 120-9. A. Weber writes on the edition of the *Kāvyamālā*, giving a complete summary of this monthly magazine, edited since 1886 by Durgāprasaḍa in Yeypur (†1892) and Kācinātha in Bombay. The magazine was devoted chiefly to poetico-rhetorical literature. The arrangement in the pagination and make-up of the several parts is on the same plan as that of Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, only infinitely more complicated, inasmuch as one single part often contained continuations of seven or eight works begun in previous numbers. Compared with this, classical students have reason to congratulate themselves upon the simple arrangement in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*.

Pp. 130-42. Alexander von Kégl discusses the Persian literature of the nineteenth century with specimens from Ka'ānī and other Persian poets of our century.

Pp. 143-56. R. G. Bhandakar answers some points in the remarks of Professor Jolly on the History of Child-marriage. He maintains that *Medhātithi* is by no means such an enemy of late marriages as Jolly would make us believe; he then discusses the time of the *garbhādhāna* ceremony, and finally notices the age of marriage indicated in the *Gṛihya sūtras*. Jolly has generalized the statement in some of the *sūtras* and made them applicable to all, just as he has generalized that about the performance of the *garbhādhāna* at the first *ṛitu*. "In the time of Āśvalāyana and many other authors of *Gṛihya sūtras*, marriages after puberty were a matter of course, the evidence being the nature of the ceremonies prescribed and their silence about the age of the bride. In the time of Hiranyakeśin child-marriages were coming into practice, and therefore he tells his followers that they are absurd, since the ceremonies require the bride to be in a condition of maturity. When Gobhila and the author of the *Mānavagṛihya* flourished, late marriages were falling into disrepute, though they were in practice, and hence they lay down marriage before puberty as the best course. When the *Smṛitis* of Manu and Baudhāyana were written, child-marriages were in full vogue, but late marriages were not rare. And in the time of the authors of the later *Smṛitis* the custom of late marriages became entirely obsolete, as it is at the present day. Still, however, it was not the custom, when the latter flourished, to begin intercourse necessarily on the first appearance of signs of puberty, as it is not now. It was entirely optional, some people following the practice, others not." On pp. 610-15 Jolly states that the differences of opinion between Bhandakar and himself are not essential, as seems at first, but concern only matters of subordinate importance.

Pp. 157-9, 516-19. Nestle and König explain their position regarding the spelling of the name of the old Syriac translation of the Bible.

Pp. 160-2. Walter Neisser replies to P. von Bratke's objections (ZDMG. XLV 682) against his statement that *ōman*, *ōmanvant*, *ōmydvant* and *avant* are pre-Vedic forms preserved in the present text of the Veda.

Pp. 202-12. Paul Horn continues his studies in Persian literature with a discussion on the few fragments of Jewish-Persian poetry found in MS Or. 2453 of the British Museum, containing, e. g., Gāmī's poem on Jūsuf and Zuleichā, and a Jewish-Persian paraphrase of Ruth and the books of Samuel. Of the latter he publishes the poetic version of 1 Sam. xxv 1-12 (incl.).

Pp. 213-76. G. Rudloff and Dr. Ad. Hochheim edit a translation, with critical notes, of the Astronomy of Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Omar al-Ġagmīnī, died 618 of the Hegira. An additional note by H. Suter is found on pp. 718-19.

Pp. 276-307. The common views of the Syriac intonation and metric system are not in harmony with modern science. This is the reason why it is almost impossible to edit Syriac poetry critically. Bickell's work, though meritorious, is nevertheless one-sided. A strictly scientific discussion of the principles is all the more needed, because Byzantine and late Latin poetry is largely based on Semitic, i. e. Syriac, metric system, as W. Meyer has shown in his article 'Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rythmischen Dichtung' (Abhdl. der bayr. Akad. d. W., philos.-philol. Kl., 1886, p. 372 foll.). That Meyer was correct in his statements, Hubert Grimme sets out to prove. Regarding intonation he comes to the following conclusions: (1) In earlier time, prior to the origin of the literary productions now extant, the accent was on the last syllable of a word, as is the case with the Aramean of the New Testament, e. g. Γαββαθᾱ, Ἀββαθῶν, etc. (2) In the historic time of Syriac literature the accent is usually on the penult; on the last only in case it is followed immediately by a monosyllabic word which in its meaning is very closely connected with the preceding. The poets, finally, have extended this law of the toned penult to words which in prose literature were pronounced as monosyllables, the first being a toneless *shēvā*-syllable.

Pp. 308-15. Ernst Leumann sends a list of copies and extracts, in translation, of Jaina-literature, collected especially in the British Museum, Cambridge University, and the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

Pp. 320-4. Rudolph E. Brünnow has words of high praise for C. Bezold's latest publications, viz. Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, vol. II (London, 1891); The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, with autotype facsimiles (London, 1892); Oriental Diplomacy, being the transliterated text of the Cuneiform Despatches between the Kings of Egypt and Western Asia in the XVth century before Christ, discovered at Tell-el-Amarna, etc. (London, Luzac & Co., 1893). J. Barth favorably notices Rudolf Geyer's edition of the poems and fragments of Aus ibn Hajar (Wien, 1892).

Pp. 335-84. Moritz Steinschneider, in his contribution to Arabic bibliography, describes some seventy writings of the Arabians contained in Hebrew MSS.

Pp. 385-94. Franz Praetorius continues his treatment of the Cushite elements in the Ethiopic language, begun in vol. XLIII 317. He gives additional notes and corrections to his former article, based on the results of his more recent studies, and then discusses some fourteen Ethiopic words which were probably borrowed from the Cushite, e. g. Eth. *ṣā'adawa* > *s'd*, the causative of 'd, cf. Saho and Afar 'adā 'white color, paint,' Eth. *ṣ* for *s* owing to following guttural; the word became a quadriliteral on Ethiopic soil. *Derār* 'evening meal,' and in church-language 'evening before a festival,' cf. Somali *ḡarār* = day (as opposed to night), and the denominative *ḡarāro* = dine, i. e.

take *the* meal of the day; the vocative ending in -*ô* found only in a few Ethiopic nouns. The same writer has a note on relics of dual-ending in Eth.

'*ēdē* = hand, which Barth declares as equal to Arab. يَدِي. Neither can be proved beyond doubt. *Xaqt* = hip, Praetorius considers a sure case of dual. In a note on *Adulis*, he believes the name a compound of '*ādē* ('place, settlement') + *ōlā* or *ōlī* (of doubtful meaning).

Pp. 397-417. J. H. Mordtmann discusses several fragments of the South-Arabic inscriptions collected by Halévy, some of which seem to belong to one and the same stone.

Pp. 418-39. Engaged in a study on the early Arabic poets, Rudolf Geyer received, through the kind offices of Professor J. de Goeje, from the library of the University of Leiden, the only extant MS of the *Ḥamāsah* of al-Buḥtūrī. While reading it Geyer noticed a number of verses attributed by Buḥtūrī to An-Nābigah of Dūbyān, Ṭarafah, Zuhair and Imru'ul-kais, not found in the published collection of the six Divans. While some of these may not rightly belong to the authors to whom they were attributed by Buḥtūrī, Geyer yet believes their publication of some interest to students of Arabic poetry. An index of poets quoted by Buḥtūrī and compiled by Geyer will, as the author believes, serve as an incentive to the study of this important book. On pp. 715-16 Nöldeke has some additional remarks and corrections.

Pp. 440-9. W. Geiger prints another instalment of Balūčī texts and translation. In a short introductory note he calls attention to the following points: (1) Balūčī has no *oratio obliqua*; (2) the transitive verb in the preterit is construed as a passive, e. g. instead of 'I have done this,' the Balūče says 'this was done by me'; (3) the so-called absolute use of the verbal noun and past participle in -*ēd*, e. g. 'having taken away the child's clothes, she went along the bank of the river.' The two texts published by Geiger are written in the Southern or Mazārī dialect of Northern Balūčī, from which the Lējārī or Northern dialect is distinguished by the greater decay of terminations.

Pp. 450-65. R. von Sowa has new material toward a study of the Gipsy dialect of Germany, with specimens collected in Eastern Prussia (Klein-Rekeitschen), Westphalia (Sassmanshausen) and Bohemia; and another note on the Gipsy dialect is published by E. Windisch, pp. 464-5.

Pp. 466-71. G. Bühler shows that Ačoka called the highest officers of provinces (governors) Lajuka or Rājūka (*√rajju*: measure), because the measuring (determining) of the land tax was one of their foremost duties, an analogous case being the 'collectors' of the British-India Government. In the Kalpasūtra, on the other hand, *rajjāsabhā* designates the office of the royal scribes (*lekḥaka*), because the lower officials of the government did duties as copyists and as public surveyors.

Pp. 472-87. Ulrich Wilcken has a rather severe review of Hugo Winckler's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1892). He criticises especially Winckler's explanation of *šar kibrāt erbitti* and *šar kiššati*. Winckler answered this review in a separate pamphlet: *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Assyriologie in Deutschland*, and Wilcken replies to this on pp. 710-14.

Pp. 487-514. W. Bacher prints an exhaustive criticism of A. Kohut's edition of the *Aruch completum* (Wien, 1878-92), with numerous additions and corrections, comparing it rather unfavorably with Levy's *Wörterbuch*. Notwithstanding many defects, it will yet remain forever a monument of industry and wide reading, and occupy an important place among the helps for the study of Talmudic and Midrashic literature.

Pp. 515-37. In his notice of R. Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, fasc. IX, Immanuel Löw, while acknowledging the great value of the dictionary, considers it as not up to date, and gives numerous additions and corrections.

Pp. 539-73. The late Professor Minayeff had collected in 1875, while sojourning in Kaṭhmapḍu, materials for a Sanskrit-Newārt dictionary. After his death the MS was given, in 1891, to August Conrady, who now publishes it with a critical introduction. On the Newārt language see A. J. P. XIII 373.

Pp. 574-82. Hermann Jacobi, in his article on the tone in classical Sanskrit and the Prākṛit languages, shows that the present accentuation in Sanskrit is at least 2000 years old and has been preserved especially in the languages derived from it.

Pp. 583-94. F. Bollensen sends a third instalment of critical notes on the *Rigveda*.

Pp. 595-614. O. Franke. India's relation to the West. International commerce existed in ancient time as well as to-day. The kings of Babylon and Nineveh corresponded with Egypt's monarchs about 1500 B. C.; and Franke makes quite probable that similar relations may have existed in India. The Pāli was in this case the mediator between East and West, most of the Sanskrit loan-words found in Greek showing a Pāli (or Prākṛit) form rather than a pure Sanskrit. Thus the Ἀσσοκῆνοι (of Arrian) are derived from Pāli *assa* (horse); Τάξιλα > Pāli *Takkasilā* rather than Skt. *Takṣaśīlā*. The same is the case with words like λάνκος (Periplus) > Pāli *lāḥha* (or **lakkhā*) rather than Skt. *lākṣā* or *rākṣā*; σάκχαρ, *saccharum*, Arab. *sukkar* > Pāli *sakkharā* rather than Skt. *śarkarā*; βήρυλλος, βήλυρος > Pāli *veṭuriya*, not Skt. *vaiḍūrya*; camphor > Pāli **kamphāra* (whence *kappāra*) rather than Skt. *karpūra*. Again, Pāli *Yona* or *Yonaka* shows that this section of the Indian nation must have dwelt nearer the *Iowe*s than the Sanskrit people which called them *Yavana*. These and many other instances prove that Pāli was spoken to the west of India. At the time of the Suttapiṭaka, the nation living on the seashore of Western India knew of early coasting voyages to western countries and had attained a considerable degree of nautical knowledge. Franke believes that some words in Semitic and Hamitic dialects which cannot easily be explained were brought there by Eastern navigators from India; on the other hand, he conjectures that Pāli *keṭubha* (Skt. *kaiṭabha*) was borrowed from the Semitic *keṭābhā*.

Pp. 615-21. J. Jolly publishes Stenzler's *Collectanea* toward a history of Indian law.

Pp. 622-5. H. Hübschmann shows that Šahrbarāz and Razmyōzān were simply two honorary titles given to Xorēam (= Arab. Farruhān), the greatest general of King Chosrau.

Pp. 626-97. Samuel Kohn describes and critically discusses the Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch, edited by Petermann and Vollers (5 parts, 1872-91). The work will for many years remain the standard book for the study of Samaritan literature. On the basis of the large MS material contained in this publication, Kohn reiterates his statement, made first in 1875, viz. that the Polyglot edition of 1645, the MS upon which Petermann based his edition, and all the codices from which he quotes the variant readings represent just so many recensions of the same Samaritan Targum, each in its way showing peculiar text corruptions, corrections and unwarranted alterations, all being the products of a time when the Samaritan had long ceased to be a living language; and lastly, that the original Samaritan Targum has not yet been recovered and probably, with the exception of a few fragments, is no longer in existence.

Pp. 698-709. Oskar Mann recommends Paul Horn's *Grundriss der neupeersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg, K. Trübner, 1893) and J. G. Stickel notices favorably Heinrich Nützel's *Münzen der Rasuliden, nebst einem Abriss der Geschichte dieser jemenischen Dynastie* (Berlin, 1891).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

HERMES, Vol. XXVIII (1893), Heft 3-4.

O. Gradenwitz, *Ein Protokoll von Memphis aus Hadrianischer Zeit*, comments on certain legal points in the record of an *actio tutelae* preserved in a Greek papyrus at Berlin (136).

E. Wendling, *Zu Posidonius und Varro*. The praise of the imitative capacity of the Romans found in a Greek Anecdoton, Herm. XXVII 121, is paralleled by Athen., Strabo, Diod. Sall.; their common source is Posidonius, who here, as often, develops an idea of Polybius. The Greeks borrowed from Posidonius directly, the Anecdoton through some rhetorical writer, and Sallust through Varro.

J. Vahlen, *Varia XXXIX*, reads (Sen. de brev. 15, 1) *non stabit quominus plurimum quantum <cum> coeperis haurias*; XL, defends *pleraque omnium* in Min. Felix Oct. 10, 1, and *plurimo omnium* in Nep. Epam. 1, 4; XLI, reads (Caes. B. G. VI 22) *ne accuratius <quam> ad frigora atque aestus vitandos*.

E. Norden, *Vergilstudien I. Die Nekyia*. This episode, though externally like Od. 2 with additions from other epics, is based upon a Pythagorean-Orphic Nekyia, contaminated in v. 724 ff. with Stoic teachings; this was written by a learned Alexandrian poet, as appears from vv. 442-51, which go back to an Alexandrian *κατάλογος* differing from the usual tradition. This explanation removes all the supposed inconsistencies in the Vergilian Nekyia. Vv. 743, 4 were intended to supplant 745-7, but Varius published both together.

Diels, *Ueber die Excerpte von Menons Iatrika in dem Londoner Papyrus 137*. This compilation from the time of Trajan cites many authorities at length, Plato, Philolaos, Hippo 'of Kroton,' and Herodikos of Selymbria among the number. The quotation from the *de flatibus*, a sophistic treatise of

the fifth century, as a genuine work of Hippocrates shows that as early as Menon's master, Aristotle, the Hippocratean corpus had suffered serious admixture of foreign matter.

L. Holzapfel, *Doppelte Relationen im VIII. Buche des Thukydides*. Ch. 29-44, 55 are based on a Peloponnesian, ch. 45-54, 56 on an Athenian account of the same period. The former, continued in ch. 57-63, is favorable to Astyochus, but a third source, traceable to discontented soldiers in his own army, charges him with venality (50, 3) and inaction (78, 1). The two chief sources differ in their account of the payment of the soldiers (ch. 29, 45), of Tissaphernes' policy (ch. 43, 52), and in other details. The behavior of Astyochus before Samos (ch. 63, 1 and 78-9) and the opposition of Alcibiades to an attack on the Piræus (ch. 82 and 86) are each related twice, but presented in a different light.

Miscellen.—R. Pischel shows that Antig. 909-12 = Hdt. III 19 is paralleled by Rāmāyaṇa 6, 24; 7, 8 (Gorressio), and Jātaka 67 (I 306 Fausb.). Since Hdt. lays the scene in Persia, that country probably transmitted the legend from India to Greece.—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen emends Anth. IX 147 to *Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Ξεῖνιδος* and localizes it at Eleusis by comparing a new Eleusinian inscription in 'Εφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1892, p. 101.—F. Dümmler in Athen. X 453 C reads τὸ δὲ προάγον ἐστὶ ψύλλας ἔχειν, where ἔχειν means both 'to have' and 'to catch.'—W. Dittenberger reads in the new Mantinea inscription (Bull. Corr. Hell. XVI 569), col. I, l. 21, II 4 κα(τ) τῶρρέντερον 'in the male line.'—E. Bethe gives a collation of the Aratea of Germanicus from KCPGDM.—A. Erman shows that ὄνος ὑπὸ οἴνου κτλ. (Herm. XXVIII 163) is a literal translation of an Egyptian idiom.

J. Beloch, *Zur Geschichte Siciliens*. Hieron II became king in 265, but was a tyrant as early as 268, and general still earlier. The period 275-268 includes the continuation of the Carthaginian war, the peace with Carthage, and the strife between the Syracusans and Mamertines. Timaeus is Polybius' source for this period. Theocr. XVI was written 263/2.

P. Stengel, *Buphonien*. The myths connected with this ceremony show that it commemorates the first introduction of a blood sacrifice.

E. Norden. II. *Zur Aeneis* Ausgabe des Varius. Aen. VI 51-76, 83-97, 826-35 were written after the book was read to Augustus, and not revised by the author. 51-76 were inspired by Varro's *Antiquitates*, 83-97 were intended to supplant 890-2, 826-35 were inserted by Varius from the marginal notes of Vergil. *Plena deo*, quoted from Vergil by Seneca (*suas.* 3, 4), is an earlier form of 78-9. IV 387 was written to take the place of 386.—III. *Zur Aen. VI* 621-2. These verses refer to Antony and continue the idea of Georg. III 37-9.

E. Bethe, *Zur Ueberlieferung der Homerischen Hymnen*, gives a collation of HELP with some variants from MπD. HE are derived from one copy of Δ, LP from another, and π from still another.

H. Swoboda, *Ueber den Process des Perikles*. Perikles was tried only once, viz. in the summer of 430. The form of procedure was not *εἰθνεα*, for the election was in March and he did not become unpopular till May; but if

re-elected, the generals were exempt from *εἶθνα*. 'Επιχειροτομία was not yet in existence, and neither process needed a special decree. *Εἰσαγγελία*, however, existed in the fifth century under the same form as in the fourth, and the decree of Drakontides is its *προβούλευμα*, whose severity Hagnon's amendments were intended to lessen.—*Notes*. The trial of Aspasia was earlier than 432. The Thucydidean *θέρος* began early in March. Ch. 45 of the 'Αθηναίων *πολυτεία* shows that this treatise does not rest on a documentary basis.

Mommsen, *Zur Geschichte der Caesarischen Zeit*. I. There were eighteen provinces under Caesar; beside the ten of Sulla, Bithynia, Cyrene, Crete, Syria, Illyricum, Gallia comata, Africa nova, Achaia.—II. Cic. ad fam. XV 20 was written in the latter part of 708. The Sabinus therein mentioned was P. Ventidius, and the satire on him in the Vergilian *Catalecta* was written 710.—III. Critical and exegetical notes to the Bell. Hisp., based on a new collation of ATUV.—IV. A list of the *consulares* in the year 710 (cf. Cic. ad fam. XII 2).

A. Nikitsky publishes a new Attic inscription from Delphi, dated about 100 B. C. and containing a list of *πρωταῖσται*. It furnishes the first clear documentary proof of the existence of a *γένος* *Εὐπατριδῶν*, mentions a new *γένος*, the *Πυρρακίδαί*, and gives the names of many Athenians.

J. Beloch, *Zu Diodor*, reads XXII 10 ἦκον 'Ενναῖοι λέγοντες κτλ.; XI 86 'Εγεσταίοις καὶ 'Αλικυαίοις (with Koehler) ἐνσάντος πόλεμον <πρὸς Σελινουντίους>. Halikyae is not Salemi, but lay west from Mazaras. Pausanias, V 25, 5, has confused Motye with the Agrigentine castle, Motyon (cf. Diod. XI 91, 451 B. C.), and this gives us a later fixed date for Kalamis.

BARKER NEWHALL.

BRIEF MENTION.

After an interval of thirty years we have the *editio altera* of LUCIAN MÜLLER's standard work, *De Re Metrica Poetarum Latinorum præter Plautum et Terentium* (Petersburg and Leipzig, Ricker). Needless to say, like Matho's litter, it is *plena ipso*. We have not to do, as he himself tells us, with a convenient manual for ingenuous youth. This want is supposed to be supplied by the smaller book, which has recently been translated into English by an American professor. 'Neque vero,' he says (p. 114), 'enchiridia aut centimetros puerorum in usum perscribimus sed libero ingressu ut quæque digna memoria et frequentia arte Latina evenere exponimus.' It is a leisurely book and written for leisurely men. It is a book made for a land of long winter nights, of bubbling samovars and cigarettes without end. We expect and we find a *vita senis*, an autobiography which is not confined to the space between the lines in the body of the book, but is adumbrated in the 'Greeting to the Reader'; and not the least characteristic passage is one in which the memory of Bonn and its discords tells on the concord of Lucian Müller's grammar. 'Ibi invenimus,' he remarks, 'professorem quendam, qui cum confuso ingenio esset et conmoto, hoc tamen clare perspexit et acute, *gravem* admodum sibi *nos* fore et *incommodum*, si Bonnae maneremus.' And when, in opposition to Usener and to Bergk, he rejects the theory of the gradual evolution of the hexameter, and says 'Omnia perfecta ex se nascuntur,' is it going too far to suppose that he is thinking of himself? 'Lucianus Müllerus videtur mihi ex se natus,' with apologies to Tiberius and Rufus.

But it were perhaps better to pass over so important a work in silence than to make flippant mention of it, and it is much to be hoped that the *De Re Metrica* will find a competent reviewer in the pages of this Journal. Still, the reappearance of the book calls up a problem, or rather a series of problems, which the teacher of youth cannot shirk. What is to be done with the spiritual side of antique metres? Are we to content ourselves with giving the mere schemes of the metres and say nothing of their character? English scholars, as we have seen, are capable of publishing the Greek dramatists without so much as a *conspectus metrorum*, but even those who do not go so far as this in the way of abnegation are shy, perhaps justly shy, of calling attention to the moral and aesthetic effect of the various rhythms employed by the classic authors. The question is one of very pressing importance when we take up Horace. The variety of measures in the first book of the Odes is emphasized by Horatian scholars. Lucian Müller has a chapter on it. Now, shall we call this a conscious display of metrical versatility, and that alone? Or are we to attach the same ethical character to an Alcaic or Sapphic strophe in Latin as to an Alcaic or Sapphic strophe in Greek? Professor TYRRELL, in his delightful book on *Latin Poetry*, maintains that the Odes are little more than experiments in the Greek lyric metres, and I must confess that to a

Grecian the thesis is tempting; and yet in a recent volume of the *Revue de Philologie* (see A. J. P. XVI 256), M. RENÉ PICHON maintains that 'in determining and observing the ethos of the different metres Horace shows himself an artist in the true sense of the word.' Professor SMITH, in his well-balanced edition of the *Odes of Horace* (Ginn)—one of the most thoughtful and serviceable editions we have had of late years—calls attention to the 'similarity of character and identity of metre' in the first six odes of the third book, whereas Mr. Gladstone, in the preface to his translation, says that Horace in most cases 'employed the same metre for odes the most widely divergent in subject and character.' To be sure, he adds that 'Horace knew the capacity of his respective metres and how far he could make them elastic for particular varieties of use.' But it is very much to be feared that the 'elasticity' of the Alcaic and Sapphic is a fancy. The *Carmen Saeculare* is more Greek in its structure simply because it was intended to be sung, and the dreadful mechanical caesura is no longer insisted on. There is very great danger in seeing especial beauty in this or that metrical effect. Those who remember CHASE's *Horace* will doubtless recall that editor's renderings of Nauck's fancies on this subject, and Chase's pupil, Professor SMITH, with whose sobriety no one will quarrel, forgets himself so far as to emphasize the rhythm of Od. III 3, 35. 36:

adscribi quietis
ordinibus patiar deorum.

'The beautiful rhythm,' he says, 'enhances the impression of serene existence which the words convey.' Unfortunately, the beautiful rhythm is word-foot for word-foot the same as in the preceding verse:

pugnacis Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit.

Indeed, it seems to be hardly safe to look for symbolism in any measure that Horace has subdued to familiar use, and the odes that are the most interesting from the ethical side are precisely those that are clearly translated from the Greek—the odes that are composed in the rarer metres. So there can be no question about the ethos of the solitary Ionic poem (III 12). So the greater Asclepiadeans are all translations, and all carry with them in their triple *syncopé* and *toné* a moralizing cadence, a note of protest. Those who come after us, however, will in all likelihood find this explanation of the tone of remonstrance as fanciful as Nauck's remarks on the 'steady march of the weighty choriamb,' and send the lyric logaoedi to keep company with the dramatic logaoedi.¹ Still, whatever these choriambes are, they are not 'weighty,' and there can hardly be any mistake about the logaoedic movement. At all events, the effect of 'tu ne quaesieris,' of 'ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,' and 'quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?' is the same as that of Catullus's solitary experiment in the same metre (XXX): 'Iam te nil miseret, dure, tui dulcis amiculi?' By the way, it is a

¹ 'Glyconeos quoniam Sophocles et Euripides et Aristophanes et in luctu et in risu et ad gravissima et ad levissima adhibuerunt paene eosdem, ἥθους non innatum habere sed a musica arte accepisse consentaneum est.'—v. Wilmowitz-Moellendorf, *Commentariolum Metricum*, II.

pity that the name Asclepiadean has been fastened to a metre which comes so distinctly out of the heart of lyric life, the metre of the fragment of Sappho (68 Bgk.) which Swinburne makes so prominent in his *Anactoria*.

Another solitary experiment is the famous sixteenth epode—doubtless after the Greek—in which the hexameter contrasts with the pure iambic as poetic dream with prosaic reality. 'In form,' says Professor SMITH, 'as well as in poetic sentiment the epode is among the most perfect pieces that Horace has left us.' In form, doubtless. As to the 'glow of youthful enthusiasm and patriotic fervor,' that is another matter; but the symbolism is transparent, and it seems strange that Nauck or any one should have said that this 'combination of hexameter and pure iambic senarius has a stately harmony suited to grave, earnest thoughts and passing no less easily into a flow of happy aspirations.' The combination of heroic hexameter and iambic trimeter is apparently very old, and from the beginning bears the character of cruel contrast, which, of course, is heightened by keeping the iambus pure. Among the solitary experiments of Catullus is the movement—which one may dare call the ignoble movement—of the iambic tetrameter catalectic (XXV):

Remitte pallium mihi meum quod involasti.

Here too the *ethos* is undisputed, but it may be not superfluous, in view of the neglect of such things in school editions, to emphasize the delightful use which Aristophanes makes of this metre in the Knights. Kleon is an heroic rascal, and evidently feels himself degraded by the necessity of fighting Agorakritos with his own weapons; but he cannot do otherwise, and the debate begun by Agorakritos in iambic tetrameter (v. 335) is necessarily kept up in the same; but when Kleon sets the pace (v. 763) he strikes out in the grand anapaestic tetrameter. But the chorus mischievously forces the controversy back into the iambic strain (835), and we see how Kleon is again compelled to occupy the same unheroic level with his antagonist. At the close Agorakritos rises with the chorus to anapaestic heights. Kleon's fate is to dwell in indecencies forever, and his curse is to ply the same trade as Agorakritos had plied—iambic tetrameter and all.

οὐδὲν μέγ' ἄλλ' ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξει τέχνην.

In a very recent Halle dissertation, *Quaestiones de elocutione Demosthenica*, BRUNO KAISER, under *φημί δτι* (p. 12), goes somewhat out of his way to rebuke Rutherford for saying (Babrius, p. 221) that *φημί δτι* does not belong to Attic Greek, Xenophon being always excepted. This was in 1883, not 1873, as Kaiser says. In my Justin Martyr (1877) I was more cautious—perhaps too cautious (Apol. I 33, 35): '*φημί* is seldom used with *δτι* in the best period; at every turn in later Greek.' So common is it in later Greek that the free use of it became a regular sign-manual, and Rutherford is right in warning against it; but Rutherford is not always to be trusted, for in the same place he has made an unnecessary ado about *εἰπεῖν* with inf., as I have shown repeatedly and conclusively. Comp. Just. Mart. Apol. I 12, 32; A. J. P. IV 88, VI 489, and elsewhere; see also Humphreys, Antig. 647. But *φησὶν δτι* or

even ὥς is a different thing. Passages sometimes cited are not satisfactory. A real exception with ὥς is Lys. 7, 19, of which more presently; but Plat. Crito, 52 B δτι is the 'quotation-mark δτι' (Spieker in A. J. P. V 224) and hardly counts, and Gorg. 487 D δτι γε οἷος παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι αὐτὸς τε. φῆς κτέ., the δτι clause precedes and is not directly dependent. It is like a Latin *quod* clause. Now comes Dr. KAISER with a string of passages from Demosthenes, and a triumphant air, but of his examples of δτι D. 16, 20 ταυτὰ δτι is not in point. It is a 'namely' clause. In 19, 88 τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φῆ πλὴν δτι, it is clear that δτι does not depend on φῆ, which has its normal inf. in εἶναι. In 20, 135 δτι—ἔστί is printed by Bekker as a separate sentence, and it is in any case a *quod* clause, and φῆσαι is to be translated 'say yes.' In 22, 23 δτι does not follow φῆ immediately, but we first have the inf. and then in a subsequent sentence δτι, and so the construction may be put down as a slight anacoluthon. ὥς (4, 48) is likewise an anacoluthon, and the same is true of 27, 19. It is, therefore, not yet time to lift the taboo of φημι δτι. Why φημι takes the inf. so naturally and εἶπον takes δτι, I have at least suggested in A. J. P. IV 88; cf. 531.

In his recent excellent edition of *Eight Orations of Lysias* (Boston, Ginn), Professor MORGAN does not fail to notice the anomalous construction φησὶν ὥς (7, 19), to which reference has been made already, nor does he fail to tell us that Goodwin (MT. 753, 2) comments on its rarity and that Weidner ejects δς φησιν, to the effacement of the lonely example. But when he comes to εἰ μὴ διὰ (12, 60) he evidently finds no comfort in Goodwin's curt paragraph (MT. 476, 3), and so he falls back on Frohberger's ellipsis of ἦν, which the German scholar thinks less arbitrary than the ellipsis of ἐκωλύθησαν. They are both arbitrary, and both belong to a bygone age of forced explanations. The ellipsis is not ἦν, is not a form of κωλύω: it is simply the negative involved in the leading clause. This matter received a passing mention in a review of JEBB's *Selections from the Attic Orators* (A. J. P. X 124), and would not have been taken up again if I had not found, on examination, that there is no adequate explanation of the idiom in any of the standard grammars. Commenting on Isocr. 5, 92 φαίνονται κάκεινοι κρατήσαντες ἂν τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, εἰ μὴ διὰ Κύρον, JEBB, too fine a scholar to explain the phrase by ἐκωλύθησαν, says 'sc. ἐσφάλησαν,' and refers to Goodwin, from whom no help is to be got. The true ellipsis is εἰ μὴ οὐκ ἐκράτησαν 'if they had not failed to get the mastery, thanks to Cyrus,' οὐκ ἐκράτησαν being equivalent to ἐσφάλησαν. Many of the commentators content themselves with a lazy reference to Poppon Thuk. II 18, who cites the English 'but for' and refers us to Matthiae, §580, where we find nothing except a translation. Others send us to Stallbaum on Gorgias 516 E εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἂν, where Stallbaum suggests the ellipsis of a verb of hindering. Koch renders the Platonic passage: 'Wenn nicht unter Einwirkung des Prytanen, die Sache vor sich ging, wenn nicht der Prytan es gehindert hätte.' 'Unter Einwirkung des Prytanen' is not a good translation of διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν and 'die Sache vor sich ging' seems to be inspired by Frohberger. Welche Sache? τὸ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν? It is pleasant, under these circumstances, to recall that an American scholar, Dr. Woolsey,

in commenting on the Platonic passage had the courage to say: 'The origin of the idiom is not very clear.' That is much better than dodging the question by a mere translation, much better than following the exploded method of arbitrary ellipsis. In the Lysianic passage: ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο (= ἀπολεῖν ἐμελλον = ἀπώλεσαν ἂν!) εἰ μὴ δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, the words to be supplied are οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν meaning 'unless they had failed to destroy,' and the same explanation applies to all the other passages commonly cited: Th. II 18, Dem. 19, 74. 90; 23, 180. Of course, no such lumbering ellipsis was present to the Greek mind. So εἰ δὲ μὴ has become simply 'otherwise,' and εἰ μὴ διὰ has become 'but for.' We ourselves do not stop to think what 'it' stands for, in 'if it had not been for,' and yet analysis has its rights and the origin of phrases must be sought.

It is eminently fit that the 'double head' of Macmillan & Co.'s *Parnassus Library* should first be crowned by Homer and Vergil, the *Iliad* being edited by Mr. WALTER LEAF, the *Vergil* by Mr. T. E. PAGE. The editors and their principles of criticism are sufficiently well known, and the interest in these two beautiful volumes is largely typographical. The *Vergil* is printed in type of an 'old style' face, the *Iliad* appears in Macmillan's 'new Greeks'—a fount described and illustrated by W. G. RUTHERFORD in the *Classical Review* for March, 1894. The ideal is the papyrus character squared, and there cannot be two opinions about its great beauty. In his preface Mr. LEAF half-apologizes for doing away with the ugly ı-subscript, but everybody is or ought to be ready for that. The ı-subscript has no decent warrant, and scholars have long rebelled against it in their hearts, and sometimes even in practice, as witness Professor F. D. ALLEN's article on 'The Prometheus and the Caucasus,' in this Journal, XIII 51-61. Whether the omnipotent schoolboy will submit to the new type, despite its beauty, is another matter, and it is very much to be feared that the resemblance of the line to the embroidery on his sister's sampler—a point which has been urged in its favor—will hardly be considered a recommendation by the majority of boys, who usually learn Greek just at the time when they are most in rebellion against anything that seems 'missy.' But the Messrs. Macmillan have not hesitated to carry the experiment into the schoolboy domain, and so we have received at the same time with the text edition of the *Iliad* the *School Iliad*, of which the first twelve books have appeared, under the editorship of Messrs. LEAF and BAYFIELD. The text is in the new Greeks, but the notes, with the exception of the catchwords, show the old characters, which look thin and hungrily by the side of Mr. Image's calligraphy. The notes of this school-book are based upon Mr. LEAF's excellent edition and his *Companion to the Iliad*. Of the three 'invaluable' works which Mr. BAYFIELD has drawn on for his *Grammatical Introduction*, any one who has really worked in this field will be surprised to find Kühner's grammar called an 'inexhaustible treasury of examples,' whereas it does not suffice for the most modest demands of an explorer. Delbrück's

¹ Good illustrations are not to be despised, even when they come from post-classic authors. Dio Chrys. XI 332 R οὐκ ἂν ἐφρόντισαν ἀλλὰ τούναντιον ἐφύλασθαι ἐμελλον αὐτοῖς.

theory of the subjunctive and optative is discarded as old and outworn, and Goodwin's, which coincides very closely with Delbrück's own modification, reigns in its stead. For my own part I have never got much comfort out of a 'more vivid' and 'less vivid,' 'nearer' and 'more remote' future, and it is by no means proved that the path to the modal through the future is any more certain than the path to the future through the modal; nor am I prepared to recognize any special novelty in Mr. BAYFIELD's treatment of *δν* and *αεν*, which he brings forward with evident confidence of 'general acceptance.' But the last subject has been treated at some length in this Journal, III 449, and, at any rate, these are not matters to be discussed at the close of a 'Brief Mention' article of the parapleromatic order.

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WHOLE No. 64.

I.—ON ASSIMILATION AND ADAPTATION IN CONGENERIC CLASSES OF WORDS.

The twelfth volume of the American Journal of Philology (1891) contains in its opening pages (1-29) an article by the present writer, entitled 'On Adaptation of Suffixes in Congeneric Classes of Substantives.' This was followed in 1893 by a kindred investigation, 'On the Origin of the So-called Root-determinatives,' an abstract of which was printed in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Transactions, vol. XXIV, pp. xxvii ff.; a somewhat fuller presentation of the same subject was subsequently printed in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, IV 66-78. The object of the present article is to illustrate these matters by new materials and, in a measure, also by new points of view.

The subject in its broadest and at the same time simplest aspect may be put in the form of a query: What is the influence of the lexical value—as distinguished from morphological structure—of words and expressions upon one another, and what constructive power has this influence in shaping the broader categories of words and expressions? The answer is, Every word, in so far as it is semantically expressive, may establish, by hap-hazard favoritism, a union between its meaning and any of its sounds, and then send forth this sound (or sounds) upon predatory expeditions into domains where the sound is at first a stranger and parasite. A slight emphasis punctures the placid function of a certain sound-element, and the ripple extends, no one can say how far. The *t* of Latin *gustare*, by a delicate process of selection, is charged with the essence of the entire word, and is passed

on to its congener *taxare*, making Romance *tastare*.¹ Thus German *kosten* and *tasten* (English *taste*) now contain an element *t* that seems charged with an especial semantic mission, and the minds and mouths of speakers stand ready, upon renewed incitation, to extend the use of this *t* in the same direction. No word may consider itself permanently exempt from the call to pay tribute to some congeneric expression, no matter how distant the semasiological cousinship; no obscure sound-element, eking out its dim life in a single obscure spot, may not at any moment find itself infused with the elixir of life, until it bursts its confinement and spreads through the vocabulary a lusty brood of descendants.

Preparatory to a deepening discussion of the constructive force of the lexical or semasiological values, we may consider all the phenomena treated in these papers under two heads: 1) Congeneric words assimilate; 2) The signification of any word is arbitrarily attached to some sound-element contained in it, and then congeneric names are created by means of this infused or, we might say, irradiated, or inspired element. Only the second process is entitled to the name adaptation; the first may be called congeneric assimilation, or congeneric analogy. Italian *licorno* 'unicorn,' changed from *unicorno* by assimilation to its congener *lifante* = *elefante* 'elephant,'² is not as yet an exhibition of adaptation. But if the Italians had seized upon this element *li* as a general prefix which had become so far vitalized as to make it desirable or necessary to place it at the head of newly coined designations of animals, then *li* has become adapted. This is not a question of numerical relation, since the adaptation frequently extends but to a single case. So M. Bréal reports³ that the organizers of certain public festivals in Nice promised the public that there should figure among the glories of the pageant not only *cavalcades*, but also *analcades*. Here the element *-alcades* has adapted itself to a certain sphere of action, though it shall never extend beyond this single new word, and perish with the breezy doings which begot it. Adaptation is active, aggressive, creative, at least semi-conscious; assimilation is dormant, passive, not necessarily conscious at all. A mere slip of the tongue in obedience to the faintest reverberation from the parent-word will change *unicorno* to *licorno*, produce dialectic English *kitch* from

¹ Cf. Indogermanische Forschungen, IV 70, note.

² See 'Adaptation,' p. 25, note 3.

³ Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, vol. VII, p. 24.

catch in deference to *fetch*, or will change the name of the city *Minneapolis* to *Minneannapolis* (as is sometimes heard), in deference to *Indianapolis*, *Annapolis*. Adaptation, on the other hand, may be positively reflective, as e. g. in the following extract, in which the struggle between silver and gold for the control of the currency of the United States has inspired the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* (Dec. 13, 1892) to say: "If the *goldolaters* and the money power propose to control, that fact cannot be made apparent a moment too soon." The editor in question did exactly as the philosopher who coined *symbolatry* after *idolatry* (the latter εἰδωλατρεία changed by haplology). Chemists, manufacturers of quack medicines, inventors of new explosives etc., supported by the freemasonry of their respective classes and the acquiescent public, float their *-ites* and *-ates*, *-ides* and *-ades*, with dire intent: *terrorite* and *americanite* have been invented recently to match *dynamite*,¹ and one feels like drawing the curtain over the indecently profuse offspring of *vaseline*—the *rosalines*, the *bloomines*, the *fragelines* and the *nosulines*. The banality of these processes is offset by the startling subtleness of the categories which are accentuated by an adapted suffix: they are often the very stuff that dreams are made of. The sinister *electrocution* reminds us that the toddling onward steps of our civilization may yield us further a **hydrocution*, if perchance the theory that drowning is rather pleasant than otherwise should prevail. The London public and the London papers have created, of recent years, a suffix *-eries* (plurale tantum), designating public exhibitions. It appears to have started with the fisheries exhibition, which was called '*the fisheries*' for short; next came an exhibition of flowers, which required no violent adaptive process to be turned into '*the floweries*'; again, the hygienic or health exhibition became '*the healtheries*,' and finally the Colonial and Indian exposition appeared as '*the Colinderies*,' a word which, the purist would say, ought to turn the very printer's ink vermilion.²

I have mentioned in the past (Idg. Forsch. IV 71) that I frequently felt tempted to blend the two words *quench* and *squelch* in a composite result *squench*, and that my attention was afterwards drawn to a passage in Page's '*In Ole Virginia*,' p. 53, presenting the word in dialect ('she le' me *squench* my thirst

¹ Cf. also *melinite*, *emmensite*, *gelbite*, *cresilite*, *panclastite*, *oxonite*, *glonoinite*.

² In New Haven, Connecticut, my colleague, Prof. Warren, informs me, the *engineers* of electric tram-cars have recently blossomed out as *motorneers*.

kissin' her hand'). Again, my attention has been drawn to the occurrence of the word in James Whitcomb Riley's 'Elf-child': 'an' the lightnin'-bugs in dew is all *squenced* away.' The slang word *swipe*, which is now heard often, is to my sense clearly a similar product of *wipe* and *sweep* and *swoop*. One can taste the ingredients. English *stodgy* is in sense a perfect reflection of *podgy* and *stolid*. One should note, in connection with all these products, the superior mobility and fusibility of the sound *s*: it stands ready to form a kind of an inverted affricative with every dental, and blends most readily with explosives, liquids and nasals. In my opinion the portentous number of I. E. word-couplets, one with and the other without *s*, cases like Goth. *stiur* : *taūros*; *stéyos* : *réyos*, Lat. *tego* : *μικρός* : *μικρός*; Lith. *sparnas* : Sk. *parṇa* 'wing'; Engl. *mash* and *smash*, and countless others are, in part, exhibitions of this semantic mobility of *s*.¹ The sound is so lightly girded, so easily charged with faint symbolic meaning (cf. von der Gabelentz, *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, pp. 26 ff.; *Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 217 ff.), that it must have been added again and again in all periods of I. E. speech upon the slightest provocation, as the faintest echo of words of correlated meaning.

These phenomena are in close touch with reduplication. Reduplication in early glottogonic periods of language cannot have represented anything more than an attempt to make an idea tarry. It is a rudimentary rhetorical device. In historical periods of I. E. speech the habit ceases in general to be productive, just as the semantic value of the older reduplications is entirely lost. German *beben* and even Sk. *bibheti* contain no longer any trace of the early semasy of the reduplication; the reduplication is a fossil.² The productivity of language becomes

¹ Cf. KZ. II 264; Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, II 291; Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie*⁵, pp. 692 ff.; Meringer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Declination*, p. 43 (*Proceedings of the Vienna Academy*, vol. CXXV); Hoffmann, *Bezz. Beitr.* XVIII 155; Schrijnen, *Étude sur le phénomène de l's mobile dans les langues classiques*, Louvain, 1891 (cf. *Indogermanischer Anzeiger*, I 109 ff.).

² In the *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* for October, 1882 (*Journal*, vol. XI, p. cxxvi), I have drawn attention to a highly interesting survival of the original function of reduplication in a single present-system in the Veda. The case deserves more attention than it has as yet received. The root *bhar* 'carry' shows a distinct functional difference between its two stems *bhāra* and *bibhar*. The former is, in the terminology of Slavic grammar, 'perfective,' being regularly followed by the dative, and meaning 'convey'; the reduplicated stem *bibhar*,

'analytic' rather than 'synthetic,' and a set of analytic devices takes the place of the old synthetic reduplications. English *hurly-burly, fiddle-faddle, tittle-tattle, zig-zag, rogey-pogey*, Germ. *tick-tack, piff paff puff*, and the like, are the closest modern approaches to reduplication. English *spick and span, by hook and by crook, dance and prance*; Germ. *alt und kalt, knall und fall, auf schritt und tritt, träume schäume, ohne saft und kraft*, are in reality reduplicating devices. They are in every sense, too, devices, just as the old reduplication, profoundly influential in shaping both form and meaning. In *recht und schlecht, schutz und trutz*, the singleness of the expression is now absolutely established and guaranteed, because *schlecht* and *trutz* by themselves are no longer words at all in the sense in which they occur in these reduplications in literary New High German. But this reduplication is not only conservative, but also aggressively formative, regardless, in a measure, of the individual parts of the reduplication. In Mhg. *rasten* and *resten* 'rest' coexist; in Nhg. *rasten* alone is left. I doubt not but what we may consult such an expression as *ohn' rast aber ohn' hast* for the explanation of the final outcome. And now, after this has been accomplished, it is to be noted that Germ. *hasten* and *rasten* are, to my feeling at least, vastly more congeneric, more correlative, than Engl. *rest* and *haste*. The question as to how much plasticity may have been imparted to the lexical value of words by the cloud of formally assonant words, with meanings not too far removed, that hover about them, would form one of the most fruitful and profound investigations in linguistic history. In such a triad as *langen, hangen, bängen*, the verb *hängen* has unquestionably been enriched semantically by the mere accident of its possible alliterative pendants. Now, a great deal of congeneric assimilation is in reality this alliterative reduplication incompleted, elliptic. The alliterative companion is potential rather than actual. It flits through the mind, and may or may not leave a trace.

Blessed be that comparatively recent change in grammatical sentiment which permits the secure feeling that the modern

on the other hand, is imperfective, being used without the dative in the sense of 'hold, support.' Typical examples are *bhāra gṛṇatē vdsūni* 'convey goods to the singer' (RV. ix 69. 10); and *vdsv bībhārṣi hdstayoh* 'thou holdest wealth in thy hands' (RV. i 55. 8). The distinction is observed without fail, and illustrates most truly the glottogenic value of the reduplication, as a formation which expresses carrying action or condition.

linguistic processes were in vogue in older periods of speech. I shall now proceed to show a few instances in which alliterative juxtaposition has proved creative in Vedic and Sanskrit. Vedic *ūrjasvant* means 'rich in food, exuberant, strong,' and is analyzable on the surface into a stem *ūrjas* and the possessive suffix *vant*. But there is no independent stem *ūrjas* to be found anywhere in the language: the simple word without suffix *vant* is *ūrj* or *ūrjā* 'food, strength.' If we look at the connections in which *ūrjasvant* occurs, we find, in the first place, that it keeps company very persistently with the word *pāyasvant* 'rich in fluid,' obviously a congener with an opposite flavor. Thus e. g. Vāj. S. i 27 *ūrjasvatī ca 'si pāyasvatī ca* 'thou art rich in food, and rich in drink'; AV. ii 29. 5 *ūrjam asmā ūrjasvatī dhattam pāyo asmāi pāyasvatī dhattam* '(O heaven and earth,) ye that are rich in food bestow food upon him, ye that are rich in drink bestow drink upon him.' In this passage the simple word *ūrj*, but the derivative *ūrjasvant*. In Vāit. Sū. iii 20 *prajāpater bhāgo 'sy ūrjasvān pāyasvān* 'thou art of Prajapati the share, rich in food and rich in drink.' Cf. also AV. iii 12. 2; vii 60. 2; ix 3. 16; xix 46. 6; Māitr. S. iv. 13. 9 (p. 212, l. 3); Tāit. Br. iii 7. 6. 6; 9. 19. 1, 2; Çat. Br. i 2. 5. 11; 9. 1. 7; Vāit. Sū. xvii 8. In RV. x 169. 1 we find *ūrjasvant* in alliterative juxtaposition, or at least in conscious parallelism, with another congener, *pīvasvant* 'rich in fat': *ūrjasvatīr ośhadhīr ā riçantām, pīvasvatīr jīvādhanyāḥ pibantu* 'they shall eat herbs rich in nourishment, drink waters rich in fat, life-bestowing.' In addition the language commands at least three other close congeners, *mēdasvant* 'rich in fat,' *prāyasvant* 'rich in enjoyment,' and *ōjasvant* 'rich in strength,' all *s*-stems with suffix *vant*: the formation *ūrjasvant* is thus, as it were, a historical necessity, while at the same time the primary word *ūrj* lives on in terms of complete intimacy with the primary *pāyas*, e. g. in the expression, Tāit. Br. iii 7. 4. 15, *ūrjaṁ pāyaṁ pīvamānā ghrītaṁ ca* 'yielding food, drink and ghee,' where the occasion does not demand the excitement of alliterative duplication.

Of particular interest in connection with the last sketch are certain momentary or opportunistic formations. Anent *ūrjasvant* we can imagine the objection: Does the frequent juxtaposition of *ūrjasvant* with *pāyasvant* after all prove that the former was made in obedience to the latter? may not the stem **ūrjas* have had an independent existence, and have perished, after begetting its derivative? Is not its occurrence in this connection otiose, for

the very reason that its meaning would naturally establish it in that very connection? We can fortunately point to a number of cases in which the transformation in deference to an alliterative sense occurs a single time in an unequivocal environment, is not, however, taken up by the speakers and writers, and perishes with the single occasion. In AV. ii 10. 1 we read *kṣetiriyāi tvā nirṛiyā* . . . *muñcāmi* 'from inherited disease, and destruction do I release thee.' The passage recurs in Tait. Br. ii 5. 6. 1 in the form *kṣetiriyāi tvā nirṛiyāi tvā* . . . *muñcāmi*. Here *nirṛiyāi* is the ablative feminine in *āi*, common in the Brāhmaṇas for the more normal Vedic ending *ās* (Whitney, Sk. Gr.², §365 *d*), and requires no comment. But *kṣetiriyā* is a masculine *a*-stem; there is no feminine, and if there were it would be nom. *kṣetiriyā*, abl. *kṣetiriyāyāḥ* or *kṣetiriyāyāi*.¹ Obviously the word is the product of the moment, of the situation, under alliterative impetus. The form is not called for again: it does not succeed in effecting a passage from merely rhetorical to grammatical existence.

A peculiarly interesting case of a momentary formation occurs in the seventh Aṅga of the Jainist Siddhānta; see Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften, vol. II, part 2, p. 485. The ordinary word *kāya* 'body' occurs there in the stem-form *kāyas*, in the expression, Prākṛit *maṇasā vayasā kāyasā* = Sk. *manasā vacasā kāyasā* 'with mind, speech and body': *kāya* has been changed to *kāyas* that it may rhyme with the preceding two *s*-stems,² although it is itself a secondary derivative from *ka* = *prajāpati* 'the lord of creatures,' i. e. 'coming from the lord of creatures,' and an *s*-stem from such a derivative is a monstrous thing. The true form of the instrumental occurs in a very similar formula, Bhagavad-Gīta, v 11 *kāyena manasā buddhyā* 'with body, mind and intelligence.' Cf. also Childers, Pali Lexicon, s. v. *kāyo*.

Another formation of this kind is the ἀπ. λεγ. *ῥhánt* 'small,' RV. x 28. 9: *bṛhántaṁ cid ῥhaté randhayāni* 'I shall subject even the great to the small.' The material from which this *ῥhánt*, peculiar in form and unquestionable in meaning, has been constructed is not so obvious. I can imagine it as derived from the root in *raghú* 'light,' but perhaps *ár̥bha* 'small,' *arbhaká* 'quite

¹ The scholiast does not hesitate to abstract from *kṣetiriyāi* the necessary base, nom. *kṣetri*; to wit, *bālopadravakāriṇi kácid rakṣojātiḥ kṣetri*.

² The case is precisely identical with the formulaic *uḍso doḍsaḥ ca*, AV. xvi 4. 6, where the stem *doḍṣā*, prompted by its neighbor *uḍs* 'dawn,' yields for the nonce a stem *doḍás* 'eve,' which latter never appears again.

small,' were in the mind of the poet. The fading out of either *gh* or *bh* to *h* occasions no difficulty (cf. *grabh* : *grah*, *videha* and *videgha*, Çat. Br. i 4. 1. 10, etc.), and, at any rate, whatever radical prototype is at work, there can be no question that *bṛhánt* helped in the formation of *ṛhánt*.

It is of particular interest to observe that at times the assimilative effect of alliteration or rhyme extends to a case-ending, and that this alliteratively changed case-form may, if the speakers fancy it, be propagated so as to become more or less freely available, to the confusion of the ordinary paradigmatic types. Thus the ablatives of the Vedic stems *didyút* and *vidyút* 'lightning' appear in certain Vedic formulas in the curious forms *didyót* and *vidyót*. The origin of these forms may be understood, if we observe the environment which gave rise to them. In Vaj. S. xx 2 we have *mṛtyóḥ páhi vidyót páhi*, in Tait. S. i 8. 14. 1 *mṛtyór mā páhi didyón mā páhi*.¹ Considered from a serious grammatical point of view, *vidyót* and *didyót* are the products of proportional analogy, nom. *mṛtyúḥ* : abl. *mṛtyóḥ* = noms. *vidyút*, *didyút* : *x*, where *x* yields *vidyót*, *didyót*, instead of the ordinary ablatives *vidyútaḥ* and *didyútaḥ*. In this case the forms never step out from rhetoric into grammar; they are restricted to these formulas. But in a paper on 'Two Problems in Sanskrit Grammar,' Proc. Am. Or. Soc. for December, 1894, I have treated the old problem of the instrumentals in *nā* from stems in *man* (*mahinā*, *variṇā*, *prathinā*, *bhūnā*), and have, I believe, shown that they are all likely to have arisen either through formulaic juxtaposition or, what amounts to essentially the same thing, the mental suggestion of one another as each was pronounced. The word *mahinā* means 'with greatness' and is itself a blend of *mahnā* and *mahimnā* 'with greatness,' suggested by metrical conveniences. If we observe the meaning of the other three words we find that *variṇā* means 'with extent,' *prathinā* 'with breadth,' and *bhūnā*, again, 'with greatness.' These are so obviously congeneric with *mahinā* as to suggest at once that they were patterned after it. This is shown strikingly by Tait. S. iv 7. 2. 1 = Maitr. S. ii 11. 2, where three of these four nouns succeed each other in a liturgical formula, and that, too, not in their instrumental form, but in the nominative singular, eliminating thus the suspicion that the peculiar form of the instru-

¹Cf. Maitr. S. ii 6. 10 and Kāth. S., in v. Schroeder's note, for additional variants.

mental is the cause rather than the effect of their appearance in company. The passage reads, *mahimā ca me varimā ca me brathimā ca me . . . yajñena kalpantām* 'may greatness, and scope, and breadth . . . form themselves for me with the sacrifice.'

We may now note a case of peculiar interest. It shows that one and the same word may, under proper circumstances, be subjected to congeneric influence more than a single time. In the *Suparṇakhyāna* 17. 3 (*Ind. Stud.* XIV 15) occurs the expression *ubhayaṁ sthāṣṇu jaṅgamam* 'both that which stands and walks.' The form *sthāṣṇu* with cerebral *ṣ* after *ā* is bizarre, and we may at once compare the obviously identical phrases, *idam sthāṇu jaṅgamam* 'that which stands and walks,' *Mahābh.* xiv 1487; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 48. 38; and *lokān sthāṇujaṅgamān*, *Mahābh.* i 1524, 6622; ii 469; *Harivaṅṣa* 944. The sibilant of *sthāṣṇu* has been imported into the word from its congener *sthāṣnu* 'standing,' e. g. *sthāṣnu carisṇu ca* 'that which stands and walks,' *Manu* i 56; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2. 6. But *sthāṣnu* itself is rather late, occurring neither in the *Rig-Veda*, nor in the *Atharvan*, though *sthāṇú* occurs in each, and we are led to suppose that *sthāṣnu* is an earlier product of *sthāṇú*, patterned after its opposite *carisṇu*. The only difference between *sthāṣnu* and *sthāṣṇu* is that the former defers more precisely to well-known phonetic tendencies, avoiding the cerebral sounds after *ā*. Finally, the Vedic *sthāṇú* is itself open to considerable suspicion: its difficult *ṇ* has been discussed frequently (see e. g. *Windisch*, *KZ.* XXVII 168; *Bartholomae*, *Idg. Forsch.* III 172), but no etymological or historical value should be attached to the cerebral quality of its nasal, because Vedic *carisṇú* is its opposite congener. If the word had been **sthānú* (with dental *n*), it would probably have soon accepted the invitation of *carisṇú* to change its dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*. Thus *sthāṇú*, *sthāṣnu*, *sthāṣṇu*, all three, are in the last analysis indebted for some of their qualities to the opposite *carisṇú*, even if our presentation of the order of the processes should stand in need of modification.

My article on 'Adaptation' has been reviewed a number of times, and has been received favorably. Two of the critics, Professor Fick in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, *Anzeiger*, XVIII, p. 184, and Professor Meringer in the *Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, p. 14, both of whom are well satisfied with the general outcome of my investigation, object strenuously to the opening example of

congeneric assimilation. The explanation of the Attic nominative *πούς* for **πώς* as an imitation of *ἰδοῦς* is regarded by both as untenable. Both make in substance the same objection, which may be stated in Prof. Fick's words: "The designations of hand and foot, eye and ear, arm and leg may operate upon one another, because they are often connected in speech and thought; foot and tooth, on the other hand, are in no especial relation: they are in truth not congeneric." I have no especial interest in saving this single explanation, and should be quite willing to throw it overboard, if the argumentation of these scholars was in any way coercive, and did not, as it seems to me, shear the principle of the greater part of its usefulness. I admit freely that hand and foot are more saliently congeneric than tooth and foot; the former, in fact, are opposites, and opposites are the most congeneric of congeners, 'les extrêmes se touchent.' Hence the analogy of opposites has been for years a fruitful source of good linguistic analysis; during all that time congeneric influence has been suspected but rarely for the very reason that it is not so obvious. Precisely in the same way black and white are more vigorously congeneric than black and green, and we may expect hence assimilations of the former two such as I seem to have proved for Germ. **hveita-s*, for **hveipa-s*, or perhaps rather **hveidā-s* (Verner's law) = *çvelā-s*, and **svarta-s* ('Adaptation,' p. 16, note 2). Yet color-words in general do assume again and again a common suffix (see ib., pp. 16, 25, and below, p. 433). Meringer, in the very same breath in which he argues against my *rapprochement*, makes the interesting suggestion that the German **haubid-* for **habid-* (cf. Lat. *caput-*) owes its troublesome *u* to *augō* and *ausō*, an influence by far less obvious than that which he regards as sufficient for such assimilations. I would draw attention to the fact that Ved. *angūṣṭha* 'thumb, great toe' = Avest. *aṅgušta*, Ved. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' *upāṣṭha* 'lap,' and Sk. *koṣṭha* 'abdomen' (cf. Arm. *kuṣt* 'venter') exhibit a case of adaptation of a suffix *-ṣṭha* in four designations of parts of the body removed from one another as far as possible. So also, though in a lesser degree, *āsthi* 'bone,' *sākṭhi* 'thigh' and *aṣṭhi-vāntāu* 'the knees,' if they have influenced one another at all,¹ owe their assimilation to the remote idea that these three parts of the body are bony.

¹ Cf. Bartholomae, Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte, II, p. 103, note 1.

Professor H. Zimmer has been good enough to communicate to me a striking case of adaptation of an ending to designations of parts of the body, which seems to me to speak for itself, and exhibits the unity of this category in the minds of the speakers, all logical interpellations notwithstanding. I present his list and his explanation in his own words :

1) Middle-Cymric *eskeuarn*, Neo-Cymric *yscyfarn*, Cornish *scovarn*, *scovorn*, *scoforn* 'ear,' Arem. Bret. *skouarn*, *skoarn* 'oreille.'

2) Middle-Cymr. *ascurn*, Neo-Cymr. *asgwrn* 'bone,' Corn. *ascorn* 'a bone,' Arem. Bret. *askourn* 'os.'

3) Middle-Cymr. *loscurn*, Neo-Cymr. *llosgwrn* 'tail.'

4) Middle-Breton *arzorn*, Neo-Bret. *arzourn* 'l'endroit où la main se joint au bras,' 'wrist.'

A comparison of Cymr. *llost*, Corn. *lost*, Bret. *lost* = Erse *loss* 'tail' with No. 3 (Middle-Cymr. *loscurn*, Neo-Cymr. *llosgwrn*) shows that the suffix *orn*, *ourn* has been added secondarily. No. 2 also may be compared with Sk. *ásthi*, *asthán*, Gr. *ὀστέον*.

A Pan-Celtic word is Erse *dorn*, Gaelic *dorn*, Manx *doarn*, Cymr. *dwrn*, Corn. *dorn*, Arem. Bret. *dourn* 'fist, hand' = Gr. *θίρα*, Ohg. *tenar*?

This seems to be the starting-point of the ending *orn*, *urn* in the Britannic dialects: Arem. Bret. *arzourn* is equal to *ar-dourn* 'at the hand, at the fist, wrist.' Cf. Zeuss-Ebel, *Grammatica Celtica*, 827.

According to this view the final sounds *-orn* of *dorn*, the word for fist, hand, have by gradual extension captured the designations for joint of the hand, ear, bone and tail, and the logical distance from hand to ear is no less than from foot to tooth. There is enough to show that the vague and the half-relevant associations are as much at play in this kind of operation as the sober and matter-of-fact. The group of five Greek words ending in *γῆ* ('Adaptation,' p. 27), united by the common quality of 'hollowness': *σῦριγῆ* 'pipe,' *σάλπιγῆ* 'trumpet,' *φάρυγῆ* 'windpipe,' *λάρυγῆ* 'throat,' *σπηλιγῆ* 'cave,' to which I would now add *σῆραγῆ* 'hollow, cleft,' are certainly due to association of the vague kind. The process borders, in fact, upon popular etymology on the one hand, and symbolic association on the other, and a good deal of latitude must be allowed. For instance, the origin of the 'suffix' *-nga* in Sk. *śṛṅga* 'horn'—even the Avestan has *srva* in *srvō-jan* 'breaking off the horns (of cattle)'—from *ānga* 'limb' must be

regarded in that light¹: the horn is easily looked upon as a limb—saliently and yet vaguely.

Instead of this doctrinaire restriction as to the lengths to which language might reasonably be permitted to go in this matter, I would point out that the entire semantic community is engaged in these operations, all the way from words having exactly, or nearly exactly, the same meanings to the words or expressions on the very confines of the class. For the sake of convenient survey we may treat such materials in four classes:

I. Words of absolute or nearly absolute identity of meaning.

II. Words belonging to the same general class which, in addition, share some specific semasiological traits that constitute them into a class within a class.

III. Words of opposite meaning.

IV. Congeners in the widest sense.

In the following pages these empirical subdivisions are illustrated by materials which to a considerable extent are new. Especially in the first division the attempt is made to assemble a rather extensive list of pairs of words, in order to exhibit the scope of these operations. A good deal depends here upon the habit of expectancy, and it will be well at this time to offer as much as possible for consideration.

I. *Words of absolute or nearly absolute identity of meaning.*

Two I. E. words for 'dung, excrement' are contained in Gr. σκῶρ, σκαρός and Sk. *śákṛt*, *śaknás*. Gr. κόπρος corresponds to the last pair as does ὕδρος to ὕδωρ, ὕδατος, and thus forbids the complete identification of *śákṛt* with σκῶρ. But the congeneric character of the two words has doubtless had a hand in assigning both to the *r-n*-declension. It is possible that this similarity is due merely to their general relation to the body (cf. 'Adaptation,' p. 5), but it is more likely that the two groups have influenced one another because they are names for the same thing. Cf. Pedersen, KZ. XXXII 245, 246.

Lith. *saldūs*, Obg. *sladūkū*² 'sweet' are derivatives from the I. E. stem *sāld* 'salt' (J. Schmidt, Indogermanische Neutra, p.

¹ Different views are given by Fröhde, Bezz. Beitr. X, p. 300; Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch, I⁴, p. 212; Kluge, Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 60; Meringer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Declination (Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie in Wien, vol. CXXV), p. 16 (reprint).

² Cf. its opposite *bridūkū* 'bitter.'

182), but they owe, I believe, the particular conformation of their suffix, and the specialization of their meaning, to I. E. *svādús* 'sweet.'

It is not possible to maintain the time-honored equation Gr. *ἀνρμήν* = Sk. *ātmán* 'breath, soul.' The former must be derived from the twice-reduced theme *ἀFη* 'breathe.' The latter may be *ātman* from the dissyllabic root *anə* 'breathe,' or it may be radically related to Germanic **ēpma* in Ohg. *ātum*, Old Saxon *āthom* (cf. Old Frisian *ēihma*). At any rate, *ἀνρμήν* and *ātmán* must no longer be identified; only the common suffix is due to their congeneric character: one was patterned after the other.

The stem *ātmán* has entered into affiliation with another word in a very interesting manner. By its side occurs the reduced, or rather mutilated, stem *tmán*, phonetically unaccountable. The reduced stem, it may be noted, is semantically defective when compared with the full stem. The primary meaning of *ātmán*, 'soul, life's breath,' scarcely appears with the reduced stem at all; the latter flourishes (especially in the instrumental form *tmānā*) in the more faded meaning of 'self,'¹ which is also common with the strong stem *ātmán*. Now, there is another word, *tanū* 'body,' which is again employed, especially in the instrumental, in the sense of 'self.' The following two passages shall of themselves convey to the reader the explanation I have in mind: RV. vi 49. 13 *d, rāyā madema tanvā tānā ca* 'may we in wealth rejoice, ourselves and our children'; RV. x 148. 1 *suvitām . . . tmānā tānā sanuyāma tvólāḥ* 'may we, ourselves and children, obtain prosperity, aided by thee.' Obviously *tanvā* and *tmānā* are interchangeable terms in this connection, and I doubt not that the type *tmán* has arisen from *ātmán* by giving up its *ā* in deference to its close congener *tanū*.² Cf. further the expression *tmāne tókāya* 'for ourselves and children' (RV. i 114. 6) with *tokāya . . . tanūnām* 'of ourselves and children' (RV. ix 778. 18); *tānayāya tmāne ca* 'for our posterity and ourselves' (RV. i 183. 3) with *tanvā tāne ca*, with the same meaning (RV. vi 46. 12).

¹ See e. g. Māitr. S. iii 9. 7 (p. 126, l. 10).

² Possibly aid and comfort may have come to this movement from the large number of words with the opposite meaning 'children, offspring, posterity' beginning with *t*; namely, *túc, tuj, tokā, tán, tānas* and *tānaya*. These as a group are constantly found in juxtaposition with the stems *tanū* and *tmán* in the opposite sense of 'self'; cf. Grassmann's lexicon under each word. A typical example is RV. i 114. 6 *tmāne tokāya tānayāya mṛḍa* 'pity ourselves, our children and our posterity.'

Ved. *átithi* 'guest' is compared with Avest. *astī* 'minister,' and somehow both suggest Goth. *gast(i)-s*, Obg. *gostī* and Lat. *hosti-s*. The two groups may be of congeneric structure, since *gast-s*, etc., may be referred to an I. E. base **ghot-thi* parallel with **ot-thi*. The comparison of the two groups is, however, uncertain; Brugmann, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, I 172 ff., makes out a fair case for O. Müller's (*Festus*, p. 102) comparison of *hos-ti-s* with *ζ-εῦφο-s*, which would necessitate a root *ghes* 'devour' (Vedic *ghas*). In that case the similarity of *átithi* and *gasts* is fatuous.

The *ν* of the oblique cases of *εἷς* (Cret. *εῖς*), *εἷν* 'unus, unum,' from the I. E. stem *sem* 'one,' are supposed to be due to paradigmatic analogy: *εἷν* unquestionably may have propagated its *ν* through the oblique cases, just as *Ζῆν* for *διῆν* yields *Ζηνός*.¹ Nevertheless, it is of interest to observe the other words for 'one' in the language: *οἶνο-* [European stem *oino-* in Lat. *oino-s*, Lith. *v-ėnas*, Goth. *ain(a)-s*] and **μόνφοs* (*μῶνφοs*, *μόνος*). The domain of the number 'one' is thus largely held by words with *n*-suffixes, and the possibility must be admitted that they caused the change of **έμός* to *ένός*, or aided in bringing it about.

The I. E. words for 'tear' are based upon two congeneric roots with frequently identical suffix-formation; the speakers rarely forgot the existence of the double opportunity, and the propriety of keeping the two groups in touch with one another. We may assume that the radical elements are *aĕ* 'to be sharp' and *daĕ* 'bite.' Sk. *aḥ-rá-m* (I. E. stem **aĕ-ró-m*) is thus to be compared with Goth. *īagr* (I. E. stem *daĕ-ró-m*). Vedic *áḥ-ru*, again, is to be compared with *δάκρυ* (*δάκρυμα*, Lat. *dacruma*). If De Saussure, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, VII 88 ff., is correct in assuming the lexical identity of Homeric *δακρύεις* and *δακρυόεις*,² then the Greek by itself has the two types I. E. **aĕ-ru* and *daĕ-ru*. The change of **άκρυ* to **όκρυ* is supported by the doublet *ἄκρῖς*, *όκρῖς* (cf. Vedic *áḥ-ri-s* 'edge'), and lends strength to the derivation of the words for 'tear' without *d* from the root *aĕ* 'to be sharp.'

Very similarly the I. E. word for 'day' seems to have preempted a duplex radical territory, but under formative conditions which show that the meaning of the word acted as a bond of

¹ Professor von Bradke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der vorhistorischen Entwicklung unseres Sprachstammes*, p. 30, note, argues in favor of a pre-Hellenic stem with *n*, comparing *Diána* with *Διώνη* and *Jānus* with stem *Ζην-*.

² Cf. *δακρυόεις πόλεμος*, Il. v 737, with *όκρυόεις πόλεμος*, Il. ix 64.

union between the formations. Vedic *áhas* 'day' (I. E. stem **oǵhes*) is closely parallel to the stem **dhoghes*¹ in Goth. *Dagis-theus*. J. Schmidt, *Indogermanische Neutra*, p. 151, assumes that the *o*-stem **dhogho* in Goth. *dag(a)-s* arose from the nominative of the *s*-stem **dhoges* in *dags*, which coincided formally with the *o*-stems. At any rate, the *s*-stem is secure, and a total separation of the history of the two words is not likely to take place. Cf. Meringer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Declination* (Proc. of the Vienna Academy, vol. CXXV), p. 36 of the reprint; Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXII 250.

Avest. *aznqm* = Ved. *áhnām* 'of days'; Avest. *asni* = Ved. *áhni* 'by day,' together with Vedic *áhar*, point to a heteroclitic Aryan declension *aśhar*, *aśhnas*. The Avestan has by its side another heteroclitic *r-n*-stem for 'day,' *ayar-*, *ayan-* (nom. *ayarə*; gen. loc. sg., acc. pl. *ayqn*). In a measure the similarity of these words may be due to their character as words designating 'season'; these I have shown ('Adaptation,' p. 19 ff.) evince a marked preference for this type of declension. Yet it seems unlikely that the common, narrower meaning 'day' did not have a hand in the final adjustment of the sound-matter that entered into the words. Cf. J. Schmidt, l. c., 216, note; Fick, *Wörterbuch*, I⁴, pp. 158, 163, 168.

Avestan *kaṃərədu* 'head' (of Ahrimanic beings) may be a blend of two Aryan words, one represented by Ved. *mūrdhán* 'head, peak,' the other by Ved. *kakūbh*, *kakúd* 'peak,' *kakātīkā* 'part of the occiput'; cf. Lat. *caput* and *cacūmen*. Thus I had written in the original version of this article, read before the American Philological Association in 1893 (cf. *Transactions*, vol. XXIV, p. xxviii, middle). Bartholomae, *Indog. Forsch.* V 224, has since made the same suggestion. Possibly the element *ka* had risen even in I. E. times to the value of an 'initial determinative' in this sense, and it is possible, again, that it had been contaminated further, very early, say by the word for 'ear,' *aus* to *kau*; cf. Goth. *haubiþ* 'caput' and Lith. *kāukolė* 'skull.'

Very similarly *κελευθος* with the rare duplex ablaut-form *ἀ-κόλουθος* may be explained satisfactorily as a blend of a derivative from *ελευθ* (*εἰλήλουθα*) and the root (probably in Ionic form) I. E. *qel*, otherwise present in *τελλω* (cf. *τελέθω*) and *περι-πλ-όμενος*.

¹ Note, however, the difference in the guttural aspirates. Avestan *asnqm* points to the I. E. palatal *ǵh*; the connection of Goth. *dags* with the root *dhegh* (Ved. *dagdhá*, Lith. *degù*) to the I. E. velar *ǵh*. Such interchanges are common; see J. Schmidt, *KZ.* XXV 125 ff.

Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II 63 ff., has proved conclusively the existence of a Vedic word *pravāt* in the sense of 'river' (cf. previously Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV 407), from root *pru* 'flow.' He has gone too far in denying the existence of another *pra-vāt* in the sense of 'slope.' The formation *pravāt* 'river,' feminine, is distinctly peculiar; whatever may be its precise history, its close congener *sra-vāt* 'river,' from root *sru* 'flow,' must have shared in its fate.

The dissyllabic root Sk. *caru*, *carv* 'chew' (see the author in the forthcoming *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* for December, 1894; *Journ.*, vol. XVI) is flanked by the root *bharv* 'chew' in Sk. *bharvati*; Avestan *aš-bo*rv-a* 'eating much.' If *caru*, *carv* is proethnic (cf. Fick, I¹, p. 385), then *bharv* is likely to have been the borrower of some of the common characters of the two. For a similar vein of adaptation in connection with *u* of dissyllabic roots, cf. the verbs *jūrvati* 'consume (the enemy),' *tūrvati* 'overcome (the enemy),' *dhūrvati* 'injure (the enemy),' in the *Proceedings*, ib., note.

Hübschmann, *Armenische Studien*, p. 77, compares Arm. *surb* with Ved. *ṣubhrá*, assuming metathesis. Another word, Germanic **sūbraz*, Ohg. *sūbar*, Mhg. *sūber* 'sauber' tempts us. Even the modern expressions 'sauberes Mädchen,' 'saubere Person' are peculiarly near to Vedic *ṣubhrás . . . yūvā* RV. ix 14. 5, which might be translated by 'sauberer Junge,' and *tanvāḥ ṣumbhamānāḥ* 'bright bodies' RV. i 165. 5. It is possible to identify all three, *ṣubhrá*, *surb* and *sūbar* by assuming that the original proethnic form of the root was *seṽbh* 'to be pure,' which, in certain domains of I. E. territory, came under the influence of the congeneric *keudh* 'to be pure.' The Sanskrit, taken by itself, manifests a strong sympathy between *s* and *ṣ*,¹ and the change of *subh* to *ṣubh* in deference to *ṣudh* is without objection. There are, in fact, distinct indications of formal contact between the two roots: both are represented by nasal formations which are not very common, *ṣundhati* and *ṣumbhati*, *ṣundhana* and *ṣumbhana*. The presence of another congeneric root *ṣuc* 'to shine' may have also contributed to the influence of *ṣudh* upon *subh*, and *ṣuc* in its turn raises another question. The correspondence between itself and *ruc* is entitled to consideration from the point of view of initial 'determinatives,' precisely as much as *ṣuc*, *ṣudh* and *ṣubh*

¹ Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* for May, 1886, *Journal*, vol. XIII, p. cxviii ff.

from the point of final 'determinatives.' Without strain one can imagine that *śuc* is a precipitate from the roots for 'to shine,' beginning with *śu* and the old I. E. root *reuk̑* (λεῦκος, *loucmen*).¹ Barring the last-mentioned root, the etymologies of the entire group are wanting: Fick, I', p. 428, derives Sk. *śudh* from an I. E. *kyendh*, comparing Gr. καθάρως, but the latter claims Sk. *śithirā* 'loose' with better right. We can take it for granted that the group did not come about without congeneric influence, though there is nothing coercive about any of these suggestions in detail.

The Vedic root *śam* 'to exert oneself' is absolutely synonymous with *śram*. In RV. viii 56. 6 we have *śrāntāya sunvāte* 'to him that exerts himself and presses (the soma)'; in RV. i 141. 10; iv 31. 8, etc., we have *śaśamanāya sunvāte*, in the same sense. This recalls couplets like Lat. *frango* : Sk. *bhanājmi* 'break'; Lat. *fungor*, Sk. *bhūṅklé* : Goth. *brūkjan* 'brauche' (see below). In the later Sanskrit a third root *klam*, identical with *śram* in meaning and inflection, appears; this would seem to be a Prākritic form of *śram*, unless, indeed, it is a mixed product of *kliṣ* 'distress' and *śram*, in the manner of *bhyas* from *bhī* and *tras* (cf. Idg. Forsch. IV 71; ZDMG. XLVIII 573, note). This, again, throws light upon the origin of the 'root-determinatives,' and so do the three Vedic roots *gras*, *bhas*, *ghas* 'devour,' the last two with the notable derivative adjectives *kṣu* and *-psu* 'food.'

A 'suffix' *-tṣa* figures in the single Vedic noun *pīyṣa* 'biestings, sap' (Whitney, Sk. Gr.² 1197 c). The suffix may be eliminated from all serious morphological considerations without any great flight of fancy: the word may be a derivative from root *pī* 'swell,' patterned after *yūṣa* 'broth.' Similarly *śuśulūka*, in *śuśulūka-yātu* (RV. vii 104. 22) 'name of a demon,' lit. 'he that practices sorcery with the *śuśulūka*-bird,' fem. *śuśulūkā* (Maitr. S. iii 14. 17), is likely to have been constructed under the influence of *ulūka* 'owl.'

¹ Triads of roots, one of which stands, as it were, in the middle, are likely to have arisen at all periods of speech in the manner of Ved. *bhyas* 'fear,' from *bhī* and *tras* (cf. Idg. Forsch. IV 71; ZDMG. XLVIII 573). Thus:

Ved. *bhī* : *bhyas* : *tras* 'fear.'
 I. E. *ueḍ* : *ueq* : *seq* 'speak.'
 I. E. *drem* : *dreu* : *dheu* 'run.'
 Ved. { *śudh* : *śuc* : *ruc* 'shine.'
 śubh

The following instances invite judgment on the same lines: Avest. *parətu* and Sk. *setu* 'bridge' with the none too common suffix *tu* may have been patterned one after the other; likewise Avest. *doiþra* and Sk. *netra* 'eye.'¹ The cerebral in Ved. *kā́tā* 'pit,' doubtless a popular form of *kartā* (*gárta*) 'pit,' may account for the cerebral in *kévaṭa* 'pit' (cf. Fick, I⁴, p. 375). And, again, *kévaṭa* and *avaṭā* have surely been in the same mold. Ved. *kubjā* 'hunchbacked' has a hand in the formation of Sk. *nyubja* 'crooked-backed.' The Dhātupāṭha reports a root *kṣvid* 'sweat,' which looks as though it had been modelled after *svid* 'sweat.'² The initial *kṣ* may have been derived from root *kṣar* 'flow.'

There are indeed an enormous number of I. E. words of absolutely identical meaning which differ from one another, either by an additional sound, possessed by one, absent in the other, or by a sound so different in one, as compared with the other, that phonetic adjustment has hitherto failed to harmonize them. In the following a collection is attempted which lays claim neither to completeness nor to criticism sufficiently thorough to warrant the belief that all represent congeneric formations. The list is intended to be suggestive rather than conclusive: arrangements of linguistic materials from the semantic point of view are almost entirely wanting, and there is little danger of offering too much in this direction.

Words for parts of the body are so picturesque and full of salience that we may expect to find them figuring prominently in such a list. Thus the words for 'stomach,' 'abdomen,' and the like, seem to have been cut out of different lexical cloth, but with the same suffixal trimming: Gr. *γαστήρ*, Lat. *venter*, Goth. *gīpr-s* in *laus-gīprs* 'with empty stomach,' Ved. *jaṭhāra* 'stomach' (cf. Goth. *kilpei* 'womb') cannot be referred to the same proethnic word, but nothing forbids the assumption that they were coined from different radical materials with the same suffix. Ved. *jaṭhāra*, again, coquets with *udarā* 'womb,' which, in its turn, supported by Lith. *vēdaras* 'stomach,' Gr. *ὄδρος* 'belly' (Hesych.), *ὄστρος* 'belly,' calls up *ἐντέρον*, *ἐντέπα* 'entrails' and Lat. *uterus*.³

¹ These cases repeat the formative principle which seems to have furnished with identical suffixes such pairs as Goth. *himins* : *ovavōs* (Kluge) and Old Norse *konungr* : *Fávaṣ* (Fick, Anzeiger f. deutsch. Alterth. XVIII 185).

² The Dhātupāṭha defines both as employed in *snehanamocanayoh*.

³ Cf. Bartholomae, Idg. Forsch. III 164, note.

For the words for 'liver' Joh. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen*, etc., p. 199, suggests *ljēkrt* as the common I. E. predecessor. This is after all nothing but a perplexed composite photograph of the separate I. E. words, some of which begin with *l* (Arm. *leard*, Ohg. *lebara*, Ags. *lifer*, Old Norse *lifr*, Old Pruss. *lagno*) and some with *i* (Sk. *yákrt*, Zend *yākarə*, Gr. *ἥπαρ*, Lat. *jecur*, Lith. *jeknos*). Here again it seems probable that two I. E. words, betraying their closely congeneric character in their suffixes, have left their descendants variously in the individual languages; the etyma of both forms are profoundly obscure.¹

Not less vain, in the opinion of the writer, are the attempts to solder together all the words for 'tongue' in our family of speech. Doubtless it is true that with all their Protean variety they suggest one another, and this suggestiveness has led investigators again and again, and very naturally, to fuse all the materials into a single prototype. Very recently two such attempts have been put on record—one by Johansson, *Idg. Forsch.* II 1, the other by Collitz, 'The Aryan Name of the Tongue,' in the *Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia*. Both discussions are extremely ingenious and valuable, but the start-form which each scholar arrives at is again a composite photograph. Johansson presents **zdngḥū*, *zdngḥuā*; Collitz *dngḥū*, *dngḥvā*.² Aside from the cacophony of these *soi-disant* words, as to which ears and mouths may differ, it seems unlikely that the materials which have entered into each sum should have passed through the ages so free from the effects of popular etymology as to make their direct employment phonetically a safe procedure. In the Vedic dialect, and probably in Indo-Iranian (Aryan), the word for 'tongue' has without doubt established an alliance with the word for 'spoon,' Ved. *juhū*³; in Latin *lingua* the effect of *lingere* is obvious; in the Germanic languages *tongue* and *tong*, *zunge* and *zange* have not, perhaps, been without influence upon each other. Meringer, l. c., p. 38, arranges the representatives of 'tongue' under three

¹ From the point of view of the German we may note the genuine *rapport* of 'liver' and 'lung.' The derivation of the latter is again obscure.

² To this may be added Fick's start-form, *dngḥuā* (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, I⁴, p. 71).

³ Cf. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II 110 ff.; Collitz, l. c., p. 5, note. Lat. *ligula* 'spoon' appears in lexical works as *lingula*, with evident attachment to *lingua* (*lingula* 'little tongue') or *lingere* 'lick.' Cf. Gust. Meyer, *Idg. Forsch.* II 368.

start-forms: **ḡhū*, **d-ḡhuvā* and **s-ḡhuvā* (or **s-iḡhuvā*), and imagines that the first of these was modified by prefixes. But prefixes, thus broadly launched, are indicators of perplexity: all that is needful is to suppose that there was one creation of a word for 'tongue' with the final complex *-ḡhuvā*; popular etymologies and new formations from various radical materials with this 'suffix' *-ḡhuvā*, in the manner of Romance *lastare* after *gustare*, may have done the rest. Other parts of the body, represented by doublets that have not as yet been harmonized are Sk. *klóman*: Gr. *πλεύμων*, Lat. *pulmo*¹; Aryan *žhrd* (I. E. *ḡhrd*), in Sk. *hṛd*: I. E. *ḡrd*, in Lat. *cord-*, etc.; Obg. *kosti*: Sk. *ásthi* 'bone'; Lat. *liēn* (Cels. 2. 7. 8): Gr. *σπλήν*, Ved. *plihān* 'spleen'; possibly Hom. *ἀγοστός* 'flat of the hand': Ved. *hástā*, Avest. *zasta* 'hand'; possibly (with Meringer, l. c., p. 41) a theme Sk. *cakṣ-*: *akṣ-* 'eye'; I. E. *ḡhenu*, in Sk. *hānu*, Avest. *zanva*: I. E. *ḡenu*, in *γένυ-s*, *genu-ñus*, Goth. *kinnus* 'chin' (cf. Fick, I⁴, p. 53).⁴ Meringer, l. c., p. 41, compares also *κωλήν* 'thigh-bone' (cf. Obg. *kolēno* 'knee') with *ὠλένη* 'elbow.'

Other cases of words with identical meanings which betray their congeneric character in formative similarity are: Sk. *kṛmīs*, Lith. *kirmis* (I. E. *qrmīs*): Lat. *vermis*, Ohg. *wurm* 'worm'; I. E. *ṛsén* and *uṛsén* 'male animal' (Idg. Forsch. IV 73); Lat. *aper*: Lat. *caper*, Gr. *κάπρος* (*οὐς κάπρος*) 'goat, boar' (Fick, I⁴, pp. 362, 376); *ūs*: *oūs* 'sow' (ibid. 141, 392); *émus* and *émús*: *κλεμμός* 'tortoise'; I. E. *trozdos*, in Old Norse *pröst* (Primitive Germanic *prastaz*): I. E. *trozdos*, in Lith. *strázdas* 'thrush.' We may note that this list consists of names of animals which are peculiarly liable to affect one another. Cf. also perhaps the following pairs: Vedic *kápī*: Germ. *affe* 'ape,' and Sk. *vamrá*, *vamri*: Avest. *maoiri* 'ant' (Fick, I⁴, pp. 110, 519); Ved. *karká*, Gr. *καρκίνος*: Obg. *rakū* 'crab.'

Other pairs are: Lith. *szvėndrai*: *nėndrė* (*lėndrė*) 'reed' (cf.

¹ Lat. *p* does not ordinarily = I. E. *g*; hence *gleumōn* is problematic. Gr. *πνεύμων* after *πνεῦμα* illustrates the mobility of such a word.

² Lat. *lien* has been explained as *splī(h)ēn*, but *spl* is unchanged in *splendō*; the analogy of *slocus*, *locus*; *silis*, *lis* is therefore illusory.

³ Cf. perhaps similarly Goth. *hausjan* 'hear': *ausō* 'ear.'

⁴ This example, of course, should not, for the present, be discussed apart from the cases like *ἐγώ*: Ved. *ahm*, Avest. *azm*; cf. v. Fierlinger, KZ. XXVII 478, note; Brugmann, Grundriss, I 349.

⁵ Cf. also Gr. *ἐλμυς* 'worm, tape-worm,' which again seems to be radically independent.

Fick, I⁴, pp. 428, 506)¹; Lith. *kaszus*, Obg. *koši* (I. E. *qoso-*) : Ved. *kóṣa*, *kóṣa* (I. E. *qouso-*) 'basket, box'; Hesychian *φαιδρόν* 'φαιδρόν, Lith. *skaidrūs* : *φαιδρός* = Lith. *gėdras* 'clear' (Fick, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 143 ff.); Obg. *dobrū* : Ved. *bhadrá* 'good'; Lith. *ilgas* : Ved. *dīrghá* 'long'; *bindu* 'drop,' modified by popular etymology to *bhindú* (root *bhid* 'cut'), TS. vi 6. 3. 5, and Apast. Çr. xiii 20. 11 : *indū* 'drop'; I. E. stem *ǵhem* in Gr. *χαμαί*, Avest. *zem*, Lith. *žemė*, Obg. *zem-lja* : I. E. *ksem* or *kšem* in Gr. *χαμαλός*, Ved. genitive *kṣm-ás* 'earth'; Goth. *haim(a)-s*, Nhg. *heim* 'home,' Lith. *kėmas* 'village'; Ved. *kṣēmas* 'dwelling'; *ἄμμος* (*ἄμμος*) and *ἄμαθος* : *ψάμμος* and *ψάμαθος* 'sand'; I. E. stem *melg* in Goth. *miluks*, etc., 'milk,' flanked by *ἀμέλω* 'to milk' : I. E. stem *ǵelg* 'milk,' flanked by Hesychian *βαδελεγεῖ* 'ἀμέλω'; I. E. root *seus* 'to be dry,' in Ved. *ṣuṣka*, Avestan *huška* 'dry' : I. E. *eus* 'burn,' in Ved. *ósati*, Gr. *εὔω*, Lat. *ūro*, etc.; Gr. *ἄλκω* (*selkō*) 'draw' (cf. Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow') : Lith. *velkū* 'draw'; I. E. root *meld* in Ags. *mettan* 'melt' : I. E. root *smeld* in Ohg. *smelzan* 'smelt'; Sk. root *ardh* 'prosper' : *vardh* 'grow,' and connected with them I. E. *ǵdhū-* 'high, steep,' in Lat. *arduus*, Ved. *ūrdhuvā*, Avest. *ərədva* : I. E. *ǵdhū-* in Gr. *φορβός*, *βορβός* (Fick, Anz., I. c., p. 185); Ved. *vār* : *īdwar* 'water' (ibid.); Lat. *velle* : Gr. *ἐθέλω* : Gr. *δέλλομαι*, *βούλομαι* 'will'⁵ (Fick, Anz., I. c.); the rough breathing (*s*) in *ἦσται* (Ved. *āste*) is due to *ēd* (*sed*) 'sit'; Ohg. *bim* 'am' from I. E. root *bheuz* is modelled after forms of the I. E. root *es*, Goth. *im* 'am' (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, II 908); Lat. *frango* : Ved. *bhaj* (*bhanājmi*) 'break'; European root *bhreuz* in Lat. *fruor* (**frugv-or*), *fructus*, Goth. *brūkjan* (Nhg. *brauche*) : I. E. root *bheuz* in Lat. *fungor*, Ved. *bhuñkté*; Goth. *skulan* : Ohg. *sulen* (cf. Johansson in Paul and Braune's Beiträge, XIV, p. 295); I. E. root *sǵū* : I. E. root *sū* 'sew' (Gust. Meyer, Albanesische Studien III : Proc. Vienna Acad. CXXV, p. 41 ff.); Ved. *jyātu* : Avest. *jyātu* 'life' (Fick, I⁴ 198, 201); Ohg. *winistar* :

¹ Cf. the broader group, Ved. *velasā* 'reed,' *atasā* 'jungle,' and, more remotely, *yávasa* 'grass' and *avasā* 'fodder,' Obg. *ovisū* 'oats.'

² Cf. also Achem. *drānga* : Lat. *longus*, Goth. *laggs* (Meringer, I. c., p. 35).

³ Cf. also Ved. *grāma* 'village.'

⁴ We may imagine *βαδελεγεῖ* a blend of *δελεγ* and *βλαγ*, *δ* and *β* being the treatment of I. E. *ǵelg* and *ǵlg* respectively, according to the usual habits of velars in Greek.

⁵ Brugmann, Grundriss, II 862, explains the length of the augment in *ἡβουλόμην* (as well as in the congeneric words *ἡμελλον* and *ἡδυνάμην*) as imported from *ἡθελον* : *ἐθέλω*.

Lat. *sinister* 'left'; I. E. *alǵo-* in Lat. *alius*, etc. : I. E. *anǵo-* in Ved. *anyá*, etc., 'other'; Ved. *cánas*, Avest. *canō* : Ved. *vánas*, Lat. *Venus* 'attachment, favor'; Gr. *μόςχος* : *σχος* 'shoot'; *μάλευρον* : *ἄλευρον* 'meal'.¹

Of pronominal, adverbial and prepositional words we may group the following pairs: the Vedic demonstratives *syá*, *syā*, *tyád* : *sá*, *sā*, *tád* (I. E. *só*, *sā*, *tód*); the former pair is likely to be a blend of I. E. *só* and *ǵo*, etc. Greek *ζύν* is more than likely a blend of *σύν* with I. E. *gom* (Lat. *com*): the vowel of *σύν*, *ζύν* is of obscure origin. Cf. further I. E. *poti* : *proti* in Ved. *práti*, Gr. *πορί* : Avest. *paíti*, Gr. *πορί*; Lat. *super* : Ved. *upári*, Gr. *ὑπείρ*; Gr. *εἰ* : Ved. *sú* (cf. *vásu*).

II. *Words belonging to the same general class which, in addition, share some specific semasiological traits that constitute them into a class within a class.*

That is, words belonging to the same class frequently call up for congeneric assimilation those members of that class which stand related to them by more special traits. Thus, of parts of the body, those of the head are especially prone to influence one another; hence *augō* and *ausō* 'eye and ear' in Gothic. The Greek pair *λάρυγξ* and *φάρυγξ* not only belong to that broader group which designates 'hollowness' ending in *γξ*, but, more narrowly, their closer lexical intimacy as contiguous parts of the body betrays itself in every sound except the initial. Cf. also Mhg. *ters* 'penis' : *ars*; Ved. *pakṣá* 'wing' : *kikṣa* 'armpit' (cf. Lat. *coxa* 'hip'). For Ved. *ḥṛ̥ṇga* and *d̥ṇga* see above. Greek *ἀηδών* and *χελιδών* (Lat. *hirundo*) are not only birds, but more narrowly, and by distinction, 'birds of song.' Germ. *mūs* and *lūs* 'mouse and louse' are not only united by the common bond of 'designations of animals,' but they are both 'varmint,' 'unge-

¹ A number of couplets whose explanation may be sought, more doubtfully, in the direction indicated can be gleaned from Meringer's tract: Germ. *deichsel* : Ved. *iṣá* (p. 43); Goth. *arbaip* : Lith. *dárbas* 'work'; Ohg. *narva* : Old Norse *ǣrr*, Ved. *drus* 'wound, scar' (pp. 46, 47); γνόφος : δνόφος : κνέφος : νέφος (p. 40; cf. Pott, KZ. XXVI 137). With the last group cf. also Lith. *debesis*. Does Neo-Hell. γόερνω = 'flay' contain a suggestion of γυμνός 'naked'? Note also English *mash* : *smash*; *squirt* : *spirt*; *whir* (cf. Germ. *schwirren*) : *whis*; Germ. *rupfen* : *zupfen* (and cf. their opposite *tupfen*, *betupfen*); *schwanken* : *wanken*; *whisper* (Eng. *whisper*) : *pispern*; Germ. *schreiten* (Ags. *scridan*) : Eng. *stride*; Eng. *citisen* owes its *s* to *denisen*.

ziefer.' Similarly Germ. *hulan* owes its *h* to *husar*¹; the two are not only 'kinds of soldiery,' but more narrowly 'cavalry.' Ved. *rajatd*, Lat. *argentum* 'silver' shows an I. E. suffix *-to* which is repeated in the words for 'gold,' Goth. *gulþ*, Obg. *zlato*, Sk. *hāṭa-ka* (cf. also Gr. χρυσός for χρυσιος): these two are not only 'metals,' but 'the precious metals.'²

III. Words of opposite meaning.

Opposites exercise the same influence upon one another as identical congeners. Just as Ved. *kubjd* 'hunchbacked' seems to betray in its final sounds its lexical relation to Sk. *ny-ubja* 'crooked-back,' so also *urubjd* 'wide open' is the opposite of *kubjd*. The 'suffix' *ubja* here makes a distinct show of adapting itself to the twin idea of 'curving' and 'straightening out.'³ To the hosts of well-known examples we may add Ved. *tāyū* 'thief': *pāyū* 'guardian'; ξηρός and ψηρός 'dry': νηρός 'damp'; Vedic *paścātāt* 'behind' is probably formed secondarily from *paścā* 'behind' to match *purāstāt* 'in front.' For the relation between *carīṣṇū* on the one hand, and *sthāṇū*, *sthāṣnu* and *sthāṣṇu* on the other, see above.

Nhg. 'freund und feind' are combined in alliteration: the correspondence between the two words runs through to Gothic

¹ See Paul, Ueber vocalische Aspiration und reinen Vokaleinsatz, Programm (Hamburg, 1888), p. 40.

² The suffix of this category is identical with the widely diffused suffix *-to* in color words; cf. Ved. *hṛita*, Avest. *sairita* 'yellow.' These metals are doubtless named after their color. Nevertheless, it remains true that just these two, and not others, are formed in this way, and it is likely that one was formed after the direct pattern of the other.

³ At times it is difficult to say whether the assimilation takes place from the point of view of identity or oppositeness. 'Sun and moon' are built up in part upon two I. E. rhyming stems *svēn* and *mēn* (see Fick, I⁴, pp. 107, 153), and may thus far be felt as opposites; but in Goth. *sunna*, *mēna* and *stairnō* (the latter from *ster*, itself distinctly suggestive of *svēr* in Avest. *hvars* 'sun') the class identity rather than oppositeness is felt by the speakers. To the proethnic word for 'yesterday,' Ved. *hyds*, Avest. *syō*, Gr. *χθές*, Lat. *hes-ternus*, Goth. *gis-tra*, the Vedic adds as pendants *cvds* 'to-morrow' and *sadyds* 'at the present day': each is an opposite of the other two, and as a class they represent a necessarily faltering and limited attempt at establishing a relative chronology, with the present day as the starting-point. The spirit is willing, but the lexicon is weak, and German *übermorgen*, *vorgestern* are the best that can be produced by way of extending this time-relation; Eng. 'the day after to-morrow,' 'the day before yesterday' show how expensive the attempt may become.

frijond and *fjond*. In Old English and Middle English the words keep pace: O. E. *freond*, *feond*, M. E. *frënd*, *fënd*. But the correspondence runs through the entire history of the two I. E. roots *pr̥i* 'love' and *p̥i* 'hate' (weak forms): Ved. *p̥iyati*, Goth. *fijan* 'hate': Obg. *prijati*, Goth. *frijōn* 'care for' (cf. Ved. *p̥riyd* 'fond, beloved'); Lat. *pejus* 'worse': Sk. *pr̥éyas* 'more beloved.' It seems very unlikely that this correspondence is merely alliterative. But here is a suggestion of more than usual seductiveness. The I. E. root *per* means 'to fill' primarily, but in the Vedic dialect a large number of its derivatives mean 'to give, to make presents to': *p̥r̥-ṇá-ti* 'he gives,' *p̥ūrtá* 'the stipend of the Brahman,' *p̥ūrti* 'the act of giving.' We may assume that *p̥ri* is derived from this root, but not with the meaningless 'determinative' *i*, but as a modification of the root *per* (*p̥r̥*), in deference to its semantic opposite *p̥i*.

In Sk. *ruṣṭá* means 'angry,' *tuṣṭá* 'pleased' (cf. *ruṣyati* and *tuṣyati*), respectively from the roots *reus* and *teus*. There is no reason to doubt that the congeneric character of the two words was felt in proethnic times: Lith. *rus-ta-s* 'fierce' and Obg. *po-tuch-naṭi* 'quiescere' guarantee the existence of the pair. Another instance of verbal opposites which have exercised influence upon one another may be: Sk. *pūrṇá*, Avest. *pərəna* 'full': Sk. *ūná*, Avest. *ūna* 'wanting.' The use of the rarer participial suffix *no* in both need not be accidental. For Germ. *rasten* and *hasten* see above; for the parallelism between I. E. *ḱéṇtai* (Ved. *ḱēte*, *ḱētai*) and I. E. *ḱstai* (Ved. *ḱste*, *ḱstai*) see Brugmann, Grdr. II 891-2.

IV. Congeners in the widest sense.

The broad categories of nominal and verbal word-making are the most fruitful field of congeneric assimilation and adaptation. Not only those which readily suggest themselves, such as designations of animals, plants, colors, parts of the body, etc., but also such as are hardly categorized consciously at all, as e. g. the Greek words which share the quality of hollowness, mentioned above (p. 419), or the words in *-eries*, formed to designate exhibitions (above, p. 411). Professor E. W. Fay draws my attention to the interesting rhyming triplet, Germ. *heu*, *streu* and *spreu*. The connective idea is 'dry grass.' The materials in this category are destined in the immediate future to accumulate very largely, to the great advantage of speech-history. I shall present

here some observations of this sort, some of which may claim the merit of novelty. Nhg. *wacholder* 'juniper,'¹ Ohg. *hiefalltra* 'wild brier,' Ohg. *mazzaltra* 'massholder, maple,' Ohg. *affaltra*, *apholtra* 'apple tree,' direct attention to the existence at a very early Germanic period of a 'suffix' *altra*, designating shrubs and trees. For the last three cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, II 99 ff. The element *-tra*, *-der* is 'tree'; the syllable *al* preceding it seems borrowed from the combination *affal-tra*, *aphol-tra*, i.e. it belongs by rights only to the word 'apple, apfel.' I have drawn attention above (p. 429, note) to the development of another suffix for certain plants: I. E. *so* in Ved. *vetasá* 'reed,' *atasá* 'jungle,' *yávaśa* 'grass,' *avasá* 'fodder' = Obg. *ovisū* 'oats.' I. E. *dēru*, *dru* 'tree' seems to correspond with European *vidhu* 'wood' (Fick, I⁴ 554), Ved. *svdru* 'post' (Fick, I⁴, p. 154), and Lat. *veru* 'spit,' Gr. βαρύες δένδρα (Fick, I⁴, p. 404). The suffix *u* seems to continue a certain productivity in that direction in Ved. *pītu(-dāru)*, *pūtu(-dāru)* = *deva-dāru* 'deodar tree,' and *cīpu(-dru)*, AV. vi 127. 2. In addition to these the stem *perqu* in Lat. *quercu*, for which see Hirth, Idg. Forsch. I 479 ff.

In the domain of designations of animals we may note the groups, Gr. *ἰκτίος* 'kite' (cf. Ved. *cyenā* 'eagle'), *ἰχίος* and *ἰχίνος* 'hedge-hog,' and *καρκίνος* 'crab'; Ved. *jaśá* and *jhaśá* 'water-animal,' *yavāśa* and *yēvāśa* 'noxious insect,' *kāśakaśa* 'noxious insect,' and perhaps *dhvāñkṣa* 'crow.' To the Greek names of birds with *ξ* in the nominative add *τέρπιξ* and *τέρπαξ* 'grouse' (cf. Sk. *tittiri* 'partridge' and Gr. *τέταπος*, *τέτυπος*, *τατύρας*, *τατύρος*). See 'Adaptation,' p. 17. Fick (I⁴, pp. 88, 488) assumes upon the basis of Gr. *φήνη* 'a kind of eagle,' Sk. *bhāsa* 'bird of prey' an I. E. stem *bhans-* which rhymes with *ghans-* 'goose.'

To the long list of designations of parts of the body that avail themselves of the *r-n*-declension, I would now add Gr. ὠλέκρανον 'elbow,' *λέκρانا* τοὺς ἀγκῶνας (Hesych.), Lat. *lacertus* 'arm,' Lith. *alkūnė* 'elbow.' The I. E. declension seems to have been *ōleqr* : *ōlaqnós*. The Greek forms are blends of the stems of the casus recti and obliqui; cf. Lat. *jecinoris* and the like. Among the words for color, Ved. *ṣitīṅdā* 'white' (extended from *ṣiti* 'white'), *pīṅgá* 'reddish brown,' *sārāṅgá* and *sāraṅgá* 'variegated,' and *pīṣḍāṅga* 'reddish brown' exhibit an undoubted adaptation of the ending *-ṅga* to words of color (cf. 'Adaptation,' p. 25). Cf. also

¹ Nhg. *wēcholler* (*wachandel*), *rēcholler* = *wacholder*; see KZ. XXXII 257.

Ved. *citrá* 'whitish,' Ohg. *heitar* 'heiter' : *ḡvitrá* 'bright,' Lith. *szvitr-ūti* 'sparkle'; and Ved. *kādrū* 'reddish brown' : *babhrū* 'reddish brown.' An interesting additional case of the attraction of an outside word to the category of nouns of relationship in *ar* (cf. 'Adaptation,' p. 23) is Ved. *vāvātar* 'favorite,' genitive *vāvātur*, RV. viii 1. 8, 16. The stem ordinarily is masc. *vāvāta*, fem. *vāvātā*. One of the two occurrences of *vāvātur*, RV. viii 1. 16, explains the formation without comment: *ā tv ādyā sadhā-stutiṁ vāvātuḥ sakhyaḥ ā gahi* 'come hither to-day to the chorus of praise, instituted by thy favorite friend.' The word *sākhi* 'friend,' which itself has joined secondarily the band of words for relationship in *ar*, has recruited in this one hymn the word *vāvāta*; cf. our remarks on the rôle of alliteration in these processes, above.

Less salient lexical categories are suggested by Ved. *drapsá* 'drop' : *ūtsa* 'spring, well'; Avest. *garənu* 'itch' (Ved. *grādhnu* 'eager') : Avest. *tafnu* 'fever'; Ved. *kilāsa* 'leprosy' : *balāsa* 'consumption of the throat.' The English word *visitation* has assumed a pejorative value, following perhaps words like *tribulation*, *consternation*, or others; similarly, German *schimpfieren* helps to advance the movement of the French suffix *ieren* in *cujonieren*, *maltraitieren*, *sekieren* towards adaptation as a pejorative.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

II.—THE SONG OF SONGS AGAIN.

Since I published in this Journal a dissertation on the Song of Songs,¹ Prof. Karl Budde has written one,² which takes a new view, supported by arguments of great weight and evincing very ripe scholarship and leading to a different result from mine in some matters of the highest importance. Prof. J. C. Matthes, of Leyden, has largely followed him in an article published in 1895.³ Having carefully read both, with no unwillingness to reconsider and if necessary to modify my own previous contentions, I find it only due to the importance of the subject and the eminence of these writers that I should bring the question forward again.

I regard the Song as a Drama, and have claimed this character for it (1) because it is a conversation among several individuals and a chorus of many, distinguishable through changes of gender and number as well as by different names, and by the contents of their speeches, and (2) because of the manifest changes of scene and the occurrence of pauses of time (p. 308). Against the dramatic conception Budde urges that "the entire Semitic literature, so far as we are yet acquainted with it, does not know the drama," and others have said the same. Yet Ewald⁴ wrote that "The Song of Songs is the only *play in verse* (*spiieldichtung*) which we clearly see to have been intended by its author himself for representation on a stage, and cannot have the least doubt was actually played in public at popular festivals." The repulsion of the Semites towards the drama may easily be exaggerated. Such repulsion belongs to the spirit of Islam; and it is not fair to generalise beyond those limits, and attribute the same to earlier ages and other branches of the Semitic race. Indeed, whether we regard this Song of the ancient Hebrews as a regular drama or as a poem in dialogue falling short of the

¹ In vol. XIII, 1892, pp. 307-328.

² In the *New World* (Boston), vol. III, 1894, afterwards published in German. I here use the American edition.

³ In *De Gids*.

⁴ *Salomonische Schriften*, 1867, p. 333; see also his *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, III, p. 386.

development into drama, it is as much of a drama as the rustic village entertainments in Greece, from which emerged later the great works of art of Aeschylus and Aristophanes. And Budde really gives up his contention by appending the note: "The dramatic attempts of the Alexandrine Hellenistic Jews are just as little of an exception as those of Jewish authors of our own day." As I have contended for the Jewish community at Alexandria under the Ptolemies as the place and time of the composition of the Song, Budde's dictum does not tell against, but rather in favour of my argument.

Again, it is said that a drama requires continuous action, which must be carried on through the whole piece till it reaches its long striven-for goal or denouement at the end, where no further advance is possible; and that the goal of a drama of love is possession. Very good; but Budde adds: "Most of the commentators confess that this end is reached at the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth chapters, and that here the married pair are praising the happiness of mutual possession. The dramatic explanation exerts itself then to carry the actors through the whole second half of the book, without an aim or object," etc. This argument may be sound as against the commentators who adopt the point named as the date of the marriage. But I see no reason for selecting that point for the marriage. On the contrary, the lover is still afraid of the Shulammitte at 6. 12, and therefore not yet in possession of her; only at 7. 11 does she agree to go with him into the country and accept him, and in the last scene, 8. 5-12, she takes him to herself. Thus the necessary condition of a drama as laid down by Budde is fulfilled to the letter.

It must, however, be conceded that there is a gradual development of the sentiment which binds the lovers together, though not at the point where Budde thinks the commentators agree to find it. It cannot escape the notice of a careful reader that at 4. 8 the Shepherd for the first time addresses the Shulammitte as 'bride,' a designation which is continued till 5. 1. Counting backwards from 4. 8, we find that 4. 1-6 was pronounced spurious by me; 3. 6-11, a pageant exhibiting Solomon in a chariot with no dialogue of Shepherd and Shulammitte; 3. 1-5, again spurious. Thus the scene 2. 8-17 has the dialogue between the lovers which comes next before 4. 8. Now this scene contains a beautiful amorous dialogue between the lovers, and ends with the Shulam-

mite's declaration: "My beloved is mine and I am his." Is this not to be interpreted as a betrothal? and is it surprising to find her called *callah* (bride) in the next scene? That it is only a betrothal and not a marriage is obvious from the fact that she refuses to accompany him and tells him in the next verse to return to his own home before it is too dark to see the way. The previous scenes in chs. 4 and 5 lead gradually up to the betrothal, and do not imply any matrimonial union; in fact the allusion in the Shulammitte's words in 1. 16-2. 1 to the lovers' life in the open air, where they sit together on the green sward and have no house but only the covering of beautiful trees and she resembles a wild flower, seems put in expressly to show that they are still in the happy days of love-making in the charming spring-time—the lovely month of March, corresponding in Palestine to the May of our English poets. So that I cannot possibly say with Budde: "The subject of the Song of Solomon, from beginning to end, is not bridal but wedded love." If this were the case, what could we say of the very realistic scene described in ch. 5, where the lover comes late and asks to be let in by his wife and she refuses to admit him? She would then be quite in the wrong; whereas the poet depicts her as only repenting afterwards, when he was gone, and under the influence of her love going out to call him back, and being arrested by the police; against which her costume as a married woman would have protected her.

The idea that the Shulammitte was intended to be married through the whole piece was evidently vindicated so strongly by Budde on account of the initial verses 1. 2-4, which have been assigned to her by most commentators, notably by Ewald, Graetz, Ginsburg and Stickel. It seemed to Budde that these verses possess a licence of amorous expression which makes it impossible to put them in the mouth of a modest girl, and so he saves her character by marrying her! The expedient is a curious one. Mine is surely the more natural. Recognising the virtue of the Shulammitte, I could not assign these verses to her, married or single, but found reason to give them to the chorus of ladies of the king's court. The prime reasons for this were grammatical, but grammatical and ethical arguments supported one another. Rabbi Kohler, in Chicago in 1878, had the merit of this conception and of most of the textual emendations required in these rather corrupt verses. That there might be no mistake about my reconstruction of the verses, I quoted them in full in a translation.

Solomon is not an actor in any part of the piece. It is not surprising that this conclusion was not reached by the older commentators, as a king is mentioned in many parts of the poem, and the name of Solomon occurs in several of these passages. When an attempt was made to assign the speeches to the probable speakers, whether to construct a series of dialogues or a drama, Solomon could not but be assumed to be one of the speakers, as he has been by Ewald, Hitzig, Ginsburg, Renan, Stickel and others. But this attempt has proved not very successful, and has been abandoned by many of the later commentators, as Graetz, Bickel, Kohler and Budde. In my previous dissertation in this Journal I showed that a king is frequently mentioned, but without any description which could compel us to call him Solomon, and Budde in his article which I am here considering has since come to the same conclusion. There is, however, one conspicuous exception. The scene 3. 6-11 exhibits Solomon sitting in a palanquin and carried up from the wilderness to Jerusalem attended by an escort of sixty warriors. If this be a part of the action of the drama, we must add Solomon to the list of *dramatis personae*. But Solomon cannot appear only here in a drama, and we must not do violence to the rest of the piece by finding him in other places which are more naturally explained without him. The scene has none of the actors of the rest of the piece, and contributes nothing to its action. It appears to be a pageant, probably intended to belong to the festivities attending the betrothal, with which it coincides. It reminds us of the play within a play in Hamlet; and as in Hamlet

The play's the thing,
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king,

so here this pageant is introduced for an ethical purpose, to show us the great Solomon as a luxurious coward, who requires sixty armed men to preserve him from fancied dangers; in contrast to the brave Shulamite girl keeping watch alone in the vineyards, and going alone at night through the streets of the city.

It seems hardly necessary to argue against one of Budde's assumptions, which he elaborates very ingeniously and at some length. He says: "Solomon is a historical person and consequently the Shulamite must be the same." Goethe took the champion of the Netherlands, Count Egmont, to be the hero of a tragedy; must we believe the story of his amour with Clara to

be founded on fact? on the contrary, this is a beautiful creation of the poet's imagination. And we find a similar mixture of fact and fiction everywhere among the poets. Ophelia is a creation of Shakspeare's, though a prince of Denmark called Hamlet is known to historians; and so forth. Budde's principle is indeed most dangerous. If it means that where one person is historical all must be, we should be forced to find historical origins for the shepherd, the court-ladies and others, concerning whom no clue is given. If it means less than this, where are we to draw the line? Nothing is safe, but to follow the writer's own indications of the names or characters of the speakers; and these are given explicitly enough, especially in the words addressed to them by others, to enable us to construct the drama and to convince us that the omission of the names at the head of each speech is due only to the fashion of the age and country, and not at all to the desire to obscure these names, or to suppress the dramatic nature of the piece. I should take the opposite side, and argue from the fact that none of the characters in this piece have personal names given to them, that the drama has a fictitious plot only. We have seen that Solomon is not an actor in it. Shulamite is not a name, but an epithet denoting a female inhabitant of Shulam or Shulem, and therefore analogous to "Ladies of Jerusalem." It is probably identical with the older Shunem, the birthplace of Abishag, the most beautiful woman in Israel in her time, and our poet may have chosen this epithet for his equally beautiful heroine with an intentional reference to Abishag. But that he is telling a true history of Abishag in making Solomon fall in love with his father's companion, is too extravagant a story to build upon the chance that both are said to have been very lovely and that both seem to have come from the same place.

Of the chorus of Ladies of Jerusalem, Budde says: "They are not the women of the court or harem of Solomon, to whom, according to the dramatic conception of this book, the detestable rôle is given of enticing the Shulamite, like obedient slaves, despite their extreme jealousy, into the net of Solomon through all kinds of pandering arts." I have shown reason for assigning to them 1. 2-4, which unequivocally belong to ladies of the court, as also 6. 13ab, 7. 1-5, which express admiration in too licentious language; but while admitting here an offence against pure taste, I can find nothing of enticement and pandering arts; and have pleasure in noting the sympathy expressed by these same ladies

with the girl seeking her rustic lover in 5. 9, 6. 1, and the interest ascribed to them by her in 2. 7 and 8. 4. For Solomon, named by Budde in the above quotation, we must of course substitute 'the king,' as no name is given to the occupant of the throne whom the ladies attend. It is hardly necessary to repeat that in the pageant scene, where none of the speakers are the same as those of the play, the 'ladies of Jerusalem,' also called 'daughters of Zion,' in 3. 11 are simply inhabitants of Jerusalem or Zion, and not ladies of the court.

After thus considering the modifications, suggested especially by Budde, affecting the names and character of the personnel of the Song of Songs, I approach the new evidence which has forced Budde, Matthes and others to take up a new position—new, I mean, because it was not dreamt of by critics and translators of the age of Ewald, Hitzig and Ginsburg. The German consul Wetzstein was stationed in Syria for a long period, and had ample opportunities, which his profound learning and familiarity with the languages of the country enabled him to turn to the best account, of witnessing the manners and customs of the villagers of the country near Damascus and Lebanon. The most important of these village customs, and that which concerns us here in its bearing on the Song of Songs, is the mode of conducting weddings. A threshing-board, consisting of planks of wood turned up at one end, with the planks fastened tightly together by cross-bars underneath, has the corn thrown upon it so that it can be threshed there and the ears afterwards swept off. Such an instrument is found in every village, and is therefore always at hand and can be used for other purposes, such as those for which it is employed at weddings. Then the threshing-board serves as a seat where the bride and bridegroom sit, surrounded by their male and female friends, among whom the bridegroom's friends play the leading part. The festivities commence on the eve of the wedding with a dance executed by the richly adorned bride, who is armed with a naked sword in her right hand, which she brandishes gracefully and incessantly, and a handkerchief in her left, while a song in praise of her beauty is sung by one or more of the guests. This song, as well as those sung on the following days, is technically termed *wasf*. The day is concluded by a great feast. Early on the following day the wedding is held. After this, the threshing-board is lifted on supports two ells high and covered with a brilliant carpet to serve as a throne for the

pair, who now assume the parts of king and queen throughout the next seven days, which are called the King's Week; in accordance with which conception they hold a court, and the bridegroom's best man, the leader of his friends, bears the title of Vezir. Then the sports commence, and more *wasfs* are sung, this time in praise of the bride or queen, sung by her husband, and subsequently in praise of him, sung by her. Tournaments and other warlike games are performed by the bridegroom's friends, who have the chief function in directing the amusements and arranging for the payment of the expenses. And so the week passes, until on the last day Their Majesties step down from their throne, doff their regal robes, and are treated by their subjects of a brief week as ordinary mortals, their own equals; and they start on the hard life of Syrian peasants.

There is much in these scenes to recall the Song of Songs, and the question before us now is, whether the modern custom comes down from and perpetuates the old one which we have been contemplating, or has only a more remote connexion, or none at all, with it. Wetzstein, finding the young couple playing at king and queen and sitting on a throne, naturally thought of the scene 3. 6-11, where Solomon is introduced sitting on a throne and protected by sixty armed men, like the modern bridal pair with the bridegroom's friends. But the identification does not stand examination. The person in the litter was Solomon, a person out of the play, sitting alone and not with his bride, and he bears a crown, with which we are told his mother decorated him on his wedding day. This removes his wedding far into the past, and introduces his mother, a person who seems to be entirely absent from the modern pageant. Of course, Wetzstein's interpretation of this scene demands the identification of the bridegroom throughout the play with Solomon, which I considered I had demolished, and on which I think I need say no more, as Solomon appears nowhere else. The fact that the modern bridal pair play the parts of king and queen during the whole 'King's Week' cannot be made to fit in with the Song of Songs, since there they are simply shepherd and rustic bride both before and after the pageant scene. Again, the songs in the ancient play do not really resemble those in the modern festivity. The sole point of resemblance of any importance is the bride's Sword Dance, which we are told to recognise in ch. 7. Yet the resemblance

does not go far, for the most essential element, the sword, is absent; and the resemblance is restricted to the fact that she performs a dance. And there is this great difference, that in the modern festivity her sword dance occurs at the beginning, on the day before the wedding, and therefore before the assumption of the rôle of queen and the pageant of ch. 3, whereas in the *Song of Songs* it occurs near the end. This difficulty obliges Budde to decide that the scenes are distinct songs, with no continuity, and that we can find no intelligible plot, and therefore no drama, and must treat the book as a fortuitous collection of songs: "It follows, therefore, that the songs are brought together irregularly, and the last trace of an orderly arrangement thus disappears." Are we not entitled to say that this amounts to a confession that Wetzstein has not been successful in his attempt to find in modern Syria anything like a close repetition of the scenes of the *Song of Songs*, and that nothing has been discovered which need compel us to abandon the hypothesis of a drama with a well-developed plot in favour of a fortuitous collection of lyrics?

At the same time it would be absurd to deny that the usages of modern Syria may be the residuum of those of ancient times, and have preserved, amid the changes obviously effected by time, some elements of ancient date. Such are the bride's dance, and perhaps the pageant in which a king is shown to the assembled multitude. In the former instance the sword may be a modern addition, introduced perhaps in the age of chivalry when Crusader and Moslim performed deeds of valour against each other in this quarter of the world; it does not suit the probable age of the *Song* nearly so well. In the latter instance it would be natural to let the bridegroom play the king's part, and then, as he must not be parted from his wife on their wedding day, she would also be allowed a place on the palanquin. A further development would allow them to retain the personification of king and queen through the rest of the wedding week. The use of the threshing-board may be quite modern; we hear of nothing similar in the *Song*.

I therefore hold that the picture presented by Wetzstein of the marriage festival in modern Syria does not invalidate that which I have drawn of similar ceremonies in ancient times, derived exclusively from a study of the *Song of Songs*, but rather that the resemblance of the two, so far as it exists, is best explained

by the continuity of certain elements of the practice of antiquity, supplemented by later developments which time and new conditions of life could not fail to produce.¹

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

¹ I take this opportunity of correcting errors in my previous dissertation in this Journal, vol. XIII, 1892. P. 309, l. 17, cancel the words 'But it appears from iii. 11 that Solomon is meant,' which are plainly inconsistent with the argument on pp. 322-4, and reveal the fact that I began to write before I had satisfied myself that the scene in ch. iii was a pageant exhibiting Solomon, the king of an earlier age than that of the drama. P. 313, l. 17, for iv read iii. P. 327, l. 24, for 5 read 15. P. 327, l. 30, for xxvi read xxiv.

III.—ESTABLISHMENT AND EXTENSION OF THE LAW OF THURNEYSEN AND HAVET.

I.

§1. *Introduction.*

The Law of Thurneysen and Havet, that Prim. Lat. *ðv-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) became *ðv-*,¹ is one which has not met with the entire approval of all philologists, hence it will be of service to the cause of Italic philology to bring together all the evidence, and examine it in detail. In the present essay I hope not merely to establish this Law, but also to extend it. Just as Pr. Lat. *ðv-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) became *ðv-*, so too it seems that Pr. Lat. *ðv-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) became *āv-*, and in the same way also the Pr. Lat. diphthong *ou-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) became the diphthong *au* on its way to the later *ū* : *ō*.

§2. *The Literature of the subject, together with a discussion of von Planta's arguments for regarding the Law as Prim. Italic.*

The literature concerning this Latin² phonetic change up to the present time is as follows: *G. Löwe*, *Prodromus Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum* (1876), p. 348; *F. de Saussure*, *Syst.*

¹ It must be carefully observed that this Law deals only with Pr. Lat. *ðv-*, preserving Idg. *ð*, and does not affect Lat. *ðv-*, from earlier Lat. *ðv-*, preserving Idg. *ɖ* [cf. Brugmann, *Gr. I.*, §65, p. 52 (Engl. ed.), and especially Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, ch. IV, §19].

² Von Planta, *Gramm. der Osk.-Umbr. Spr.*, p. 115, has endeavoured to prove that this law is not confined to Latin, but is to be considered Prim. Italic, thinking that he sees traces of it in Umbrian and Oscan. That the Law under consideration should have operated in Italic, as well as in Latin, would in no way surprise us, but *for the present*, pending further evidence from these dialects than is yet available, I prefer to regard the change in question as confined to Latin, for the following reasons:

(1) In the Umbro-Samn. dialects Idg. *ð* seems, on the whole, to have had a closer pronunciation than in Latin (cf. Brugmann, *Gr. I.*, §§81, 89; see also von Planta, *ib.*, §§42-44, pp. 108-115, and §46, p. 116), and hence would have been less likely in these dialects to undergo a change to *ā* before *u*, as the change in this combination was due to a very open pronunciation of the *ð*.

Prim. des Voyelles (1879), pp. 104 sqq.; *R. Thurneysen* in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXVIII (1887), pp. 154-62 (dated November and December, 1884); *L. Havet* in Mém. de la Soc. de Lingu., vol. VI, Part I (1885), pp. 17-21; *K. Brugmann*, Grundr. I (1886), §81; *J.*

(2) Not a single certain instance of *dv-* (preserving Idg. *ḍ*) changed to *dv-* can be produced from Oscan or Umbrian, as von Planta himself (l. c.) admits.

(3) Umbr.-Osc. *bōv-* is not so well referred to Idg. **ǵh₂-* as to Idg. **ǵh₁-* (v. infra, p. 459 and p. 460, note 1), so that if our Law were to be extended to Italic, we should expect Umbr.-Osc. **bōv-* from earlier *bōv-* (preserving Idg. *ḍ*). Lat. *bōs*, (gen.) *bōvis*, is certainly not a genuine Latin word (v. infra, pp. 458 sqq.), and is indeed most probably due to the influence of Samnitic Oscan (v. infra, pp. 459, 460).

(4) Lat. *ovis* 'sheep' from Idg. **ǵhi-* (: Gk. **ōfi-*, Goth. *avi-*) 'sheep,' beside Umbr.-Osc.-Pelign. **ōvi-*, is best explained as due to the influence of these other Italic dialects (v. infra, p. 461 sqq.), aided possibly by the influence of Rustic Latin (v. infra, p. 462, note 4). If we regard our Law as not confined to Latin, but common to the other Italic dialects as well, then, unless we allow that Rustic Latin (in this case the only Italic source left to which Lat. *ovis* may be ascribed) alone resisted a Law to which all the neighbouring dialects were bowing, we must refer Italic, i. e. (so far as our records enable us to see) Lat.-Umbr.-Osc.-Pelign., *ōvi-* 'sheep,' as also Umbr.-Osc. **bōv-* [No. (3) supra], to a Greek origin, and that of no very early date; for had they been borrowed very early, we might have expected them to have become sufficiently 'naturalised' to undergo the change which befell genuine Pr. Lat. *dv-* (preserving Idg. *ḍ*), a change which did not commence in Latin till the third century B. C. at the earliest (v. infra, pp. 456, 457). [Compare the fate of Greek *ἐλαί(φ)ᾱ*, which, adopted by the Romans in the period of the Tarquins (Pliny, Nat. Hist. XV 1), became subject to the Latin change of *ε* to *o* before *l*, whence **ōlaiva*, which became **ōleiva* and finally *oliva* (Lindsay, The Lat. Lang., ch. IV, §10, p. 228).] It seems, however, unlikely that Umbrian or Pelignian should have had much to do with Greek, hence it is better to regard at least the Umbr.-Pelign., and therefore most probably also the Oscan, *ōvi-* as genuine Italic representatives of Idg. **ǵhi-*, and Lat. *ovis* as due to their influence. I would hardly accept von Planta's suggested Idg. **ǵhi-* as the original form whence Lat.-Umbr.-Osc.-Pelign. *ōvi-* are all to be derived, nor do I put faith in his alternative suggestion that, supposing Idg. **ǵhi-* to be the original form, the preservation of the *ǵh₁-* may be due to those forms in which *ǵ* followed (cf. Skr. *avyā avyāś*); v. infra, p. 462, note 2.

(5) Umbr.-Marruc. *avi-* 'bird' can quite easily be explained as from Idg. **ǵhi* [(Gk. **ōfi-*) v. infra, pp. 454, 455], whereas Lat. *ovom* and Vulg. Lat. **ōvom* 'egg' (on which v. infra, pp. 455, 456) prove clearly that Lat. *ovis* 'bird' must come from earlier Latin **ōvis* from Idg. **ǵhi-* (: Gk. **ōfi-*) 'bird.'

(6) In every instance cited, where a consonant standing between the *ḍ* and *v* is said not to have hindered the influence of the *v*, the 'dazwischenstehende Consonant' is a liquid, namely *l*, and it seems more probable that the *al-* of *alv-* in these instances is merely the Latin and Italic representation of Idg. *ǵ* (v. infra, §5).

E. King and C. Cookson, Sounds and Inflexions in Greek and Latin (1888), ch. V, pp. 85-9, ch. IX, pp. 187-9; *H. Schweizer-Sidler*, Gramm. der Lat. Spr., Part I^a (1888), §11, 7); *F. Stolz*, Lat. Gr.² (1890), §10, p. 258, §15, Rem., p. 264; *H. D. Darbishire* in The Classical Review, vol. IV, p. 273 *b* (June, 1890), and in The Transactions of the Cambridge Philolog. Soc., vol. III, Part IV (1892), p. 189; *R. von Planta*, Gramm. der Osk.-Umbr. Dial., vol. I (1892), §§45, 50, 79 (and cf. §96); *R. S. Conway* in Idg. Forsch., vol. IV (1894), pp. 216, 217 (dated Oct. 1893); *F. Stolz* in the Historische Gramm. der Lat. Spr., vol. I, Part I (1894), §§101 *d*), 105 *c*), 148 *f*); *W. M. Lindsay*, The Latin Language (1894), ch. IV, §§17, 19, 41; and *P. Giles*, Short Manual of Comparative Philology (1895), §180, p. 141.

§3. *Examples of the change of Pr. Lat. ðv- (preserving Idg. ð) to ðv-; the date of this change; and an exact statement of the Law for this change.*

It will be well for the purposes of the present essay to quote and examine all the examples cited of this Latin change of ðv-

(7) The word-group *vācāre*, etc., in Latin, *vakaze*, etc., in Umbrian, the only instance cited from the Italic dialects of the change of ð (preserving Idg. ð) to ð after *v* (that is, *μ*), probably does not come from earlier *vōc-* at all, but shews original ð (v. infra, §6), and even if this were not so, even if this word-group were to come from an earlier *vōc-*, preserving Idg. ð, this could hardly be of much use to prove that Italic ðv- (preserving Idg. ð) became ðv- in the Italic dialects.

(8) The explanation of Lat. *octāvus*, Osc. *Úhtavis* is at present a matter of so much doubt that it is hardly safe to base any conclusions on this form (v. infra, §7). Nor does von Planta's suggested derivation of Umbr. *klavlaf* *klavles*, Lat. *clāva clāvola* seem at all acceptable (v. infra, §7).

(9) Oscan and Umbrian shew no trace of the change of Prim. Ital. tautosyllabic *ðμ* (from Idg. tautosyllabic *ðμ*) to tautosyllabic *αμ* (v. Brugmann, Gr. I, §81), such as I hope to establish for Latin (v. infra, §8). As it is more than probable that the change of the Prim. Lat. diphthong *ou* (from Idg. tautosyllabic *ðμ*) to the diphthong *au* was contemporaneous with the change of Pr. Lat. ðv- (preserving Idg. ð) to ðv-, and as both are obviously due to the same cause, viz. very open pronunciation of the *o*, the fact that Oscan and Umbrian shew no traces of the former is evidence also against the occurrence of the latter in these dialects.

In conclusion it must be pointed out that even if fresh evidence were to establish the Law for Italic (as well as for Latin), nevertheless even so the change cannot be regarded as Prim. Italic (as von Planta suggests), but can only have arisen later in the different individual developements of Italic, for, as will be seen below (pp. 456 sqq., and §8 ad fin. and §9), the Law did not begin to operate in Latin itself till the third century B. C. at the earliest.

(preserving Idg. *δ*) to *dv*,¹ which, as Stolz rightly says in the *Hist. Gramm. der Lat. Spr.*, vol. I, part I, §101 *δ*), manifestly must have taken place in consequence of very open pronunciation of the *o* in this combination:—

cāvos from Prim. Lat. *cōvos* [which has been proved also for Vulgar Latin at 201 B. C., v. *infra*, p. 457, and is preserved to us also in the country term *cōvum*, *cōum* or *cōhum*,² n. 'the hollow in the plough' (wrongly explained in Paul. *ex Fest.*, p. 39, 4 'lorum, quo temo buris cum iugo colligatur, a cohibendo dictum'), a 'vestigium ruris' adopted by Ennius³ with the meaning 'the hollow

¹ I would at the outset expressly state that, in endeavouring to establish the truth of the 'Law of Thurneysen and Havet,' viz. that Prim. Lat. *dv* (preserving Idg. *δ*) became Lat. *dv*, I do not imply disagreement from the excellent exposition of the Laws of Ablaut, so ably drawn up by Bartholomae with the aid of the fresh evidence which he has adduced from Armenian (v. Bartholomae in *Bezz. Beitr.*, vol. XVII, pp. 91 sqq.). That *δ* appears beside *δ* in the strong grade (Hochstufen) of the *δ*- (= Bartholomae's *a*⁻) series is, I think, beyond all doubt, e. g. Gk. *δγ-μος* : Gk. *δγ-ω* Lat. *δg-o*, Lat. *δcris* : Gk. *ἀκρος*, Gk. *κόσμος* : Gk. *Κάστωρ*, Gk. *φοιτάω* : Osc. *baíteis* Lat. *baetere* (the latter of which is probably borrowed from Oscan, cf. Brugmann, *Gr. I*, §432, Rem. 1). But it should be observed that the change which I am discussing does not in the least affect our views on this Ablaut-scale of Bartholomae; for the change of Prim. Lat. *dv*- (preserving Idg. *δ*) to Lat. *dv*- is, so to speak, quite a 'private' Latin change, and one, moreover, which, as we shall see later, did not begin to operate in Latin before the third century B. C. at the earliest, and, even if common to the other Italic dialects, at any rate could not have been so early as Prim. Ital. (v. *supra*, p. 444, note 2 ad fin.). Some scholars may perhaps consider that one or two of the instances which I cite here as examples of Latin *dv*- from Prim. Lat. *dv*- (preserving Idg. *δ*) should more correctly be referred to Idg. *δμ*, shewing the strong grade *δ* of the *δ*- (= Bartholomae's *a*⁻) series. Thus, e. g., they may possibly consider that Lat. *lāvère* (3d conjugation) : Gk. **λωfew* (whence *λοέω*) = Gk. *δγ-ω* Lat. *δg-o* : Gk. *δγ-μος* = Gk. *Κάστωρ* : Gk. *κόσμος*, etc., and thus shews Idg. *δ*; but, on the other hand, if we compare Lat. *lāvère* with Gk. **λωFe* (whence *λόε*), imperf. of Gk. **λόfew* (whence *λόω*), we must regard the *δ* of *lāvère* as from Idg. *δ*, which seems to me the better explanation of the two (v. *infra*, p. 451). In most of the other instances cited the evidence is very strongly in favour of my view [e. g. the formation of *fdvəd* (*infra*, p. 451) and *dvəd* (*infra*, p. 451) certainly points to **fdvəd* **dvəd* (preserving Idg. *δ*), rather than to *fdvəd* *dvəd* (preserving Idg. *δ*), as the early Lat. form; cf. *mōnevō*, *mōrdevō*, *torrevō*, *dōkevō*, *nōkevō*, and v. Brugmann, *Gr. II* (= Eng. ed., vol. IV), §§790, 794], in some the evidence for an earlier Lat. *dv*- (preserving Idg. *δ*) seems incontestable (e. g. *cāvos* from earlier **cōvos*, v. *supra* in the text).

² For the *h* of *cōhum* cf. *Bōhilla* (a form preserved in Non. c. 2, n. 410) beside *Bōvillae*; v. Forcellini (London ed. 1828, and that of De-Vit, 1859-67). On *Bōvillae* itself v. *infra*, pp. 458 sqq.

³ 'Vix solidum complere cohūm terroribū' coeli,' Q. Enni *Carm. Rel.*, *Annales* 574 Müll.

or innermost part of the heavenly sphere' (cf. Verg. Aen. IV 451 '*coeli convexa*'), whence (according to Diomedes, in Keil's Grammat. Lat., vol. I, p. 365, l. 17) Verrius Flaccus the Grammarian derived *incōhō*, spelling it thus instead of *inchōō*] : Gk. *κόοι* from **κοφοί* 'cavities,' *κοῖλος* from **κοφίλος* 'empty.' In support of this view see especially Schuchardt, Vocalism. des Vulgärlat., vol. I, p. 178; Thurneysen, ib., p. 155; King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 86, ch. IX, p. 188; Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §11 (7), p. 12; Havet, ib., pp. 18, 21; Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §19.

ῥᾱveō from earlier **ῥδveō* : Gk. *πτοέω* from **πτοφεω*. So explained also by King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 86; Havet, ib., p. 18; Stolz, Lat. Gramm.², §15, Rem., p. 264.

The *ῥ* : *π*- affords no difficulty, cf. Lat. *ῥins-iō* : Gk. **πινσ-ιω*, the earlier form of *πτίσσω* (Brugmann, Gr., vol. IV, §744). Cf. also Gk. *πόλις* : *πτόλις*, *πόλεμος* : *πτόλεμος* (on which see Giles, ib., §197, p. 154). With respect to the *ῥ* : *π*-, it is worthy of mention that *ῥᾱveō* and *πτοέω* are connected together also by de Saussure, ib., p. 108, and Osthoff in Hübschmann, Das Idg. Vocalsystem, p. 190.

cāveō from earlier **cōveō* : Gk. *κοέω* from **κοφεω*, *Λᾱφο-κόφεω* (preserved by Priscian; v. Brugmann, Gr. II, §60, p. 113, Eng. ed.), *Λᾱο-κόων*, *Δημοκόων*, *θυοσ-κόος*,¹ *ἀ-κούω*. This view is supported also by Thurneysen, ib., p. 155; King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 86; Havet, ib., pp. 18, 21; Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §11 (7), p. 12; Stolz, Lat. Gr.², §10, p. 258, and in the Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr., §101 d), p. 114; Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §19; Giles, ib., §180, p. 141.²

¹ On this word compare 'Further Notes on the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive,' A. J. P. XVI, Part 2 (July, 1895), p. 218.

² In Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Inf. Dial., No. 142, occur the words *ant kaīla Ioveis*, which, as the context shews, can only mean 'before the shrine of Jupiter.' But *kaīla*, as Buck, Voc. d. Osk. Spr., p. 147, truly remarks, is a 'ganz dunkles wort.' Consequently von Planta, ib., §45, p. 115, proposes to read *ka ula* instead, adding (with a query) that this latter form may possibly be from earlier **kaṃela*- and belong to the root *kom-* in Lat. *cāveo*. But it does not seem that much is to be gained by the proposed new reading. We must, I think, retain the inscriptional reading *kaīla*, and explain it as best we may. If the account of epenthesis in Italic given by von Planta, ib., §86, pp. 169 sqq., under the heading 'Lautgruppe *ṃi*,' is correct, so that, e. g., Lat. (*g*)*naevos* (preserved also as proper name in the abl. *Gnaivod*) Osc. Cnaives come from earlier **gnd-ṃio-s*, Lat. *scaevos* (together with Gk. *σκαίός*) from **skamjo-s*,

cāvilla, from earlier Lat. **cōvilla*, may be explained in either of two ways:

(1) *cāvilla* 'une plaisanterie' from earlier **cōvilla*: Gk. κόβαλος 'un mauvais plaisant,' both from Idg. **kōg-* (so Havet, ib., p. 21), or

(2) it may be connected with the same stem as that seen in Lat. *cāveō*, from earlier Lat. **cōveō* (: Gk. κοίω, v. supra), in the sense of 'to know,' so that its original meaning would be 'a bit of knowledge or wisdom,' and then 'a bit of cleverness, sharpness.' (Cf. Nettleship, Contributions to Latin Lexicography, 1889, pp. 408, 409.)

In either case the earlier Latin form would be **cōvilla* (preserving Idg. *ō*).

fāvissae from earlier Lat. **fōvissae*, beside the kindred *fōvea*, which itself comes from earlier Lat. **fēvea*, so that we have here the two ablaut grades *ō*:*ē*. This view is supported also by Havet, ib., p. 19; King and Cookson, ib., ch. IX, p. 189; Stolz, Lat. Gr.², p. 258, §10, and in Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr., vol. I, part I, p. 114, §101 *d*). We shall perhaps get at the origin of the word *fāvissae* by recalling the following remark of Festus concerning it (Paul. ex Fest. s. h. v., p. 88, 4 Müll.): 'locum sic appellabant, in quo erat aqua inclusa circa templa. Sunt autem qui putant, fāvissas esse in Capitolio cellis cisternisque similes, ubi reponi erant solita ea, quae in templo vetustate erant facta inutilia' (cf. also Varro apud Gell. 2, 10 and Non. cap. 2, n. 341). It is manifest that Festus, Varro and Nonius all regarded the word as originally connected in some way, with 'water.' *fāvissae* were probably some kind of water-tank, artificial ditch or moat. We are thus obviously enabled to refer *fāvissae* (from earlier **fōvissae*) and *fōvea* (from earlier **fēvea*) to the Pr. Idg. *√gʰey-* 'pour' (: Gk. χέω)¹ from which comes also Lat. *fundo*

Osc. *kaīla* may possibly have arisen by epenthesis from **kaīja*, which is very close to Gk. *κάλια* (from **καλιχα*) and *καλιός* 'a wooden dwelling, hut.' It may well be pointed out that these two Greek words also developed a meaning exactly similar to that required by Osc. *kaīla* in our inscription: *καλιό* 'a wooden shrine or niche containing the image of a god,' Apol. Rhod. I 170; Anth. P. 6, 253; *καλιός* 'a chapel,' Dion. H. I 67, II 57, III 70; Plut. Num. 8, etc.

¹ Per Persson, not so well it seems, refers *fōv-issae fōvea* (writing, however, a query after them) to *√bʰā-*, in his 'Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation' in Upsala Universitets Årsskrift (1891), pp. 140 sq.

'I pour.'¹ The second explanation ascribed to others by Festus, but obviously not the explanation preferred by himself, seems merely to imply that these *favissae* at a later date were no longer used for water, and hence were applied to other purposes, e. g. storage of various articles, etc. [whence 'favissae, *θησαυροί*' (Gloss. Philox.) finds an easy explanation]. We see much the same transference of meaning in Lat. *lacūna*, which originally meant 'a place where

¹ In these words we have *f*, instead of the normal Lat. *h*, from Idg. *ǵh*. *f* seems to have been the usual representative of Idg. *ǵh* [and perhaps also of Idg. *ǵh*, cf. *foctis* beside Lat. *hostis* from Pr. Idg. **ǵhos-ti-s*, Brugmann, Gr. I, §§389, 422, 430] in at least one Italic dialect; and considering "the constant intercourse" (which the Sabines had) "with the Romans, whose very city they, the Sabines, had helped to found" (R. S. Conway in Idg. Forsch., vol. II, p. 160), and considering that the Sabines received the 'ius suffragii' (Vellei. I 14) as early as 267 B. C., and in view of the fact that the *l* in place of *d* in many Latin words, such as *levir*, *lacruma*, *lingua*, *Melica*, *Novensiles*, *lepesta*, *larix*, *laurus*, etc., has also been with good reason referred to Sabine influence (by Conway, l. c., pp. 157 sqq.; cf. also Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §111, esp. pp. 286 ad fin., 287 ad init.), it seems more than possible that the *f* which appears beside or instead of Lat. *h* from Idg. *ǵh* in many words—e. g. *folus* beside Lat. *holus helus*: Av. *zairi-3* 'yellowish,' Lith. *želù* 'I grow green,' O.Bulg. *zeliže*, n. 'greens, vegetables,' etc.; *fariolu-s* beside Lat. *hariolu-s haru-spes*: Gk. *χορδή* 'a string of gut,' Lith. *žarmà* 'gut,' etc.; *fel*: Gk. *χόλος* from *ǵhel-* (V. Henry, Préc. d. Gramm. Comp. du Grec et du Latin, §113, p. 129; Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, pp. 55, 436); *fāvissa fōvea fundo* from *ǵheh-* (v. supra in the text); *fāvus* from *ǵheh-* (v. infra in the text); *Faunus* from *ǵheh-* (v. infra in the text, §8); *fāsēna* beside Lat. *hārēna* from earlier Lat. **hāsēna* from Idg. *ǵh* (Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §127); *fedus* beside Lat. *haedus*: Goth. *gdits* and perhaps Lith. *žaid* 'to play' (Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 433); [cf. also *fircus* (and *Fircellius*, a citizen of Reate, mentioned by Varro, R. R., bk. III, chh. 2 and 6) beside Lat. *hircus* (? *ǵh* or *ǵh*): Osc. 'hirpus' (*Hirpini*), v. von Planta, ib., §217, p. 443, note 1]; the last three of which, viz. *fasēna fedus fircus*, have been definitely ascribed to Sabine by the grammarians (Varro, L. L. V 19; cf. also Vel. Long. in Keil's Grammatici Latini, vol. VII, p. 69, l. 8)—is really due to Sabine influence (cf. Brugmann, Gr. I, §§389, 430; V. Henry, ib., §58, p. 66; von Planta, ib., §217, pp. 442 sqq.; Lindsay, ib., ch. II, §57, ch. IV, §§121, 127; Giles, ib., §138, note 1, p. 112). At the same time it is probable that this *f* only belonged to the Sabine dialect west of the mountain-range which divides the eastern part of the Sabine territory from the western. This seems established by *hiretum* (: Osc. *heriia*, Umbr. *heris* 'vis,' *heriest* (fut.) 'volet,' Gk. *χαίρω*, etc., from *ǵher-*) on a Sabine inscription found near Amiternum on the east side of the mountain-range. If Umbr. *felsva* is rightly connected by Bücheler, Umbr., p. 32, with Lat. *holus*, we perhaps see herein an instance of West-Sabine influence on the neighbouring Umbrian dialect, which in all other certain instances shews *h* as the representative of Idg. *ǵh* (v. von Planta, ib., §217, p. 443).

water collects' (cf. Paul. ex Fest., p. 117 Müll.: 'Lacuna aquae collectio: a lacu derivatur'), e. g. Lucr. 6, 552, but later became used for any 'cavity' or 'hollow,' e. g. Varro, R. R. 2, 7, 3 Cum supercilia cana, et sub ea lacunae, dicunt, eum equum habere annos sedecim, and 1, 29, 3 Qua aratrum vomere lacunam facit, sulcus vocatur, and Lucr. 5, 1261; the same transference of meaning is to be found even in *lacus* itself, although, with one exception (Lucil. ap. Serv. Verg. A. 1, 726, where *lacus* = 'panel in ceiling'), only in later Latin, e. g. Colum. 1, 6, 14 lacubus distinguuntur granaria, ut separatim quaeque legumina ponantur.

fāvos 'honeycomb' from earlier Lat. **fōvos*: Gk. χοή from **χοFη* 'a pouring,' χόος from **χοFος* 'a liquid measure,' -χόος from **-χοFος* (e. g. in οίνο-χόος) 'pouring' from *√gheμ-* 'to pour.' So also Havet, ib., p. 20.

lāvō 'wash' from earlier Lat. **lōvō*: Gk. λάε (from **λαFε*), imperfect of λάω (from **λαFω*), λούω, λοίω from **λαFίω*. This view is supported also by Thurneysen, ib., p. 156; King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 86; Havet, ib., p. 18; Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §11 (7), p. 12; Stolz, Lat. Gr.², §10, p. 258, and in Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr., §101 d), p. 114; Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §19; Giles, ib., §180, p. 141.¹

fāveō from earlier Lat. **fōveō*, which is

either (a) from earlier **fōveǵō* 'cause to be,' the causative of *√bheμ-*; cf. the phrase *di faveant ut . . .* (so Thurneysen, ib., p. 154; Giles, ib., §180, p. 141; cf. also King and Cookson, ib., ch. IX, p. 188);

or (b) = 'donner de la rapidité,' being based on an adjective **fōvos* = Gk. θοός from **θoFος* (so Havet, ib., p. 18; cf. also King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 86), or perhaps direct from earlier **fōveǵō* (causative), which, together with Lat. **fōvos*, Gk. θοός θίω (from **θiFω*), would come from Idg. *√dheμ-* 'run' (: Skr. *dhāvatē* 'runs,' cf. Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 465, s. v. *dhēvo-*).

The view here taken, that **fōveō* was the earlier form of Lat. *fāveō*, is supported (but without discussion) also by Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §11 (7), p. 12.

āveō from earlier Lat. **ōveō*, from Idg. **dμ-ēǵō*, being a causative of the same type as Lat. *mōnēō*, Gk. φοπέω. This is the view

¹ In unaccented syllables this *-dv-* became *-ā-*, e. g. *ablāvō* from **dblāvō* (: *lāvō* from **lōvō*) from **dblōvō*, *elāvācrus* from **ēlāvācrus* (: *lāvācrum* from **lōvācrum*; cf. Gk. λoετρόν) from **ēlōvācrus*; v. Stolz, Lat. Gr.², §14 B, 4, p. 262, and Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §41.

taken also by Darbishire in the *Classical Review*, vol. IV, p. 273 *b* (June, 1890). With *ävëö* from earlier **vëlö* we may compare *fävëö* from earlier **fövlö*, just discussed.

Fävönius from earlier **Fövönius* 'the warming wind, the west wind' from Idg. **dhōgh-* from Idg. *√dhegh-* 'to burn' (whence also Lat. *föveö* from Prim. Lat. **fëveö*¹) and

fävilla 'hot cinders, glowing ashes' from earlier **fövilla*, a diminutive of an ancient **föva* or **fövos* from Idg. **dhōgh-o-s*: Skr. *ni-dāghá-s* 'heat, summer,' Goth. *dags*, O.H.G. *tag*, O.Icel. *dagr* 'day,' Lith. *dāga-s dagà* 'harvest' (properly 'hot time'), from Idg. Gf. **dhōgho-s*, from Idg. *√dhegh-* 'burn.'

In support of this derivation of *Fävönius* and *fävilla* see especially Thurneysen, ib., p. 159, and Lindsay, ib., ch. IV, §§19, 144 (on *fävilla*); Havet, ib., p. 19, and King and Cookson, ib., ch. IX, p. 189 (on *Fävönius* and *fävilla*).

Fävi from earlier *Fövi*, cf. Paul. Festi 62 Th. d. P.: '*Fovi*, qui nunc *Favi* appellantur' ('*Fovii* . . . *Fabii*,' Müller).

ävilla 'lamb,' dimin. of Latin **ävis* 'sheep,' from Prim. Latin **övis* 'sheep' (Lat. *övis* 'sheep' itself being due to dialectal influence, v. infra, p. 461 sqq.) from Idg. **ōyi-s* [: Gk. *ōis* from **ōfis* 'sheep,' and Goth. *avi-* 'sheep' seen in Goth. *avistr* 'sheep-fold' (from earlier Goth. **avi-vistr*, v. Brugmann, Gr. I, §643)]. In support

¹ The Latin verb *föveö* (from Idg. *√dhegh-* 'to burn') has been derived by Brugmann, Gr. II (Eng. ed., vol. IV), §794 (and cf. §790), from Idg. **dhōgh-éjō* (or rather **dhōgh-éjō*): Skr. *dāhaya-ti* 'lets burn,' but if this derivation were correct, we should have expected Lat. *föveö* to become **fäveö*, hence Lat. *föveö* is preferably to be derived (with Thurneysen, ib., p. 159; Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §13, ö), p. 15; King and Cookson, ib., ch. IX, p. 189, and Havet, ib., p. 19) from earlier Lat. **fëveö*, shewing the vocalism of *tēnēö* [beside which there was also an Idg. **idh-éjō*, from which comes Skr. *tānaya-ti*, cf. Brugmann, Gr. II (= IV), §794, p. 1150, Germ. ed.], *tēpēö*, *sēdēö*, *pendēö*, *mēdēö*, *vērēö*, *vēgēö* (v. esp. Havet, l. c.). In the same way Lat. *möveö* is to be derived from earlier Lat. **mëveö*: Gk. *ἀ-μεύ-σασθαι* (Schweizer-Sidler, ib., §13, ö), p. 15; Havet, ib., p. 17; King and Cookson, ib., ch. IX, p. 186, and Stolz, Lat. Gr.³, §15, p. 264) from Idg. *√mēgh-* (cf. Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, pp. 103, 286, 511). Lastly, Lat. *vöveö*, whether derived ultimately from *√gēgh-* (v. Brugmann, Gr. I, §428 c), and Gr. Gr.², §35, p. 56) or from a *√hēgh-* (v. Osthoff in Morph. Unters., vol. V, p. 82, note 1), must come from earlier Lat. **vëveö*, preserving the *z*-grade of the original root.

² For these words cf. Brugmann, Gr. I, §376; Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 74. With **föva* (in the text above) beside **fövu-* Havet, ib., p. 19, compares Lat. *tōga* beside Lat. root *tēg-* (= Pr. Idg. *√tēg-*).

of this view see especially G. Löwe, *ib.*, p. 348; de Saussure, *ib.*, p. 104, and Havet, *ib.*, p. 18. On the other hand, Brugmann, in his *Grundriss*, I, §432 c), and Gr. Gr.², §35, p. 55; Schweizer-Sidler, *ib.*, §11, 1); Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*², §47, p. 290, and Giles, *ib.*, §180, p. 141 and p. 164, identify the root of *āvilla* with that seen in *Lat. agnus*, Gk. ἀμνός, viz. Idg. *ag-*. Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19, holds the balance even between the two derivations (see also King and Cookson, *ib.*, chh. V, pp. 85, 86, VI, p. 141, IX, p. 187);—and also

āvēna ‘sheep-grass’ from Latin **āvis*, from earlier *Lat. *ōvis* ‘sheep’ from Pr. Idg. **ōui-s* ‘sheep.’ This view is supported also by King and Cookson, *ib.*, ch. V, p. 88 [at the same time (ch. VI, p. 141) these scholars think it ‘conceivable’ that the root of *āvēna* is the same as that of *agnus*; v. *supra* on *āvilla*].

The view here taken concerning the origin of *Lat. āvilla* and *āvēna* is further supported by our next example:

aububulcus (Löwe, *ib.*, p. 348) or *aubulcus* (according to the correction of E. Bährens in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1877, p. 156) ‘ovium pastor,’ from earlier Latin **āvi-(bu)bulcus* from Prim. Lat. **ōvi-* from Idg. **ōui-* ‘sheep’ (see especially Löwe, l. c., and de Saussure, *ib.*, p. 104).

āvis ‘bird’ is at first sight difficult; it most probably comes from earlier Latin **ōvis* ‘bird’ from Idg. **ōu-i-s* ‘bird’: Gk. **ōfi-s* seen in *οἰωνός* from **ōfi-ων-ος*, *οἶμαι* from **ōfiομαι* [= originally ‘I augur,’ cf. *Lat. autumo* either from Pr. Lat. **ou-tumo* from Idg. tautosyllabic **ōu-* (Havet, *ib.*, p. 18), or from **ōvi-tumo* from **ōvitumo* (Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19)], *φόν* ‘egg.’ In support of this view see esp. Havet, *ib.*, p. 18; Thurneysen, *ib.*, p. 159; King and Cookson, *ib.*, ch. V, p. 85; Darbishire in the *Transactions of the Cambr. Philolog. Soc.*, vol. III, Part 4, p. 189; von Planta, *ib.*, §45, p. 115; Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19). But at the same time King and Cookson (*ib.*, ch. IX, p. 187) have suggested that *Lat. āvis* ‘bird’ may contain the same root as Greek *ἄερος* ‘an eagle,’ which comes from earlier **alFeros* (: *alβeros* Hesych.), from still earlier **āfieros*, from Idg. **āui-* ‘bird’ [cf. also J. Schmidt’s (to my mind) incorrect views on Gk. *οἰωνός*, discussed in the note at the foot of this page].¹ Skr. *v-i-ṣ* (the loss of

¹ Johannes Schmidt (‘Assimilationen benachbarter einander nicht berührender vocale im griechischen’ in Kuhn’s *Zeitschr.* XXXII (1891), pp. 374–6) holds that the Greek root from which *οἰωνός* is to be derived was **āfi-* [the

whose root-syllable is a trace of the ablaut of the original declension, v. Brugmann, Gr. II, §93, p. 279, Eng. ed.) gives us no aid in settling the point at issue. The evidence of the non-Latin dialects of Italy might seem at first sight to favour this identification of Lat. *avi-* with Gk. **āfi-*:—Umbrian preserves to us *aves avis aveis* 'avibus' *aves avif avif aveif avvei* 'aves (acc.),' and also derivatives shewing *av- av-*, e. g. *aviekla aviecla* 'augurali,' *aviekate* 'auspicatae,' etc., and in Marrucinian we find *aviatas* fem. nom. plur. 'aviatae auspicatae' (v. Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Inf. Dial., No. 8). We thus have certainly an

same which is seen in Gk. *ἀετός* and *αἰβητός*, v. supra, and also, according to Schmidt (but wrongly, I think, v. the text above), in Lat. *avis* 'bird', and that the *o-* of *οἰωνός* is merely the result of assimilation to the succeeding *-ω-*. But I do not think that he has at all succeeded in proving his explanation; to say nothing of Aeol. *οἰωνῶν* cited by Trypho παθ. λεξ., §15; v. Ahrens, De Dial. Aeol., §18, p. 106, note 4), which Schmidt believes not to be genuine (although recognised by Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 358), Gk. *ὄτω* *ὄτω* *ὄτομαι* are against his theory. V. Hintner, in his excellent discussion of '*ὄτω* *οἰομαι*' in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII (1883), pp. 607-9, has conclusively proved the connexion of these two forms with Gk. *οἰωνός* (cf. also Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb. der Griech. Spr., 1892, s. v. *οἰωνός*), and has, rightly I think, set up **ōfi-* 'bird' as the Prim. Gk. form on which *ὄτω* *οἰομαι* *οἰωνός* (cf. *autumo* above and *auguror*) were based. Schmidt, ib., p. 374, seems to object to this explanation of *ὄτω*, and yet on p. 375 he admits that *ὄτω* points to a Prim. Gk. **ōfi-*, and finally on the same page, ad fin., actually derives it from **ōfi-toi-* (beside Homeric *ὄισθην* *ὄισθεις* *ἀνώιστον* *ἀνώιστι*); cf. also Hoffmann, Die Griech. Dial., vol. II, p. 453: "*ὄτομαι* beruht wahrscheinlich auf **ōfi-toi-*." Now, the initial *o* of Gk. *ὄτω* *ὄτω* *ὄτομαι* and (if we may include it) *οἰωνός* could not, on Schmidt's own shewing, be explained as the result of assimilation of *a* to a following *o*-sound [for he shews on p. 374 that **āfi-ωνός* with vocalic *i* could not have been assimilated to **ōfi-ωνός*, "da das zwischen *a* und *ω* liegende vocalische *i* der umfärbung nach *o* hin unfähig war, also der rückwirkenden kraft des *ω* eine endgiltige schranke setzte," and the same applies to *ὄτω* *ὄτω* *ὄτομαι* (*οἰωνός*)], and hence they most distinctly point to a Prim. Greek **ōfi-*; nor must we, with Schmidt, leave them "aus dem spiele" when we are considering *οἰωνός*. Furthermore, Schmidt has taken no account of the connected Gk. *ᾠόν*, Lat. *ovom*, Vulg. Lat. **ovom* 'egg,' which also seem to me to point certainly to Idg. **ōmi-* 'bird' (v. the text supra, and v. infra, pp. 463 sqq.). Thus the conclusion arrived at in the text seems correct, viz. that there were two Idg. words for 'bird': (1) **ōmi-*, (2) **āmi-*; and from the former of these two Gk. *οἰωνός* (from earlier **ōfi-ωνός*) comes without the least difficulty, so that there is not the least need to assume with Schmidt that **ōfi-ωνός* has arisen from earlier **āfi-ωνός* (from Idg. **āmi-*) through assimilation of *a* to the following *ω*. [It may be mentioned that Fick also (Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 358) separates *οἰωνός* entirely from **āfi-*, writing "*οἰωνός* gehört zu *οἶος* (?) oder zu *ὄϊω* (*οἰωνός*)."]

Umbro-Marrucian **avi-*, which (if our Law is confined to Latin, a question which has been discussed above, p. 444, note 2) can only come from Idg. **au̯i-* (: Gk. **âfi-*). The evidence of the Italic dialects might therefore seem at first sight to favour the view that Latin *âvis* 'bird' is also from Idg. **âui-*. It is equally possible, however, that just as on Greek soil we find **âfi-* (from Idg. **âui-*) and **âfi-* (from Idg. **âui-*) side by side (v. supra), so too on Italic soil we find Idg. **âui-* (whence Prim. Lat. **âvi-*, whence later *âvis*) and Idg. **iui-* (whence Umbro-Marruc. *avi-*) side by side, so that the general result of this inquiry, up to this point in the argument, seems to be the establishment of two separate Idg. words for 'bird': (1) **âui-*, whence Gk. **âfi-*, (2) **âui-*, whence Gk. **âfi-* and Prim. Umbro-Marruc. **avi-*, while Latin *âvis*, considered by itself alone, might come equally well from either (1) or (2).¹ But in settling the derivation of Lat. *âvis* 'bird,' it seems that we must also take into consideration, as intimately connected herewith, the Latin word for 'egg.' We must therefore anticipate for the moment

¹ If we were to have to deal only with Prim. Gk. **âfi-* and **âfi-* beside Skr. *vi-*, we might feel tempted to regard the *o* : *a*- of the Greek forms as prothetic [cf. Hom. *ἔ(f)έρση*, Cret. *ἀερεα* 'dew' beside *ἐρση ἐρση*, Skr. *var̥ṣd-s* 'rain'; *ὀμίχλη* 'fog,' *ὀμιχέω* 'I make water,' inf. aor. *ἀμιξαι* (Hesych.): Lith. *miḡlā* 'fog,' Lat. *mingē*], but such an explanation could hardly hold for the Italic forms (pace Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴, p. 358, who apparently would explain the *a*- of Lat. *âvis* in this way). The more probable solution is that Idg. **âui-* and Idg. **âui-* shew the two strong grades of ablaut (cf. Gk. *ὄγμος* : Lat. *ag-men*, *ἄγ-ο*, Gk. *ἀγ-ω*) from an Idg. **âui-* 'to breathe' or 'blow,' which, when extended, appears as (1) **âui-*, seen in Skr. *vā-ti*, Gk. *ἀν-σι*, Lat. *uentu-s* and Goth. *vind-s* (from **âui-ni-o-*) 'wind,' and (2) **âui-*, seen in Gk. *ἀω-το-ς* 'flock of wool, down, something which is blown about or blows about' [cf. Brugmann, Gr. II (= Eng. ed. IV), §587]. In order to reach the primal meaning of Idg. **âui-* : **âui-*, we may note especially the above-cited *ἀω-το-ς*, also perhaps the Homeric (Il. XXI 386 *δίχα θυμὸς ἀγρο* 'their mind waved to and fro' (i. e. was in doubt or fear), and compare the epithet *ἠνέμευς* as applied to *λαγῶδες*, meaning literally 'the windy hare,' i. e. 'rapid or rushing as the wind,' 'the wind-swift hare' (in Nic. Th. 453), and also the epithet *ἠπηνέμος* applied to Thymos, with the meaning 'swift as the wind' (in Anth. Plan. 54); so that the Idg. 'bird' meant 'a creature which was like the wind, as it were a wind blowing about,' or 'wind-swift.' With these two forms from the same root, shewing an identical suffix, but shewing two different grades of ablaut in the root of the word, we may compare Gk. *ἐχ-ι-ς* 'adder, viper' : Gk. *ὄφ-ι-ς* 'snake, dragon' (Brugmann, Gr. II, §93, p. 279, Eng. ed.); compare also the well-known difference of the root-vowels in Skr. *ag-ni-* f. m., Lat. *ig-ni-* s. m., Lith. *ug-ni-* s. f., O.C.Sl. *og-ni* m. 'fire' (Brugmann, Gr. II, §95).

our discussion of the latter. It will be seen that there existed two forms: Lat. *ovom* and Vulgar Latin **ovom*. Concerning these two forms two views are possible: (1) *ovom* is the genuine Latin word for 'egg,' in which case **ovom* is a Vulg. Lat. development from *ovom*; (2) **ovom* is the genuine Latin word for 'egg,' preserved for long among the lower classes, but ousted among the upper classes by the form *ovom*, which is due to Greek influence, and probably came in during the latter half of the third century B. C. Whichever view we may take concerning Lat. *ovom* and Vulgar Latin **ovom*, it would appear that the genuine Latin word for 'egg' was based on Prim. Lat. **ov-i-s* (from Idg. **u-i-s*), thus pointing conclusively to Prim. Lat. **ov-i-s* [: Gk. **if-i-*, from Idg. **u-i-s*], and not to Prim. Lat. **av-i-s* [: Gk. **af-i-*, from Idg. **u-i-s*], as the Prim. Lat. form of Lat. *avis* 'bird.'¹

We have now given the examples illustrating this Latin phonetic Law, that Pr. Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *o*) became Lat. *av-*. The exceptions, or apparent exceptions, will be discussed later (pp. 458 sqq.). For the present we must confine ourselves to the question, Can we approximately date the operation of this Latin phonetic Law? The question is one to which a fairly accurate and definite answer can be given. An extreme date can be fixed, before which the change of Prim. Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *o*) to *av-* cannot have commenced: Lat. *nudus* 'naked' from **noudo-s* from **novedo-s* from **no(g)uedo-s* (: Goth. *naqaps* 'naked,' etc.) from Idg. **nog-*, proves that the change of Prim. Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *o*) to *av-* was later than the syncope of *o* in the post-tonic syllable (v. Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19); whatever be the *exact* date of this, it must at any rate have taken place fairly early, for

¹ I omit from this list of examples, shewing Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *o*) changed to *av-*, the Lat. *gravis*. According to Havet, *ib.*, p. 18, and King and Cookson, *ib.*, ch. IX, pp. 187, 188 (cf. also Schweizer-Sidler, *ib.*, §11 (7), p. 12), Lat. *gravis* is from earlier Latin **gravis*, from Idg. **gravis* according to Havet, from Idg. **gravis* according to King and Cookson. Havet (*l. c.*) admits that this would be an example of a non-original *o* changed to *a* before *v*: "Le même changement d'*ov* en *av* se manifeste dans un mot où l'*o* est très ancien sans être pourtant de la première heure, l'adjectif *gravis*." But this derivation of *gravis* does not commend itself so well as that given by Osthoff (in *Morph. Unters.*, vol. V, p. iii), who holds that Idg. *g* and *l* are represented on Latin soil not only by *or* (*ur*), *ul* (*ol*), but also by *rd*, *ld*, so that the *-rd-* of Lat. *gravis* is the direct representative of Idg. *-g-*.

Plautus (254-184 B. C.) uses the adj. *nūdus* (e. g. Asin. 1. 1. 79 and Am. 1. 1. 147), and in Ennius (who was born 239 B. C., came to Rome 204 B. C., died 169 B. C.) we find both the adj. *nūdus* (Enn. Ann. 517 Müll.) and the verb *nūdō* (Enn. Fab. 422 Müll.). Valuable evidence is also afforded us by Vulgar and Rustic Latin; the Spanish and Portuguese words (Span. *cueva*, Port. *cova*) shew that *cōvo-*, not *cāvo-*, was still the Vulgar Latin stem of our first example (supra, p. 447) at the time when Spain was made a province, 201 B. C. (Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19); add to this the fact that Ennius, by whom the country-term *cōvum cōm* or *cōhum* was used, did not come to Rome till 204 B. C. From the foregoing evidence it appears conclusively proved that Pr. Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) had not suffered the change to *āv-* by 204 B. C. in Rustic Latin, and by 201 B. C. in Vulgar Latin. We shall, however, be almost certainly right in assuming that the change must have been gradually taking place among the upper classes long before that date, commencing perhaps as early as the first part of the third century B. C., so that here, as is so often the case, we find the older pronunciation, abandoned by the upper classes, preserved for long among the lower classes.¹

To de Saussure belongs the credit of being the first to observe at all systematically² the Latin phonetic change which we have been discussing; his words (*ib.*, p. 104) were: "l'o latin devant *v* a une tendance marquée vers l'*a*, spéciale à cette langue." Later scholars expressed their views as follows: Thurneysen (*ib.*, p. 154), "fast überall, wo altes *ov* erweisbar ist, erscheint lat. *av*"; Havet (*ib.*, p. 18), "Toutes les fois que *ōv* est primitive, sa représentation latine est *av*," and (*ib.*, p. 18) "*āv* (sc. latin) représente *ou* ancien aussi bien que *au*"; King and Cookson (*ib.*, ch. IX, p. 187), "Indo-European *ou* . . . regularly becomes in Latin

¹ Above in the text I have only given the evidence available for determining the date at which Pr. Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) became *āv-*. If this change was, as seems to me beyond all doubt, intimately connected with the change of the Prim. Lat. diphthong *ou* (from Idg. tautosyllabic *ōu*) to *au* (discussed below, §8), the evidence for the date of the latter may be taken into account when we are considering the date of the former: it will be found that the evidence available for the date of the latter change is sufficient to bear out and fully confirm our conclusions, given above in the text, concerning the date of the former (v. infra, §8 ad fin. and §9).

² 'Systematically,' for Löwe in his *Prodr. Corp. Gloss. Lat.* (1876), p. 348 (see above on *āvilla* and *aububulcus*, pp. 452, 453), had merely thrown out a passing hint on the subject.

av." We may now state the Law for this change definitely as follows:

Lat. *av-* (preserving Idg. *ǝ*), whether from Idg. *ǝu-* or from Idg. *ǝǵh-* or from Idg. *ǝǵ-*, became Lat. *ǝv-*, at a date later than the syncope of *ǝ* in the post-tonic syllable, and probably not before the beginning of the third century B. C. at the earliest among the upper classes, and not till the beginning of the second century B. C. among the lower classes.

§4. *Apparent exceptions to this Law.*

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to explain the three or four apparent exceptions to this Law that Pr. Lat. *ǝv-* (preserving Idg. *ǝ*) became *ǝv-*.

bōves 'oxen' is, according to Havet, *ib.*, p. 17, "un mot emprunté au grec" [the explanation which he gives also (*ib.*, p. 18) of Lat. *taurus*]. That *bōs*, (gen.) *bōvis*, is a *loan-word*¹ is proved beyond question by the initial letter *b-*, which cannot be the direct *Latin* representative of Idg. *ǵ* (which would have yielded **vōs*, not *bōs*, cf. Lat. *veniō* : Gk. *βαίω*, Osc.-Umbr. *ben-*, from the labialised *ǵgem-*, v. von Planta, *ib.*, §169, p. 335), but it seems perhaps less likely to have been borrowed from Greek than (as Brugmann, *Gr. I.*, §432, Rem. 1, and II, §160, suggested; cf. also King and Cookson, *ib.*, chh. V, p. 88, IX, p. 187; Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*², §47, p. 290, Rem. 1 and note 3; Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §141) from some Italic dialect. Havet seems to think that the *-ǝv-* of *bōves* can only be explained by the view that Lat. *bōves* was borrowed from Greek **βοῦες* (whence later *βοῦες*). But if it had been borrowed from Greek, it must have been borrowed at an extremely early period, for *Bovillae*, a name which obviously contains the same root as the Samnite city-name *Bovianum* (cf. Osc. *Búvaianúd*, Zvetaieff, *Inscr. Ital. Inf. Dial.*, p. 97), both of which have rightly been assigned to **bov-* *boûs*' by Bücheler, *Lexicon Ital.*, s. v. (cf. the explanations of the name 'Bovillae' given by the Schol. ad Pers. Sat. VI 55, and by Non., c. 2, n. 410), is known to have been a *very ancient* town; indeed it would seem that, if borrowing from Greek took place at all in *bōs bōvis*, it must be referred (unless we suppose it to have been borrowed from the Greek colonies in central Italy) to some period when Greeks and Italians were still individual

¹ For Thurneysen's attempted explanation of *bōs*, which to me seems very improbable, see below on *ǝvis*, p. 461.

members of one and the same community¹; in any case the date of the supposed borrowing would seem to be necessarily (on account of *Bovillae*) so remote that the word must have become regarded as sufficiently Latin to be subject to the above-given Law, viz. that Pr. Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) became *āv-*.² That this is not the case, that *bōves* has not become **bāves*,³ that *Bovillae* (although situated within the Latin territory) has not become **Bāvillae*, is, I think, conclusive against the theory of a Greek (at any rate of an *early* Greek) origin.⁴

We have now to consider whether it can be explained as a loan-word from some Italic dialect [for, be it remembered, the change of *ov-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) to *āv-* is probably confined to *Latin*, and does not affect the other Italic dialects, v. *supra*, pp. 444 sqq.], and if so, from which particular dialect; and in this inquiry we cannot too strongly insist⁵ on the fact that Latin is a language in which an exceedingly large external element forms an integral part. From the very beginning of its history, Rome was made up of a multitude of *non-Latin* elements, besides its *Latin* population. Witness the legend that the Sabines helped to found Rome; witness the legend that Romulus made Rome an 'asylum' for all outsiders who cared to come; witness too the still more important legend, the Rape of the Sabine women, and the legend of the origin of the name 'Quirites.' These legends at least imply that the population of Rome comprised an immense non-Latin, especially Sabine, element; and hence we cannot be surprised to find a reflexion of this in the language of Rome and Latium.⁶

To turn, then, to the other (non-Latin) Italic dialects: the records are scarce, but we find *bue* 'bove,' *buo* 'bovum' preserved

¹ I do not hereby wish to imply that I believe in a Graeco-Italic unity, but there probably was some period when Greeks and Italians formed two individual and gradually diverging members of a West-European community.

² Cf. the fate of Gk. *ἐλαί(φ)ᾱ* when it had been borrowed by Latin (p. 444, note 2 (3), *supra*).

³ *bōves* might have kept its *ō* through the influence of the nom. singular with *ō*, but this could hardly apply to *Bovillae*.

⁴ It is of course just conceivable that, had *bōs bōves* (pl.) been borrowed from Greek, the *ō* of *bōves* might have been maintained in Latin through the influence of the Greek colonies in central Italy, but this seems hardly likely.

⁵ Cf. Darbishire in the *Classical Review*, vol. V (1891), p. 218 *b*, and Giles, *Short Manual of Comparative Philology*, §63, p. 63.

⁶ Compare p. 450, note 1, *supra*, where *l* for genuine Lat. *d*, and *f* for genuine Lat. *h*, in certain Latin words is ascribed to Sabine influence.

by Umbrian, Búvaianúd (abl. sing.) 'Boviano' preserved by Samnitic Oscan.¹ Thus it seems fairly reasonable to conclude that Latin *bōves* and *Bōvillae*, and therewith of course also *bōs*, owe their existence in Latin, and their exemption from the change which befell Pr. Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) in the third century B. C., to the influence of the other Italic dialects, and perhaps especially the Oscan of the Samnites (cf. Samn. Búvaianúd² above), with whom Rome came into very close contact at an early date.³

There is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the word for 'bull' should have been borrowed by the warlike Romans from their more pastoral neighbours, among whom the Samnites, despite their capacity for war evinced later, must be included; there are, moreover, other means of shewing that the 'bull' was almost a household word in Italy, and hence the dialectal word for 'bull' might well have made its way into the language of Latium. I refer to the numerous instances of bulls on extant coins of all parts of Italy except Rome.⁴ I quote the following from Sambon's *Recherches* (1870): (a) bull, with a bearded man's face, with or without other accessories: *Marrucini*, Teate

¹ This Umbr.-Samn. **bōv-* might, from a phonetic point of view, come equally correctly from Idg. **s₂ōu-* (provided that our Law is confined to Latin, and is not to be extended to Italic) or Idg. **s₂ōu-* (v. Brugmann, Gr. II, §160, and von Planta, ib., §45, p. 116). The *-ōv-* of Lat. (b) *ōv-* could of course come quite regularly from Idg. **s₂ōu-*; so that, if we might set up Idg. **s₂ōu-* as the original form of Umbr.-Samn. **bōv-* and Lat. (b) *ōv-*, all our difficulty would at once vanish, for such an explanation would of course exclude Lat. (b) *ōv-* from the influence of our Law, which deals only with Pr. Lat. *ōv-* preserving Idg. *ō*; but I feel bound to agree with Buck (Vocal. d. Osk. Spr., p. 165) in deriving Umbr.-Samn. **bōv-* from Idg. **s₂ōu-* rather than from Idg. **s₂ōu-*, hence neither can we derive the *-ōv-* of Lat. (b) *ōv-* from Idg. **s₂ōu-*.

² Bovianum is only 14½ miles from the (eastern) boundary of Latium. In this connexion it will be remembered also that Bovianum was the capital of the Samnites, and was twice captured by the Romans in the course of the Samnite wars (in 305 B. C. and again in 293 B. C.).

³ League between Rome and Samnium, 354 B. C.; the three Samnite wars, 343 B. C.-290 B. C.; extension of the 'ius suffragii' to the Samnites, 268 B. C.

⁴ A bull is very rarely, if ever, to be found on coins of Rome. The bronze coins given under 'Campania' by Sambon, *Recherches* (1870), XII 44, shewing half a bull with a bearded man's face, and bearing the legend ΠΩΜΑΙΩΝ, are probably not genuine Roman coins, but coins struck in Campania at the time of the surrender of Capua to Rome, 343 B. C. (Sambon, ib., pp. 153, 170).

Pl. VI 7; *Samnium*, Aesernia XIII 9, Alifa¹ (= Allifae) XI 33, Fistelia¹ XI 29, 30, Larinum² XIII 10, Malies (= possibly Maloentum, v. Sambon, ib., p. 186) XIII 5; *Campania*, Cumae X 6, Hyria XI 26–28, Neapolis X 7–9, 13–16, Nola XI 23–25; *Bruttii*, Rhegium XXII 2;—(b) bull, with its own natural face, with or without other accessories: *Latium*, Lanuvium IX 10 (v. Sambon, p. 123); *Apulia*, Arpi XV 16, Grumum XV 23; *Lucania*, Posidonia XX 17, XXI 34, Sybaris XX 14, 16, Thurii XX 23, 27, 30, XXI 35, 41;—(c) bull's head with or without other accessories: *Picenum*, Firmum VII 7; *Vestini*, VI 4; *Apulia*, Rubi XV 11, Caelia XV 10. To this list of coins we may add the fact that at the outbreak of the Social War (90–89 B. C.), when Picentines, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, Vestinians, Samnites, Apulians and Lucanians leagued together against Rome, choosing Corfinium as the capital of the new federation, and naming it 'Italica,' they struck (int. al.) coins (for a specimen of which v. Sambon, ib., Pl. XIII 17 and cf. p. 190, §11) bearing a representation of the 'bull of Italy' goring 'the wolf of Rome.'

ovis 'sheep' is also a borrowed word—from Greek, according to Havet, ib., pp. 18, 30; from the Italic dialects, according to King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 88.³ Thurneysen, discussing Lat. *ovis vitulus bōs* in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX, p. 487, suggests that they "von jenen stämmen ererbt sind, die vor dem einrücken der latinischen, samnitischen, umbrischen völkerschaften im mittleren Italien ihre viehzucht betrieben, und die von jenen überwältigt wurden." This last-mentioned explanation seems to me (cf. also von Planta, ib., §45, p. 116) very unsatisfactory. Of the two former, that of King and Cookson seems far preferable; Lat. *ovis* may quite easily be explained as borrowed from the neighbouring non-Latin dialects, in which we find the following forms preserved: Umbr. *ovi* uvef 'oves,' uvem uve 'ovem,' uvikum 'apud ovem' (v. Bücheler, Umbrica, s. v. *ovi*), Pelignian and Oscan *Ov*. 'Ovius' (v. Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Inf. Dial., 21, 26, 248–52), Pelignian *Oviedis* 'Oviedius' (v. Zvetaieff, ib., 27); cf.

¹ Alifa and Fistelia are included in Campania by Sambon, but Dressel, in Curtius, Hist. u. Philol. Aufs. (1884), pp. 247 sqq., has conclusively proved that they were in Samnium.

² Larinum, more strictly perhaps to be placed among the Frentani.

³ So also Darbishire (with some uncertainty) in the Transactions of the Cambr. Philolog. Soc., vol. III, Part 4 (1892), p. 189. See also Giles, Short Manual of Comparative Philology, §63, p. 63.

Bücheler, *Lex. Ital.*, s. v. '**ovi oīs*.'¹ It has been shewn above that the name for 'bull' in its various cases (Lat. *bōs bōvis*, etc.) and its derivative (*Bovillae*) owed their existence in Latin, and their exemption from the general change which befell Pr. Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*), to the influence of the other Italic dialects, hence it is not unreasonable to suppose likewise, that although the genuine early Latin form of the word 'sheep,' viz. **ōvis* from Idg. **ōvis* [: Gk. *ōis* from **ōfis* 'sheep' and Goth. *avi-* 'sheep' (v. supra, p. 452)],² became **āvis* (whence *āvilla*, *āvēna* and *au(bu)-bultus*, on which v. supra, pp. 452, 453), the form *ōvis* was nevertheless re-introduced³ into Latin from the neighbouring non-Latin (e. g. Umbr.-Osc.-Pelign.) dialects.⁴

¹ Supposing that this explanation of the existence of the forms *bōs* and *ōvis* in Latin, as due to the influence of the other Italic dialects, is correct, we have at once an obvious and easy explanation of Lat. *iuvencus*. According to Hoffmann's Law—viz. that in an accented closed syllable Lat. *en em* (whether from Idg. *en em* or from Idg. *ṛ ṛ*), if followed in Latin by a guttural, became *in in* (Hoffmann in Bezz. Beitr., vol. XVIII, 1892, pp. 156–9)—Lat. *iuvencus* (from Idg. **iuyṇ-ōs*) should have become Lat. **iuvincus*; but it has retained its *e* doubtless through the influence of the other Italic dialects, where we find Umbr. *iuvengar* 'iuvencae' *iuvenga* 'iuvencas' *iueka* 'iuvencam' and 'iuvencas.' It is noteworthy that all these three Latin words, *bōs* *ōvis* *iuvencus*, are animal-names.

² I would hardly accept von Planta's (ib., §45, p. 116) suggested Idg. **ēmi-* as the original form whence Lat.-Umbr.-Osc.-Pelign. *ōvi-* are all to be derived, first, because Gk. **ōfi-* 'sheep' (cf. Hoffmann, *Die Griech. Dial.*, vol. I, 1891, p. 153) and Goth. *avi-* 'sheep' are against such a view, secondly because such a derivation takes no account of Lat. *āvilla*, *āvēna* and *au(bu)bultus*; it seems to me that there is more to be said for the explanation of Lat. *āvilla* as a dimin. of Lat. **āvis* (from earlier Lat. **ōvis* from Idg. **ōmi-s*) 'sheep' [cf. Lat. *angui-s* 'snake' (beside O.Ir. *esc-ung* 'swamp-snake,' i. e. 'eel'): Lat. *anguilla* 'eel,' Brugmann, *Gr. I*, §433 a)], and of Lat. *āvēna au(bu)bultus* also as derivatives of the same Lat. **āvis* (from earlier Lat. **ōvis* from Idg. **ōmi-s*) 'sheep,' than for the view that they represent Idg. **a₂-* (v. supra, pp. 452, 453, on these forms). Nor do I put any faith in von Planta's alternative suggestion (l. c.) that, supposing Idg. **ōmi-s* to be the original form, the preservation of the *ōm-* may be due to those forms where *ḡ* followed (cf. Skr. *avyā avyāi*, etc.).

³ A somewhat similar parallel in Germanic is the following: A.S. *æg* 'egg' became (regularly) Mid.Eng. *ey* 'egg' and is now obsolete, having been replaced by *egg*, which has been introduced from Icelandic. See Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology*, first series (second edition, 1892), chh. XVIII, §339, pp. 365, 366, XXIII, §434, pp. 470, 471 (where he corrects the views which he had expressed in his Dictionary). Cf. also Skeat, ib., ch. VI, §56, p. 76.

⁴ If the suggestion made below (p. 464, note 1) should prove to be correct, viz. that our Law may possibly have never affected *Rustic Latin* at all, then

ōvom 'egg' is extremely difficult. Its existence in Latin has been held by some to condemn, or at least to weaken the case for, the above-discussed Law (that Lat. *ov-*, preserving Idg. *o*, became *āv-*), on the ground that Prim. Lat. **ovjom*, which they suppose the upholders of our Law to regard as the earlier form of Lat. *ōvom*, must, if our Law is correct, have become Latin **āvjom*, which in its turn (they say) must have yielded **āvom*, not *ōvom*. They are wrong in supposing that Pr. Lat. **ovjom*, even according to our Law, could have become **āvom*, but they are right in holding that **ovjom* is *not* the earlier form of *ōvom*, for, in the first place, Prim. Lat. **ovjom* (based on Prim. Lat. **ovis* from Idg. **ōvis*) could not have become anything except (1) Lat. **ovium* (cf. Brugmann, Gr. I, §135), whence later by the above-given Law **āvium*, which could not possibly be the antecedent of the postulated **āvom*, or (2) Lat. **oivom* (if the account of epenthesis in Italic given by von Planta, ib., §86, pp. 169 sqq., under the heading 'Lautgruppe *ui*,' is correct), whence we might have expected **āvom*, cf. Lat. *oinos* whence *oenos* whence *ūnos* (Brugmann, Gr. I, §81, p. 74, Eng. ed.). In the next place, that Lat. *ōvom* arose from Pr. Lat. **ovjom* (based on Pr. Lat. **ovis* 'bird') at a date before our Law began to operate, is to be denied, for Lat. *ōvom*, as already shown, cannot at any time have been the direct outcome of Prim. Lat. **ovjom*, any more than Greek *φόν* can be the outcome of Prim. Greek **ōfion* [which must have yielded Gk. **oifon* (parallel to the postulated Lat. **oivom* from the postulated Prim. Lat. **ovjom* above), cf. *oionós* from **ōfionos*, *oioimai* from **ōfioimai*, v. supra, p. 453 and p. 453, note 1]. Hence Lat. *ōvom* cannot by any possible means be referred back to an earlier Latin form **ovjom*, consequently this argument brought against our Law falls to the ground.

Thurneysen, ib., p. 159, and von Planta, ib., §86, p. 170, derive *ōvom* from **ōijom*, which arose, according to these scholars, by epenthesis from **ōijom* [: Skr. *āvya-*, Gk. *ω(φ)ιον*]; but I hesitate to accept this explanation of *ōvom*, for it seems probable that just

Pr. Lat. **ōvis* (from Idg. **ōu-i-s*) would in *Rustic Latin* have throughout remained *ōvis*. Rustic Lat. *ōvis* might well have aided the re-introduction of the form *ōvis* into Latin itself.

⁵ The suggestion of King and Cookson, ib., ch. V, p. 88, note 1 (cf. also ch. IX, p. 187), that "*ōvis* instead of **ōvis* may possibly be due to an assimilation to *ōōvis*," does not seem very likely, but nevertheless this 'formal' resemblance may have aided the dialectal influence in preventing the re-introduced *ōvis* from again becoming **ōvis*.

as Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) became *āv-*, so also in the same way and at the same time (although no absolutely *certain* example of the change has yet been offered) Lat. *ōv-* (preserving Idg. *ō*) became *āv-* (v. infra, §7), in which case we should, I think (pace Thurneysen, l. c.), have expected Lat. *ōvom*, thus derived, to have become **āvom*.

It has been suggested that *ōvom* : *āvis* = (e. g.) Skr. *sāvitr-ā-s* : Skr. *sāvītār-* ('sprung from the bird' : 'bird' = 'sprung from the sun' : 'sun'), in other words, that *ōvom* is formed on *āvis* with *vr̥ddhi* of the first syllable. This view has failed to meet with the approval of Brugmann (Gr. II, §60, Rem. 1, p. 113, Eng. ed.). Prellwitz (Etym. Wörterb. d. Griech. Spr., 1892) explains Gk. *ᾠόν φόν* as from a form **ōu̯iom*, the *ō* of which he regards as *vr̥ddhi*ed from **ōu̯i-s* (seen in **ōF̥iōnos*), and in the same way we might regard the *ō* of Lat. *ōvom* as *vr̥ddhi*ed from Prim. Lat. **ōvi-s* (the earlier form of *āvis*), so that Gk. *φόν*, Lat. *ōvom* : Gk. **ōF̥i-*, Lat. **ōvi-* = Skr. *sāvitr-ā-s* : Skr. *sāvītār-*. But against this view there is the objection, mentioned above, that *ōvom*, if it were rightly thus derived, would probably have become **āvom*.¹

At the same time, that Lat. *ōvom* and Lat. *āvis* are connected together seems to be beyond all reasonable doubt; but the difficulty is to shew what the exact connexion is.

So far we have dealt with *ōvom* as a genuine Latin word, and as such scholars have endeavoured to explain it (wishing naturally to trace it back, if possible, to the same original form whence Skr. *āvya-*, Gk. *ᾠ(F)ion* come); but there is reasonable ground for regarding such an assumption as incorrect. Italian *uovo*, Spanish *huevo*, Old French *uef* 'egg' (as Lindsay, ib., ch. II, §25, has pointed out) prove the existencē of a Vulgar Latin **ōvom* 'egg' beside Latin *ōvom*; it is of course just conceivable (as indeed Mr. Lindsay suggested to me in a recent letter) that *ōvom* might have become **ōum*,² as *cōvom* became *cōum*, and that the *ō* was then shortened before the following vowel (whence **ōum*), the *v* being

¹ This objection might perhaps be overcome by a suggestion which Mr. Lindsay recently offered me—namely, that "*ōvom* may be a country-term like *ōvis* and *cō(v)um*," and that the Law under discussion may possibly have never affected *Rustic* Latin at all.

² In this connexion it may be well to quote Georges, *Lexicon d. Lat. Wortf.*, col. 484, s. v. *ovum*: "Form *oum* von Prob. inst. (IV) 113, 18 getadelt." That Probus was correcting an actually existing pronunciation of which he did not approve seems obvious from Lindsay, ib., ch. II, §53.

restored from the oblique cases (whence **ōvom*); in other words, that there was 'grammatischer Wechsel' of *ō(v)*- (nom. acc.) and *ōv*- (gen. dat., etc.); but I think there is a better explanation at hand, viz. that Vulg. Lat. **ōvom* preserves to us the genuine Latin form of the word 'egg'¹ (just as *cōvos*, the earlier form of *cāvos*, v. supra, p. 447, was long preserved in Vulg. Lat.), while *ōvom* is to be explained as due to some external influence, a question which we now proceed to discuss.

If we seek for aid in the Italic dialects, we find nothing to help us. The only two dialects which have preserved to us any form of the word for 'bird,' viz. Umbrian and Marrucian, both shew *avi*- which probably comes from Idg. **āui*- (v. supra, p. 455); but at the same time it must not be forgotten that our records of the Italic dialects are very scarce; it is quite possible (as said above) that, just as on Greek soil we find **āfi*- 'bird' (from Idg. **āui*-) and **āfi*- 'bird' (from Idg. **āui*-) side by side, so too some of the other Italic dialects [in addition to Latin, whose *avis* comes from earlier Lat. **ōvis* (cf. Vulg. Lat. **ōvom* 'egg,' v. supra, p. 456) from Idg. **āui*-s] might have preserved to us forms derived from Idg. **āui*- (and possibly even some form based thereon, meaning 'egg') beside the Idg. **āui*- of Umbro-Marruc. *avi*-. In this case we might have been able to prove that Lat. *ōvom* (with *ō* unchanged to *ā*), like *bōs bōvis Bōvillae* and *ōvis* 'sheep' (v. supra), owed its existence in Latin to the influence of some neighbouring Italic dialect; but it is perhaps after all not necessary to look for evidence of the other Italic dialects, in order to explain the *ō* of Lat. *ōvom*: another explanation is at hand.

Havet, ib., p. 18, has explained *ōvom* as borrowed from Greek (a view which dates back at least as far as Forcellini, London edition, 1828): "φόν suppose **ōlFon* pour **ōFion* . . . Cet **ōlFon*, une fois l' devenu muet, a fourni aux Latins *ōvom*." It seems to me that by uniting Havet's theory with the evidence of Vulgar Latin given by Lindsay (v. supra, p. 464) we may possibly reach at last the true explanation of Latin *ōvom*.

Just as Spanish *cueva* shews that *cōvo*-, not *cāvo*-, was the Vulgar Latin stem of Latin *cōvos cōus cōhus cāvos* (v. supra, pp.

¹ With **ōvom* formed on **ōv-i-s* (whence later *avis*), cf. Lat. *crinālis, fustū-ārium, grāvō, menstrūus, piscārius piscor piscōsus pisculentus, sentus, testor, torquātus*, if these are formed on Lat. *crini-s, fusti-s, grāvi-s, mensi-s, pisci-s, senti-s, testi-s, torqui-s*.

447, 457) at the time when Spain was made a province, i. e. 201 B. C. (Lindsay, *ib.*, ch. IV, §19), so too Span. *huevo* proves that **ovom* was the form of the word 'egg' in use in Vulgar Latin at that date. Now, it is a well-known fact that many of the works of Livius Andronicus (fl. 240 B. C.), Naevius (274*-202* B. C.), Plautus (254*-184 B. C.), Ennius (239-169 B. C.), Pacuvius (220*-130* B. C.) and Terence (194-159 B. C.) were merely translations of or adaptations from the works of the Greek dramatists; it is also well known that in these translations and adaptations they introduced many words into Latin from Greek (cf. Saalfeld, *Tensaurus Italo-Graecus*, and Weise in *Archiv für Lat. Lexicogr.*, 1893, pp. 469 sqq.); nor should we forget in this connexion that Livius Andronicus, the first dramatist of Rome, was himself a Greek¹; and lastly be it remembered that there was close contact between Hellas proper and Rome from 230 B. C. onwards [the Illyrian wars, 230-229 B. C. and 219 B. C.; the Macedonian wars, 214-205 B. C., 200-196 B. C., 171-168 B. C.; the settlement of Greece by Flamininus, 196 B. C.; the war with Antiochus the Great (carried on partly in Greece), 192-190 B. C.]. All these facts taken into consideration, the history of the word under discussion seems to be as follows:

**ovom* [based on Prim. Lat. **ovis* (from Idg. **ov̥i-s*), whence later *avis* 'bird'], the genuine Latin word for 'egg,' was used among all classes in the early part of the third century B. C. [about which time the change of Lat. *ov-* (preserving Idg. *o*) to *av-* was probably only just beginning to arise], but some time in the course of the latter half of the third century B. C. among the upper classes [and perhaps later among the lower classes as well (but at any rate not till after 100 B. C., for O.Fr. *uef* proves that **ovom* was still the Vulg. Lat. form at 100 B. C.)] **ovom* gave way to *ovom*, which, some time in the latter part of the third century B. C., was either (1) directly borrowed from the Greeks (? of Hellas proper, or possibly of the Greek colonies in Italy), or (2) introduced into Latin indirectly from Greek by means of the Roman dramatists, the first of whom was himself a Greek (v. supra), and so used as a loan-word for a time, until it gradually came to be regarded as a genuine Latin word, or (3) merely

¹On the general question of the enormous influence exercised over the Romans by 'Greek manners, Greek art, Greek language and literature' from an early period, see especially Max Müller, *The Science of Language* (1882), vol. I, lect. III, pp. 109 sqq.

remodelled to *ðvom* among the upper classes on analogy of the Greek word.¹ In any case, the form *ðvom* instead of earlier and genuine Latin **ðvom* seems to be due to the influence of Greek; and in this connexion we may well compare the striking parallel exhibited in English: the so-called 'English' *egg* is really not an English word at all, but is certainly a Scandinavian loan-word, from Icel. *egg* (Swed. *ägg*, Dan. *æg*), which has ousted the genuine Mid. Engl. *ey* (from Anglo-Sax. *æg*) 'egg.'²

cōvinnus 'carriage' (Mart. 12, 24, 12), more strictly 'sickle-chariot,' a war-chariot of the Britons and Belgae (cf. Pompon. Mela 3, 6, 5; Sil. Ital. 17, 416; Lucan 1, 426; also *cōvinnarius* Tac. Agric. 35 and 36), affords no difficulty, as it is certainly a Celtic loan-word (cf. Stolz in the Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr., vol. I, part I, §6, p. 10).

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¹ In discussing the date at which the change of Prim. Lat. *ðv-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) to *āv-* took place (v. supra, p. 456 sqq.), I purposely omitted from consideration the Latin word for 'egg,' as its correct explanation is so extremely doubtful. Should the explanation which I have suggested in the text turn out to be correct, viz. that **ðvom* (the form proved for Vulgar Latin by Ital. *uovo*, Span. *huevo*, Old French *uef* 'egg') may have been the genuine Latin form of the word 'egg' (the *ð* of *ðvom* being due to external influences), then it must be observed that while Span. *huevo* proves that **ðvom* was the Vulgar Latin form in 201 B. C., Old French *uef* proves that **ðvom* was still the Vulgar Latin form as late as 100 B. C. In this case it is just possible (cf. p. 464, note 1, supra) that the change of Pr. Lat. *ðv-* (preserving Idg. *ð*) to *āv-* may never have taken place at all in Vulgar and Rustic Latin (or, at any rate in the case of Vulgar Latin, only at a late date, i. e. after 100 B. C.). But it would be unsafe to venture conclusions based on the etymology of a word whose explanation is fraught with so many difficulties.

² See Skeat, Principles of English Etymology, first series (second edition, 1892), chh. XVIII, §339, pp. 365, 366, XXIII, §434, pp. 470, 471; and cf. supra, p. 462, note 3.

(To be continued.)

IV.—THE CODEX RICCARDIANUS OF PLINY'S LETTERS.

The following complete collation of the *codex Riccardianus* of Pliny's Letters (now R. 98—formerly 37—of the Ashburnham MSS in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence) with the text in Keil's critical edition of 1870 was made by me in August, 1895, by the courtesy of the Prefect of the Laurenziana. It furnishes a supplement to, and, in many instances, corrections of, the readings of *cod. R.*, both as reported by Keil from the collation by Gori used by Kortte in his edition of 1734, and as given by Th. Stangl in his article in the *Philologus*, vol. XLV.

The MS itself has been sufficiently described both by L. Havet (*Revue critique*, vol. XVI) and by Th. Stangl (l. c.). I hope to discuss further its characteristics and importance upon another occasion.

I have not infrequently used italics to indicate letters that are written in the MS in abbreviation or ligature. The commoner orthographical peculiarities, such as the confusion between *e* and *ae*, the spellings *michi*, *nichil*, and the like, have been noted only in special instances.

C · PLINI SECUN DI | EPISTULARUMLIBRINU | MERO
 DECEM · | INCIP̄ LIB · I · FELICITER ; | (*thus far in large
 capitals of faded red: from this point through the address of the
 first letter capitals are used, but of smaller size, and now and
 then with an uncial form*) adsecundum adarrianum | adcaninium
 rufum · adpompeia · | aduoconium · adcornelium tacitum — | ad-
 octauum rufum · ad pompeium — | adminucium · adatticum · ad-
 fauiiustū · — | adcelestium^r tironem · adsossium · adiunium ·
 (*but -n- is written over a blur or blot*) | adsepticium · aderucium ·
 adcornelium · | adsuetonium · adromatium · adcornelium · | ad-
 plinium · adca^{ici}lium · (*corr. by 2d hand?*) adpompeium · | ad
 baebium F · frequenter quia tardio^rrem · | quid agit, (*comma per-
 haps by 2d hand*) quantum copiarū · uidisti · ridebis · | uide //
 (*erasure of two letters*) inquo · peroportune · mirum est · | siquando

olim mihi · iacturam · magnū | petis · heus tum · amabam · est
adhuc cure · | scribis te · municeps (-ps is written over an erasure,
perhaps of -s alone; no interpunction follows) frequē · utanīmi
tui · | diuidiam · consulis · tranquillus · | Frequenter hortatus es ut
epistūlas (*corr. by 2d hand*) quas | paulo accuratius · | c · plinius
secundo suo salutem · | (*here the capitals end, and the writing
goes on in minuscules*)

Page 3.—I 7 epistūlas quas paulo accuratius || 11 neclecte ||

II 14 SALUTEM || 15 prospicuo || 16 epistolis ||

Page 4.—I emendes (*corr. from emendas*) | umquam] ante || 2
per ē que (*corr. from per eaque*) | stilo (*but with marginal gloss
in 1st hand al ΖΗΛΩ'*) || 3 semper tuum (*corr. from septuum*) ||
4 nam uim *om.* | pauci equitius adsequi possint || 5 improbe || 8 ex
citare || 9 quoties (*corr. from quotiens*) | decedere (*corr. from
decere by 2d hand*) || 10 acres enim esse non tristes (*corr. by 2d
hand from acres enim non tristes esse*) || 12 nam] non || 13 me]
te | editione (*some letter was first written between e and d, but
immediately erased by 1st hand*) | ab horreo || 14 tufortas se (s of
fortas *by 2d hand over erasure*) || 16 autem (*corr. by 2d hand
from aut?*) || 19 bibliopolē (*corr. from bibliopelē*) | blandiantur
om. || 20 *after hoc an erasure of two letters, apparently su* ||

Page 5.—III 2 RUFO (*but F in blacker ink, and apparently
over erasure*) | SALUTEM || 4 amōenis—simum plata non opau-
cissimus (*corr. from plato non paucissimus*) || 5 eurippus | subiectus
seruiens || 6 mollis (*corr. from molis*) || 8 illa popine? quid euripus?
quid cubicula || 10 si possident || 11 tempus enim || 13 asseris || 14
hic quies || 15 effinge aliquid & excute quod sit *with marginal
gloss quod aliquid & | excute quod se | tua m / / / (rest trimmed
off in binding)* || 18 cēperit || 20 uideberis (*corr. by 2d hand from
uedeberis*) | uale *om.*

IIII 22 SALVTEM || 23 incarsolano ||

Page 6.—2 tam mea sum || 3 tua *om.* | sollicitus (*corr. by 2d hand
from sollicitus*) | intentius (*corr. by 2d hand from intentus*) ||
4 eueniet (*corr. by 2d hand from ueniet*) || 5 diuenteris | primum
ut (*corr. by 2d hand from prim ut*) || 10 alios (-o- over erasure of
one letter) ||

V 12 SALVTEM || 19 adicit (*corr. by 2d hand from dicit*) |
cicatrices · tigmostum || 22 aut crasso aut camerino melestus || 25
reminiscebatur (*corr. from reminicebatur*) || 26 timionis ||

Page 7.—3 sen tias (*with erasure of -ten-*) | sirespondisse || 4
posum || 5 tunc] tum | inquam quid sen tiam (*with erasure of*

-ten-) || 6 iudicaturi (*corr. by 2d hand from iudicari*) || 7 sen tias (*with erasure of -ten-*) || 9 quaero *om.* || 10 pronunciatum || 14 apprendit || 16 suppliciter (*corr. by 2d hand from simpliciter*) || 23 putas ||

Page 8.—1 decipi (*corr. by 2d hand from decepi*) | mauricum (*corr. from mauricium*) || 3 quicquid || 8 aemulatio (*corr. by 2d hand from aemulatio*) || 11 existimare || 12 contentus eloquencia || 14 set || 16 et *om.* || 17 hominis (*corr. from ominis?*) || 19 epistola || 21 nequisimus | uerisime || 23 seruarem (*corr. by 2d hand from seruaret*) | maricus || 24 δυσκαθαίρετον *om.* (*but with marginal gloss in 1st hand ἀρετα | ερετον*) || 26 tamen (-men *by 2d hand over erasure*) | concisa ||

Page 9.—1 gratia (*corr. by 2d hand from gracia*) || 3 futura (*corr. by 2d hand from futara*) || 5 equum ||

VI 9 SALVTEM || 10 ego plinius ille || 13 proxumo (*corr. by 1st hand from proxumu*) | stilus (*corr. by 1st hand from stillus*) | et *om.* || 16 animus a cogitatione motuque || 17 ipsumque (*corr. from -quae*) | illud (*perhaps corr. from illuc*) | silentium (*corr. by 2d hand from silencium*) || 18 uenationi (*corr. by 2d hand from -cioni*) | cogitationis || 19 cum (*corr. by 2d hand from com*) || 20 pugillares (*corr. by 1st hand from pugilares*) ||

VII 23 SALVTEM || 24 idem] quidem || 26 Δ ANENEYCEN (*Δ corr. by 2d hand—from Δ [= A]?*) ||

Page 10.—3 beaticis | hominum || 7 alterutrum (*corr. by 2d hand from alterum*) || 11 octobris (*but -ri- over erasure, and by 2d hand*) | praesente || 12 nunc iam || 13 ἐπ'] HTT || 14 usquequaque (*corr. 2d hand from usquae-, and with usq; quaq; in margin in same hand*) || 15 tu me tuis] tu uis || 17 beticos (*corr. from beaticos*) || 18 careotas || 19 certamenñdum (*alt. by 2d hand from certandum*) ||

VIII 21 SALVTEM || 22 peroportune | liūerae || 23 aliquit ||

Page 11.—1 after laboris *erasure of one letter* | exigendi (*corr. from exigendis*) || 5 rursus (*corr. from rursum*) || 6 bibliothecam | dedicaturus (*corr. by 2d hand from -os*) || 7 notasse || 8 attendas || 13 quanquam || 17 dimissusque || 18 disputarae (*corr. by 2d hand from dispitarae*) || 21 optinere || 25 sepae ||

Page 12.—2 ex iis | contempñendae || 4 pensatur (*alt. by 2d hand from pensatus, and with pensatus written in margin*) || 14 uoluptati parentis | blanditoribus | prosequuntur || 15 publicae (*subpunction apparently by 1st hand*) || 16 perinde non || 17 datur || 18 properetur honorumque || 19 mererentur (*corr. by 2d hand*) ||

from merentur) || 25 *after gloria erasure of one or two letters* || idcirco quod (*with -o qu- over erasure*) | gloriam non meruit ||

Page 13.—1 iactantionem (*corr. by 1st hand*) || 2 si laudanda quod non sileas ipse culpatur || 3 impedit || 6 uolgi || 11 ostentatione || 13 sufficit ||

VIII 15 SALVTEM || 18 quid (*d over erasure*) || 22 inania (*corr. by 1st hand from innia*) || 27 me apud ||

Page 14.—1 me *om.* || 4 paene (*subpunction by 2d hand*) || 5 MOYCION || 10 *after uale is an erasure of one letter; and the address of the next letter begins on the same line* ||

X 12 SALVTEM || 13 studiis (*corr. by 2d hand from stidiis*) || 14 claraque (*corr. by 2d hand from clareque*) || 15 in Syria] inria *with {r inserted above by 1st hand* | adulescentulus (*corr. by 1st hand from adulestulus*) || 20 magis *om.* || 23 mihi tamen ||

Page 15.—1 euertant || 4 repugnantis | dicat || 10 monenentem || 11 persuadere || 14 conditiones || 16 frui (*-i added at end of line, by 2d hand?*) || 20 quando (*never was quandoque*) contigit deis occupationibus apud eupraten queror || 22 philosophiae (*-ae over erasure*) || 23 puplicum || 25 quam (*perhaps altered by 2d hand from qua*) || 26 audiendoque discendo consumere (*alt. by 2d hand from audiendoq · discendoq · cōsumere*) || 27 hostor (*by confusion of the tall form of r for that of s*) || 28 limandumque (*corr. by 1st hand from limadumq ·*) ||

Page 16.—1 multi (*corr. from multis*) | bono] bonum || 2 denegantur (*corr. by 2d hand from denegatur*) ||

XI 5 SALVTEM || 6 inquis (*corr. from iniquis*) || 7 at (*corr. by 2d hand from ad*) || 11 possum uale (*these two words are run over into the margin of the page*) ||

XII 13 SALVTEM || 14 iacturam (*with -c- intensified by 2d hand, and erasure of one letter after it*) | feci] feroci (*no subpunction*) || 19 iis] his | acersita || 22 compulit || 24 sorores (*corr. from apparently sosorores*) | pignora (*not pignera*) || 27 tricesimo ||

Page 17.—3 cum] (*possibly eum, but more probably appearing so simply on account of a minute slip of the pen from the finishing stroke of c-*) || 4 ingrauascentem || 5 incredibiles || 9 quoties (*corr. from quotiens*) | qun || 15 aprupit || 18 C.] c̄ || 23 imperaturum || 27 sexagesimum ||

Page 18.—1 firmissimi] fortissimi || 2 morte || 3 *after meae erasure (of &?)* | rectorem (*corr. by 2d hand from ?*) || 5 galuisio || 8 audii ||

XIII 11 SALVTEM || 13 aliquis (*after ali- erasure of one*

letter, at end of line) || 14 hostentant || 17 iube& || 18 tunc] tum || 22 audisset | requisisset ||

Page 19.—1 uel *om.*, and des- following over erasure || 2 erasure of one letter (g?) after defui || 3 non *add. by 2d hand* ||

XIII 10 SALVTEM || 14 exortationibus || 18 qui] Cui || 19 milicius aemilianus acilianus || 21 et *om.* || 23 atque etiam rusticitatis *om.* || 24 Minicius] nimius ||

Page 20.—1 altius (*never could have been antiquius*; -tius is written above a hole made from the other side of the leaf by erasing cō- on p. 15, l. 26) || 2 quiaetem || 4 patauio || 5 sarrana || 6 auonculus | P.] p̄ · || 20 conditionibus || 23 ut *om.* ||

XV 28 SEPTICIO (*corr. by 2d hand from SEPTIO*) | SALVTEM || 30 impēdium | eraN̄ ||

Page 21.—1 halica | nam haec quoque || 2 perit || 3 oliuo laebeta || 4 comoedo || 5 omnis (*corr. by 2d hand from omis*) | hostrea || 6 gauditanos (*alt. by 2d hand from -as*) maluistij || 8 studuissemus *om.* || 9 numquā ||

XVI 13 ERVCIO (*corr. from EVRVICIO*) | SALVTEM || 17 audii || 23 uetterum || 24 lucae | suauitatae ||

Page 22.—1 orationibus suis est (*precisely as in F*) | tamen] tantum || 2 qualis || 3 re uera quales Catullus aut Caluus *om.* || 4 mollius leuiusq̄ duriuscolos || 6 epistolas uxoris || 8 dignus est qui || 9 componat (*corr. from perhaps componit*) || 14 inter (*corr. by 1st hand from iter*) || 15 liberos | conqui | remus (*division after -qui- at end of line*) || 17 at] & | -que] quae (*at beginning of line*) | admirari (*with final -i over erasure*) || 18 adloqui audire *om.* ||

XVII 21 SALVTEM || 23 titinius (*corr. from titinus*) | imperatore (*corr. from -ri*) ||

Page 23.—1 impetrauit (*corr. from imperauit*) | silani (*corr. from siliani or sillani*) || 2 hoc] haec || 4 uiros *om.* || 5 brutorum (*corr. from butorum*) || 6 habeat (*corr. by 1st hand from habet*) || 7 p̄irimis | habundare || 8 L.] *some other letter standing in place of L was erased, and L written in the margin* || 10 populi r · ||

XVIII 13 SALVTĒ || 14 perterritum (*but with -er- of per- over an erasure, though in 1st hand*) | somnio (*corr. from perhaps somnino*) uerereri nequi || 16 difficilēst | KAIKAPTONAPEKΔIO-CECTIN || 17 refert tamen (*corr. from referamen*) || 18 somnium (*corr. from somniorum*) || 26 ΕΙ COIΩNOAPICTOC AMINACOAI TTEPITATPHC (*but with ΕΙ at beginning and T in last word over erasures*) || 27 mihi et (*om. patria, but with -ihi et over erasure*) ||

Page 24.—3 *exemplo somnium* (*with -lo so- over erasure*) || 5 *strofam* || 6 *utista* (*at end of line*) | *possis* (*with -is over erasure*) || 8 *istuc egre* ||

XVIII 10 *SALVTEM* || 18 *amicitiae* (*corr. from amititiae*) || 20 *scirem sponte facturum* (*without te*) ||

XX 25 *SALVTEM* ||

Page 25.—1 *custodiendam* (*corr. by 1st hand from custodie-*
dam) | *alioqui* || 3 *sint* || 4 *tractatu* (*corr. from tractato*) || 5 *utquæ* |
hictu (*but begun as ictu*) || 6 *inprimitur* | *ex* (*corr. from e*) || 7
ostentat (*corr. from ostendat*) | *græchorum* || 8 *quorum* (*corr.*
from corum) || 9 *demosthenen* (*not as in F*) | *hyperidem* || 10
gracchis (*but point under a apparently by 1st hand*) || 11 *M.*] · *m* · ||
20 *ediderint* (*with second e over erasure*) || 21 *testes sunt* (*corr. by*
1st hand from testesunt) || 22 *et before Ciceronis over erasure;*
perhaps corr. from ut || 24 *omisisse* (*corr. by 1st hand from*
omisse) || 26 *C. om.* || 27 *necesse erat* (*corr. from necesserat*) ||
28 *recisa ac purgata* ||

Page 26.—1 *at aliud* (*but -d is a correction by 1st hand from*
some other letter) || 2 *forsitam* || 5 *APXAITYTON* || 7 *quem erased* |
quennam || 8 *polycl&um* || 9 *apsolutissima* || 10 *accipiet* || 11 *orati-*
onis || 14 *augustissimis* || 17 *maxime trauntur* || 20 *inventioni* (*corr.*
from -e) || 24 *tu* (*over erasure*) | *exsequenda* || 25 *sanae quod*
(apparently written at first sanaea, but final -a immediately
altered to quod, the -a- of -ae- being left unerased by oversight) |
eligit || 26 *genuisset* || 27 *ille om.* ||

Page 27.—1 *possum* (*but with a dot under the first stroke of m,*
apparently by 1st hand, with intention, however, to correct u into
i?) || 2 *πάντα*] *tam* | *ΚΕΙΝΩ* || 7 *inperspicua et incerta* || 10-13
ΠΡΟCΑΕΓΕΔΥΤΟΥΤΩΤΑΧΕΙ | *ΠΕΙΘΩΤΙCΕΤΤΕΚΑΘΕΤΟ-*
ΤΟΙC ΧΕΙΔΕCΙΝΟΥΤΩC | *ΕΚΗΛΕΙΚΑΙΜΟΝΟCΤΩΝΡΗΤΟ-*
ΡΩΝΤΟΚΕΝΤ | *ΠΟΝΕΝΚΑΤΕΑΙΤΕΤΟΙCΑΚΡΩΜΕΝΟΙC*
— || 14 *ΠΙΘΩ* | *ΗΚΗΔΕΙ* || 16 *contigisset* (*apparently corr.*
from -nt) || 20 *CΥΝΕΚΙΚΑ* | *CΛΛΑΔΑ* (*with ΛΛ over erasure of*
three or four letters, but in 1st hand) || 22 *fulgurat* (*but -rat over*
erasure) ||

Page 28.—1 *non erased after minus* || 2 *qui before supra added*
by 2d hand at end of line || 3 *ilud* (*alt. by erasure from illud*) |
inmodice || 5 *aeque* (*corr. from eaque*) || 8 *ΑΜΕΤΡΟΕΙΘ* | *hunc*
(corr. from nunc) || 9 *ΚΛΙΕΡΕΑΝΙ* | *ΦΔΑΕΕΙΝΕΟΙΚΟΤΑΧΕΙ-*
ΜΕΡΙΕCΙΝ · — (*with ΕΡ- of επεα and the second Ε in νηφαεειν*
over erasure) || 10 *placeat* (*corr. from paceat*) || 11 *ἀλλὰ*] *ΔΑΜΑ* |

ΑΙCΕΩC || 12 illam illam || 17 non (*with -o- over erasure*) || 19 tuae debeam rectius || 22 epistola (*alt. from -ula*) | confirmaris (*not confirmabis*) || 23 errauero || 24 epistulae (*alt. to -olae?*) ||

Page 29.—XXI 2 SALVTEM || 3 plurimum (*corr. from plurimom*) || 5 decentis ||

XXII 10 SALVTEM || 11 *after diu erasure, apparently of et* || 13 est (*-st over erasure*) || 16 priuati—publici] priuatus ille et priuati (*corr. from priusti*) || 17 discere] doceri || 18 docere (*corr. from doceri*) | quoties (*corr. from quotiens*) || 22 iudici (*space for one letter following*) || 24 cubiculum (*corr. from cubiculō*) || 25 eius] illius || 26 haec (*corr. from aec*) || 27 refert (*-ert over erasure*) || 28 quis (*perhaps over erasure*) quemquam || 30 comparauit ||

Page 30.—6 incredibilem (*corr. from -elem*) frebrium | immotus || 8 consuleremus (*corr. by 2d hand from conseremus, not from conferemus*) || 13 desereret (*corr. by 2d hand from deseret*) || 16 uel *om.* || 19 laurentinum (*corr. by 1st hand from lautinū*) || 24 epistolis scripseris confusioni ||

XXIII 27 SALVTEM || 28 existimem (*corr. from existi mente*) ||

Page 31.—3 me esse aliquid (*erasure of one letter after esse*) || 8 conuicia (*corr. from conuitia*) | pateretur (*corr. by 2d hand from pateret*) || 10 si ante | apellasset || 13 exhibere || 15 quam] Tuam (*the color of initial T is not peculiar,—a trifle blacker than that of the letters following, but such variations are very common. There are, however, traces of a possible, very neat, erasure*) ||

XXIII 18 SALVTEM || 19 uult (*but -t inserted above, possibly by 2d hand*) || 20 æquum (*corr. from equum*) || 21 emisse (*corr., by 2d hand?, from perhaps enisse*) || 22 ingrata est eo maximae || 23 mei] me || 24 stomachum (*corr. apparently from stonachum*) | oportunitas || 26 habunde ||

Page 32.—1 reficere] refigere (*corr. from refingere*) || 4 quantum ille esset mihi ego tibi (*but mihi inserted by interlinear correction, and tibi over erasure*) ||

C PLINIUS · SECVNDI EPIST^oVLARUM
EXPLICIT · LIBER PRIMUS ·
INCIPIT LIBER · SECUNDUS
FELICITER ·

[*The first eight letters are touched up in red; the last four words are in red.*]

Ad romanum post aliquot annos *IN* | Ad paulinu irascor nec liqu& michi || Adnepotem · magnis aeuum fama · | Ad galuinā

sipluribus pat̄ tuus || Ad lupercū actionem · a&atefrequent · | Ad-
auitū (au- over erasure) · longū ē altius rep& || Ad magnū · nereas-
senatuuestricio (second -u- over erasure) · | Ad caninium studes
anpiscarisā || Ad apollinare · anxīme&inqu& · | Ad octauium ·
hominemtepatient̄ || Adarrianū · ΛΙΗΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ (*doubtful whether
initial is Λ or Δ*) illud quod · | Ad pri^cū (last letter over erasure)
& tuoccasionesoblig— || Admaximū (A- in red) · uerūopinaris
(with ūo over erasure) · | Adualerium quomodoteu&eres (-d- over
erasure) || Ad (initial in red) annium · tuquidem proc&era · | Ad-
gallūmirariscurmelaurent̄ || Admarcium (A- in red) · quid aīte-
mihi | Iucundius · || Adceriale (A- in red) · hortarisutorationem · |
Ad caluisium · assempara&accipe ||

I 12 C · PLINIVS and initial P- of post in l. 13 are in red,
and all the words through publicum of l. 14 are in capitals |
SALVTEM || 13 aliquot (with -t over erasure) || 14 funus (corr.
apparently from fumus) || 15 ciuis et perinde || 18 impleret || 19
atque etiam—p. 33, l. 1 optimum om., but added in a much later
hand ||

Page 33.—3 octogesimum | excessit (with first -s- over erasure) ||
9 hunc (not haec) | colligit quae || 11 aptae | coit (apparently
begun as cauit) || 14 suppremus || 16 abit || 18 praecipuae || 19 regio
om., but not at end of line || 22 meos excessibus adcurrit || 24
quo] qua | quos (with -s over erasure) | sacerdotio (corr. from
-eo) ||

Page 34.—4 fleri || 7 uolo || 8 totus (corr. from totius) | hac] ac ||
10 recentibus om. | alloquor || 11 aliquos ciues (corr. from ciuis) |
habebimus (with -i- over erasure of two letters) ||

II 14 SALVTEM || 16 ΜΕΙΚΡΑΙΤΙΟΣ (with η inserted over ΙΟ
by later hand) || 21 ca&ere || 22 dii || 23 hifirmior ||

III 26 SALVTEM || 27 isaeuum || 29 atticus (with dot under a-
by 1st hand) ||

Page 35.—3 partis | amicitur] iamigitur || 5 lectio—multa om.
(but apparently same hand has inserted lectio insubict̄ras ·
multa ·) || 6 prohoemiatur || 8 crebra (with cre- over erasure) |
crebri om. | sillogissimi || 11 εἰς (with υ over erasure) || 13 scho-
lasticus (with sc- over erasure) || 14 genere (corr. apparently
from genero) || 15 terimur (corr. from teritur) || 16 nolumus |
auditorum (corr. apparently from audetorum; not auditorium) ||
19 isae | uum (divided at end of line) || 20 iudico (corr. by 1st
hand from iudoco) | quem (corr. from quē) || 21 concupiscis
(corr. from -tis) || 22 at om. || 25 ΔΦΙΔΟΚΑΝΟΝ ||

Page 36.—I cognitionem (*but no inserted above -ni-, by 1st hand?*) | iocundior (*corr. by 1st hand from iucundior*) || 5 adicit (*with -fi- over erasure*) || 6 uoltus || 8 rhodis | demosthenis (*corr. from demostenis*) || 9 ΤΙΑΕΕΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΥΘΗΡΠΙΟΥΗΚΟΥΕΤΕ — || 10 ΜΜΠΡΟΦΩΤΑΤΟC — (*as in F*) || 13 iseuum (*corr. from isaeuum*) ||

III 15 suae *om.* | SALVTEM || 16 alii quam] aliqua || 17 dubitandum *begun as dubitant* || 20 solus *is the last word on fol. 6 u. col. 2, completing the first fascicle of six leaves. Two leaves have been cut out here, the lacuna extending through monstrandumque, p. 47, l. 9* ||

Page 47.—XII 10 decorum notandum a senatu || 11 et *om.* || 13 proconsulibus (*corr. by 2d hand from proconsulis*) || 14 sed hoc *om.* || 16 in quo (*inserted above by 2d hand, in only being omitted by 1st hand*) || 18 epistole || 20 inpedimenti (*with erasure of one letter before -m-*) ||

XIII 24 SALVTEM || 27 impetratum ||

Page 48.—I conuertere ad nostros | malles (*corr. by 1st hand from males*) || 2 aut *corr. from ac* | ac] ad || 3 ei] plini || 4 huius quoque nomine & pi&ati (*as F; not as MVD*) || 5 mater e primis ipse citerioris (*corr. by 1st hand from c&erioris*) hispania & scis || 6 prouinciae (-ci- *corr. from -a-*) || 7 ipse *om.* || 8 familiariterque (*corr. from fumil-*) || 9 hoc seria (*hoc corr. from hos?*) || 10 illo aut] aut illoſ | iocundius (*corr. from iucundius*) || 11 uoltuque (*corr. from uultuque*) || 12 suptile (-t- *over erasure*) || 13 epistolas (*apparently corr. from epistulas*) || 15 quantum (q- *over erasure*) || 19 after augeam *erasure of about six letters* || 22 hominem (*corr. from homines*) || 23 nam] ama | potest || 24 potes (*begun as potest, but -t altered to initial a- of next word*) | ad] in ||

Page 49.—2 *erasure of one stroke after diu* | nolles (*corr. from noles, and that apparently from moles*) | after nolles *erasure of five or six letters at beginning of line* || 3 efficacissime (*apparently corr. from -ime*) | causas *over erasure* ||

XIII 9 claritatem || 10 in pauci (*but first letters over erasure*) | iuuat || 11 adulescentuli (*corr. by 1st hand from -e*) || 14 inchois (*but -nc- over erasure*) || 15 esse quod *over erasure* || 16 *erasure of N before at* | at (-t *over erasure*) hercule (-r- *over erasure*) | solent *over erasure* || 17 dicere (di- *over erasure*) | adulescentulis || 19 reuerentiae (-ren- *over erasure*) || 21 auctoribus | manceps *om.* ||

Page 50.—1 feditas | heri || 3 sumpseſ | trahebantur (*corr. from -batur*) || 6 mores (*corr. from moris*) | sigium (*apparently started as sit-*) || 10 facilis (-is *over erasure*) || 12 larcus licinius || 13 con-

rogaret | certe (-te over erasure) | quintilliano || 14 audisse (*begun with some other initial than a-; possibly t-*) || 16 inmodicumso | litumq · || 17 ubi sibi silentium || 19 nouissume | quaesiit || 20 licen | tius (-en- over erasure) || 21 perit (pe- over erasure, and erasure of two letters, perhaps su-, before the word) || 24 taetris] teneris || 25 cimbala et timpana ||

Page 51.—4 fugis se | solito (*corr. from solitu*) ||

XV 7 SVO (*over erasure*) SALVTĒ || 11 -aterna pa- over erasure at end of line || 12 occallui] hoc allui (*never inocallui*) || 13 VALE, added below in bracket ||

XVI 15 ANNIO (*corr. from ANNO*) SVO SALVTEM || 16 after tua space, and perhaps erasure, of about three letters) | diligentia (*apparently started to repeat -ti- before -a*) || 17 acilliani || 18 habendos (-aben- over erasure) | ne mihi (-e mi- over erasure) || 19 notum (*corr. by 1st hand from natum*) || 26 fortasse (*corr. from fortass&*) | uere (*apparently so, corr. from uero*) || 28 cui om. | publicae | leges n̄ (*corr. from leñ, but with some erasure after l-*) ||

Page 52.—XVII 2 CALLO | SALVTEM || 4 desines (-sin- over erasure) || 5 oportunitatem | et om. || 6 passum | secessit || 8 laurentina (*apparently corr. from -um*) | ferunt] fuerunt | sed (*corr. from set*) || 9 ostiensis (*corr. from ostensis*) | relinquenda (*corr. by 2d hand from reliquenda*) || 10 arenosum || 12 siluis (*corr. from sillis*) || 13 pratis (-ra- over erasure) | ouium (*first -u- over erasure*) || 14 hieme (*corr. from ieme*) || 17 inde litterae (*final -e over erasure*) | circumactae (*apparently corr. from -actam*) || 18 egregium eaduersū || 19 speculatoribus || 21 triclinium (*corr. from triclinum*) | With quod begins apparently a new hand in a little better style, showing a tendency toward the 'modern cursive' form of r after o, the open form of a, etc. || 24 a lateribus (*corr. from alteribus*) || 25 cauendum (*as F*) || 27 cubiculum (*corr. from cubilulum*) ||

Page 53.—5 gjjmmasium || 7 haspida || 10 dormitiorum || 11 transitu (*corr. by 2d hand, apparently from transito*) | suspensus et subulatus || 15 & ex alio || 18 uentis om. || 20 erasure of a after inde || 22 si] sin (*but -in much crowded, and perhaps over erasure*) || 24 elegantes (*corr. from eli-*) | mirifice ||

Page 54.—1 p̄heristerium (*but p- over erasure, and dot under -h- by 2d hand*) || 4 amoenissimas uillas || 9 qua (*corr. from quo?*) || 10 qua (*corr. from quia*) || 12 circuitu || 14 morus (*corr. by 2d hand from moris*) || 18 hortus (*but -r- begun as -s-*) | criptoporticus || 20 sed] et || 21 uentus || 22 criptoporticum || 23 xistus (*-i over erasure*) ||

Page 55.—1 a latere || 2 xistum | gestationes || 5 tum] tunc (*but apparently by 2d hand, and running over end of line*) || 6 fauonius || 7 ingrauascit || 8 xisti || 10 xistum || 11 prospicit qua mare || 12 ziotheca (zi- *over erasure*) | eleganter (*corr. by 2d hand from eli-*) || 13 adicitur (*corr. by 1st hand from dicitur*) || 15 capitae || 17 seruulorum (-uu- *blackened, or corr., by 2d hand*) || 22 hypocaustum || 25 obliquum (*corr. by 2d hand from obloquium*) || 26 recipi (*corr. from recipio; but -ipi- over erasure*) || 27 a uilla] abilla | uoluptatem ecce praecipue ||

Page 56.—1 capio (-p- *over erasure*) || 6 occurit || 11 domi] domini || 12 kl. facere (*in margin ∴ calfacere*) || 14 siue ipso mari || 17 esquillas (esq- *over erasure*) || 19 umbramque || 20 iam] eā ||

XVIII 25 MVRCIO SVO SALVTEM || 26 iucundius michi ||

Page 57.—4 multi | iocabantur (*as FD*) || 6 quem (*corr. by 2d hand from quam*) | meam (*apparently corr. from meum*) | sperarituellum (-ri- *over erasure*) || 7 omnis || 8 quid de quoque (*as VFD*) ||

XVIII 19 CEREALI SVO SALVTEM (*first -e- in Cereali over erasure*) || 22 recitentur || 23 quasol& || 24 consensus ||

Page 58.—4 pronunciationis || 6 aculeis] oculis | his accedit (*but -dit over erasure, which, however, takes in part of three successive lines, 6 -ecus aut b-, 6 -dit quodo-, 7 -t porr-*) || 12 quia] quē | auditores aliud *om.* || 13 alioqui] al|loquiis (-lo- *over erasure*) || 18 conlatione || 19 inesse] esse (*as F*) || 23 nos (n- *over erasure*) || 26 exigitur ||

Page 59.—XX 2 SALVTEM || 3 Nā (*over erasure*) || 4 quo || 10 uoltum || 12 climactericum (*corr. by 2d hand from climacterium*) || 13 aruspice[m] || 16 ingrauascit || 17 *erasure of one letter* (o?) *before* hominem || 18 filii (*corr. from fili*) peierass& || 20 detestatur (*corr. from dec-*) || 21 locuplebs | ualitudine || 23 moedicos || 24 quoquo] *perhaps* quo que || 27 morte] mortis (*over erasure of more than three letters*) ||

Page 60.—2 unde fiat] undeficit || 4 inquit || 6 obseruabit || 8 hereditatis || 9 *ττ om.* || 12 aspicere || 15 duplicata || 16 improbiissimum ||

C · PLINII · SE CUN DI

EPIS TULARU^o EXPL LĪB · II

IN CIPIT LIBER · III · FELICIT̃ (*this line in faded red letters*)

Adcaluisiumrufum ·
Aduibium maximum ·

Nescio anullum
Quodipse amicistuis ·

Adcaerelliae hispullae ·	Cumpatremtuum ·
Adcaeciliummacrinū ·	Quamuis&amici ·
Adbaebiummacrum ·	Pergratumest michi
Adanniumseuerum ·	Exhereditate quae
Adcaniniumrufum ·	Modonuntiatus est
Adsu&on tranqui ·	Facis adprocetera
Adcorneliumminicianū ·	Possum iam perscrib
Aduestric [<i>erasure of -iū</i>] spurinn ·	Composuisse me quae d
Adiuliumgenitor [-or <i>over eras.</i>]	Est omnino artemidori
Adcatilinum seuer ·	Veniam [Ven- <i>over eras.</i>] ad cēnam
Aduoconiumromanū ·	Librum quonuper
Adpatilium [-p- <i>over eras.?</i>]	Rematrocem
Adsiliumprocul ·	Petis ut libellostuos
Adnepotem ·	Adnotasse uideor facta
Adiulium seruian ·	Recte omnia [dictaq ·
Aduirium seuerum ·	Officium consulationis [con- <i>over eras.</i>]
Adcaluisium rufum ·	Adsumote in consiliū
Admaesium maximum · [-e- <i>over eras.</i>]	Meministinete
Adcornelium priscum ·	^u Adio ualeriū partial [apparently uale- riū <i>martial was written first</i>]

Page 61.—I 6 C · PLINIVS in red letters | SALVTEM || 7 nescio (*initial in red*) || 8 capitals continue from the address through apud || 9 nichil est (-l est *over erasure*) || 10 distinctius (*corr. by 2d hand from distinctus*) meā || 12 ad | huc confusa (*but ad- seems to be over erasure*) || 14 sera] serua || 15 qui&iam (*all after q- over erasure*) | text over erasure from -ec through 16 cotidie | si non (*not si non eo*) || 16 circumagit (*over erasure*) || 21 consid& ||

Page 62.—2 imbuaire (*corr. by 1st hand from imbuaris*) || 4 septem (*eras. of one letter after -p-*) || 5 residit (*not residat*) | uel se cubicu- *over erasure* || 6 doctissima || 7 scribentis (-ben- *over erasure*) || 8 balnei || 16 & adficitur (*as F*) | distinguitur (*corr. by 1st hand from distingitur*) || 19 septuagesimum || 23 qui horum-michi || 29 inhertie ||

Page 63.—II 2 SALVTEM || 9 prestatam ad me ||

III 20 hispullae om. || 23 uince (*alt. from unice*) || 28 inbutus ||

Page 64.—3 conferendaſ (-ſ *over erasure*) || 7 custos (*but begun as cum-?*)

III 22 suo om. || 24 comprobasse || 25 after integra apparently s *erased* || 26 indicium || 29 caecilii ||

Page 65.—2 honorificum (-cu- *over erasure*) || 7 de cr̄aeta | inquam reputare me || 8 adtulisse || 9 compulit || 11 quidem minoris || 12 accusationibus uoluntariis || 14 neglere || 15 iisdem beaticis

priore || 19 meminerunt (*erasure of one or two letters before -r-*) || 23 computabam || 24 iam *om.* | fungerer (*corr. by 2d hand from fungeret?*) || 26 optimae ||

Page 66.—2 iocunda (*corr. by 1st hand from iu-*) ||

V 5 baebio *om.* | SALVTEM || 6 auonculi (*-o- over erasure*) || 7 fungarindicis (*corr. by 2d hand from fungari dicis*) || 9 iniucunda (*corr. by 1st hand from inio-*) || 10 aequestri || 12 *erasure of & before* hoc *by 1st hand* || 16 adstitit (*corr. by 2d hand from ast-*) || 18 tres (*add. by 2d hand*) || 20 perfecit || 23 natura || 24 eruditum (*e- corr. from r- by 1st hand*) || 25 his] iis || 26 aliquandiu (*-nd- over erasure*) || 27 quinquagesimo || 28 ineditum ||

Page 67.—4 hore | octaua (*-u- corr. by 2d hand*) || 6 deferentis (*corr. from differentis*) | uespasianum (*initial corr. by 2d hand*) || 8 reliquom || iterdiu (*alt. from interdiu*) || 11 exercebatque (*but 2d hand has alt. -c- to -p-, and apparently -x- is over an erasure large enough to include -xc-; moreover, in F excerpt- is over an erasure*) || 14 lababatur || 21 a luce cena || 23 inter] hiī | fremitum (*as D*) | insecus solum || 24 dico balinei (*-in- over erasure*) ||

Page 68.—3 inquit || 4 inpertiretur || 5 -torumque—6 opisthographos *om.*, *but add. in same hand at foot of page (with reliquid ophis|tographos)* || 6 minutissimis || 7 potuisse se *om.* || 8 larcio (*not largio*) || 9 licinio || 13 nec legisse (*corr. by 2d hand from neglegisse*) || 14 impedire || 15 qua || 16 compararer | deſsidiosis-simus || 19 epistola (*corr. from epistula*) || 22 with quae te *begins a lacuna (of two leaves) extending through p. 78, l. 25 quod pluris* ||

Page 78.—XI 25 arbitrantur ||

Page 79.—XII 2 seuero *om.* | SALVTEM || 3 iam non paciscor . expeditasit . parca || 11 caenē || 13 quidem (*-dem over erasure*) ||

XIII 15 [xiii (*the first occurrence of a number prefixed to the address*) | uoconio *om.* | SALVTEM || 17 missurus (*corr. by 2d hand from misurus*) || 24 figurare (*corr. by 1st hand from figurae*) || 25 adfectanda] adiecta || 28 adtollere ||

Page 80.—XIII 4 SALVTEM • | [xiii || 5 rem (*corr. from rom*) || 8 lauabatur (*corr. from -bitur*) || 10 fedum | *erasure of one letter after* contundit || 13 se *om.* || 14 inpleuit || 18 comprehensa || 21 ludibris (*and s erased*) || 24 quid (*corr. by 2d hand from quod*) | subiungere || 25 charta] quarta | *erasure of one letter after f- of* feriatu || 26 de eodem (*corr. from deodem*) || 28 ominosa (*erasure of at least one letter after -m-, and -i- inserted above by 2d hand*) ||

Page 81.—2 balneum ||

XV 5 [xv | silio *om.* | SALVTEM || 10 nec *after* sum *begun with initial c or t* || 13 rescribere esse *om.* || 17 delinimentis (*corr. by 2d hand from deleni-*) || 18 paululum | reuelli ||

XVI 22 [xvi | SALVTEM || 23 dictaque *inserted, or, at least, intensified, by 2d hand* ||

Page 82.—2 Caecina—3 aegrotabat *om.* || 7 quoties (*corr. from quotiens*) || 11 tunc] tum || 15 inmortalem ad || 16 ista facienti dicenti | et (*added above by 1st hand*) || 17 erant (-n- *corr. by 1st hand from -e-*) || 19 in *om.* || 20 fuerat (-t *added above by 1st hand*) | et *om.* | occisso (*and here the hand changes once more*) || 22 inquit | consulari (*corr. by 2d hand from consolari*) || 25 na|uiculam || 27 inquit || 28 occissus || 29 pulcherrime (-e *inserted by 1st hand*) | non] N *over erasure* | subitum] subltum (*dots by 2d hand*) || 30 trasea (*final -a by 2d hand over erasure*) ||

Page 83.—1 dixisse · tuis (*apparently interpunction by 2d hand, and mark over -i- by 1st*) || 3 Paeto] peto | auxerat (-x- *above line, either inserted or intensified by 2d hand*) || 4 inquit || 5 male (*corr. by 1st hand from mali*) || 6 exiliuit cathedram | capud || 7 inpetu | et (*corr. from in*) | focolata (l *erased after -o-*) | dixeram (-a- *corr. from -e-*) | inquit (*corr. by 2d hand from inquit*) || 8 facilem] facerein (*dots by 2d hand?*) || 9 -ne (*corr. from que*) | pete || 10 cum (*c- over erasure*) ||

XVII 14 [xvii | iulio *om.* | SALVTEM || 15 rectene (*not recte alone*) | pridem *followed by erasure of two letters* | cessant (*c- over erasure*) || 17 hoccasio (*first -o- over erasure*) | hunc (*corr. by 2d hand from nunc*) | scrupulum (*sc- was written first at end of line, and then erased, and the entire word written at beginning of next line, with scrupū in margin by 2d hand*) || 19 nuntiet modo (*as FD*) || 20 si (*corr. by 2d hand from se*) || 21 uiuere (*second -u- by corr. of 2d hand*) ||

XVIII 24 [xviii | curio *om.* | SERVO SVO SALVTEM || 25 iniunxit (-nxi- *over erasure*) | publicae] p (*followed by erasure of two or three letters*) || 27 loci (*corr. by 2d hand from loce*) | bono (*corr. by 2d hand from boni*) ||

Page 84.—4 praemonerentur (*corr. by 2d hand from pro//one-* rentur) || 5 possent (*corr. by 2d hand from posse*) | eandem (*corr. by 2d hand from eadem*) | niti (*om. by 1st hand, add. by 2d*) || 7 ac] hac || 8 utilitatis (*corr. from -es*) || 9 caepi (*F has cēpi*) | *erasure of de after non* | mediūhocrem || 10 perco dicellos (*corr. from perquo dicilos*) || 11 admoniti (*corr. by 2d hand from at-*) ||

13 fedissimis || 15 ut (*add. above by 1st hand*) || 16 hunc (*begun as huc*) | an studiis malo || 17 at (*corr. by 2d hand from ad*) | sedulitatem] sed utilitatem || 19 eandem (*corr. by 2d hand from eadem*) || 25 probaui (-ui *corr. by 2d hand*) | aduertienim (*corr. by 2d hand from a enim aduertienim*) || 27 tamen (*begun as tamquam*) | sit] si || 28 hac] ac || 29 tehatra (*corr. by 2d hand from tetra*) | male (*corr. by 2d hand from mare*) || 30 tehatra (*corr. by 2d hand from tetra*) ||

Page 85.—3 constare (*corr. by 1st hand from constarere*) || 4 hilarius (*corr. by 2d hand from illa at end of line*) || 5 accersita || 6 quandoque (*erasure of -e- before final -e*) | ueni& || 9 absentem (*erasure of four letters after ab-*) ||

XVIII 12 $\overline{\text{xviii}}$ | rufo *om.* | SALVTEM || 16 utile (*corr. from utille*) || 18 paene (*corr. from p&ne*) | hactoribus || 20 topiariorum (*corr. by 2d hand from -rom*) || 21 faurorum | uenatori | refert (*by corr. of 1st hand*) || 22 uerebor || 23 hisdem || 24 subdere tutius (*corr. by 2d hand from subder&utius*) | uidetur (*corr. from uide-retur*) || 26 ipsa quae | iam *added above by 1st hand* || 27 capud || 29 statutum (*corr. by 2d hand from statum*) | praestant (*corr. by 2d hand from pr&estant*) | inbecillis (*corr. by 2d hand from -ilis*) ||

Page 86.—3 exausit || 4 plures || 5 uinctos (*begun as uictos*) || 6 *erasure of one letter after emi* || 7 quinqaies | hac (*corr. from hanc*) || 9 habiit | tricies (*corr. by 2d hand from trices*) || 10 sum] sunt | quidem (*corr. by 2d hand from quidam*) || 11 fenore | mutuari (*corr. by 2d hand from ma-*) | archa || 12 ac] hac | utor] auctor || 13 refrangatur ||

XX 17 xx · | messio *om.* || 21 tabellas (*corr. by 2d hand from tabella*) | postulauerunt (*corr. by 2d hand, app. from postulas*) | oerunt || 24 sedenti || 27 desciberamus ||

Page 87.—6 competitoris || 12 suffragiis—13 honestatis *om. by 1st hand; but in margin, at left, mutilated by trimming, add. by 2d hand* inpuidentia inre | nquotocuiq: ea | estatis || 19 publica] · p · || 21 uolgaria | agis (*corr. by 1st hand from ages*) eho quid (*corr. from eo quid*) || 27 haurire (*corr. by 1st hand from aurire*) | epistulis (-u- *intensified, or corr. to -o-*, *by 2d hand*) ||

Page 88.—XXI 2 $\overline{\text{xxi}}$ · | cornelio *om.* || 4 in (*add. above, by 2d hand?*) || 7 antiquis (*alt. by 2d hand from antiqui*) || 10 exoleuit (*corr. by 2d hand from -bit*) || 12 retuli || 16 ff. *no division into verses except in two or three cases by a period, not always by 1st hand* || 17 uide (*and so 1st hand in F*) || 18 tetricae (*corr. from*

tæticae by 2d hand?) || 20 -que (corr. from quae) || 21 Khartis ||
22 tutior (corr. by 2d hand from tutor) || 23 tua] qua ||
Page 89.—1 aeternitas harum ||

C · PLINII · SECVNDI EPISTVLARVM EXPLICIT ·
LIBER · III · INCIPIT LIB · IIIJ · FELICITER ·

i Adfabium · prosoc	cupispostlongum ·
ii Adattium · clemen ·	regulus filium
iii Adadrianum · antonIN	quodsimulatq · iterum
iiii Adsosium · senec	uarisidium [corr. from -uum] nepotem ·
v Adiuliumsparsum	aeschinen aiunt
vi Adiulium nason ·	tusci grandine excussi
vii Adcatium · lepidum	saepetibidico
viii Admatur · arrian	gratularismichi
viii Adcornel · ursum ·	causamperhosdies
x Adstadium · sabinum	scribismichisabinum
xi Adcornel · minic	audistineualminic
xii Amatur · arrian ·	amasegnatiummarcum
xiii Adcornelium tacitum	saluuminurbeuens
xiii Add · paternum ·	tufortasse
xv Adminic · fundan	siquidomnino
xvi Adualerium · paulinum	gaudemeo
xvii Adclusinium · gallum	& admones & rogas
xviii Adarr · antoninum	quemadmodummag
xviii Adcalpurn' hispull'	cumsitpiaatis ·
xx Adnouium · maximum	quidsenserim
xxi Aduelium cerialem ·	tristem&acerbum
xxii Adsempron · rufum	inter fuiprincipis
xxiii Adpompon · bassum	magnamcepiuluptat
xxiii Adfabium ualent	proxime cumapud
xxv Admaesium maximum ·	scripseramtibi
xxvi Admęcil · Nepotem	petisutlibellos
xxvii Adpompei · falconem	tertius dies est
xxviii Aduibium seuerum ·	herennuseuerus
xxviii Adromat · firmum ·	hea tu proxime
xxx Adlicinium suram ·	attulit tibi

Page 89.—9 |i| SĀL · || 14 after itineris erasure of about fifteen letters, concluding line and page || 18 tifernium tiberinum (F also reads tiferniū) ||

Page 90.—2 exstruxi || 4 quem & · vi celebrare (v- by 2d hand, over erasure) || 6 nam hilares certum ē si (certum ē in blacker ink than rest, and possibly over erasure) ||

II 9 |ii · | attio om. | SALVTEM || 13 uolgo || 14 feda || 15 simulationem || 16 insane om. || 18 omnis || 22 erasure of one stroke

before in || 24 immensis || 26 et (*corr. by 1st hand from at*) || 28 inmatutum ||

Page 91.—2 *erasure of one stroke before* Regulum || 3 quicquid (*corr. by 2d hand from quidquid*) ||

III 5 ⁱⁱⁱⁱ C PLINIVS HADRIANO SVO SALVTEM · || 6 semel (*not simul*) || 7 unus altero non || 10 te *om.* || 11 iocunditate (*corr. by 2d hand from iu-*) || 12 -que] quæ || 14 praecipuae || 16 adfectus] reffectus || 17 graeca (*corr. by 2d hand from graece*) || 19 amantia] antiqua (*in blacker ink than preceding*) | gallimachum || 22 fidius *om.* || 23 scribere maluisti (*corr. by 2d hand from scribe remaluisti*) ||

Page 92.—IV 2 ⁱⁱⁱⁱ | SOSSIO SVO SALVTEM · || 3 Varisidium] caluisium || 3 C. *om.* (*but erasure of one narrow letter—c? —at end of line*) || 6 semenstri || 7 auunculo (*corr. by 2d hand from auonculo*) ||

V 13 ^v | SALVTEM || 14 eschinen || 16 contigisse scriptis || 20 rhodi (*so F by orig. corr.*) | comparationis ||

Page 93.—VI 2 ^{vi} | iulio *om.* | SALVTEM || 4 habundantia ||

VII 12 ^{vii} | catio *om.* | SALVTEM · || 13 efficiat (*corr. by 2d hand from efficiat*) || 17 uero et nuper || 18 de uita pueri recitauit *om.* || 19 eundem librum in exemplaria transscriptum mille || 20 demisit || 23 quicquid (*corr. by 2d hand from quidquid*) | optinendi || 27 os] as (*and in F corr. to os is by late hand*) ||

Page 94.—3 ut plurimis orator (*corr. by 2d hand from oratur*) || 4 ca] catonis || 10 *endpas om.* || 11 ΤΗΝΦΩΝΗΝΓΕΓΗΘΩCKALAPYΓΓIZΩN ||

VIII 15 ^{viii} | maturo *om.* | SALVTEM || 18 quod] cum || 20 alia] cetera | quamquam—21 paria *om.* || 22 mihi—23 gratulatione *by 2d hand over erasure* | etiam illud || 23 successi (*corr. by 2d hand from sucesi*) || 24 uiro] uero ||

Page 95.—1 M. (*added by 2d hand over erasure*) || 2 in studiis || 3 ut *om.* || 5 quae (*corr. by 2d hand from qui*) || 6 adipisci (*corr. by 2d hand from adpisci*) || 7 diis ||

VIII 9 ^{viii} | cornelio *om.* | SALVTEM · || 12 tandemq · (*-em over erasure*) || 13 uindicatusque est || 14 redit || 19 iniunxerat (*erasure of two letters after in-*) || 23 theophanen (*corr. by 2d hand from theopanen*) || 28 prouincia eadem ||

Page 96.—5 deluentis (*de- add. above erasure—of one letter?*) || 6 aduocatus || 9 iugularem | concederem (*corr. by 2d hand from concedem*) || 17 suadebat (*corr. by 2d hand from suadabat*) ||

21 ut frigus ui deposita et taedium aut risum pateretur || 22 demissum ||

Page 97.—1 luceius || 3 polio || 5 consulares (*corr. from consolare*) || 6 nocte *om.* (*and so F*) || 11 ut uterque recte *om.* | quum || 12 quia] aqua (*but initial a- added above, though app. by 1st hand*) || 22 illa altera || 26 legatione || 28 sed (*corr. by 2d hand from &*) ||

Page 98.—2 faborabilem || 5 epistolam (*corr. by 2d hand from epistulam*) || 6 exspectabis ||

X 9 \overline{x} | statio *om.* | SALVTEM · || 12 adscribissee || 13 sentiam (*corr. from sententiam*) | peritis iuris] prudentibus ||

XI 24 \overline{xi} | cornelio *om.* ||

Page 99.—1 *erasure of c before* oratore || 3 ex professoribus senatores ex senatoribus professores || 8 dicens || 9 miseranda (*corr. by 2d hand from miserenda*) || 13 maximillam uestalem || 14 cupisset | exemplo || 20 abhortu || 23 quam sacra facientem || 26 tamquam nocens (*corr. from innocens*) || 27 in *om.* | subterraneum cubiculum | -que] -q · (*dot over erasure*) || 28 carnifex manum ||

Page 100.—1 resiliuit (*corr. from resiliuit*) fedumque contagium || 2 plane *om.* | casto || 3 TPONOIAN (-A-*corr. from A*) || 4 TTECEIN (-C- *over erasure*) || 5 uirgis (u- *corr. by 2d hand over erasure*) || 8 iis] his [*Several words in the next few lines may possibly be over erasures*] || 12 recessit licinianus || 21 adfuiſti (*corr. by 2d hand from af-*) || 24 notabilia quaedam || 25 quicquid (*corr. by 2d hand from quidquid*) || 26 nunties || 27 etiam uersus ||

Page 101.—XII 2 \overline{xii} | maturo *om.* | SALVTEM || 3 egnantium | commendas magisque commendabis si || 4 recens eius || 6 forte optigerat (*followed by erasure of four letters*) | amisisset (*corr. by 2d hand from amisset*) || 7 se non oportere (*over erasure*) || 10 aerario populoq; (-q; *add. above by 2d hand*) || 12 caelius || 14 habunde ||

XIII 24 \overline{xiii} ||

Page 102.—2 in finem laxauero aegre || 4 quasi praeceptoria epistula || 5, 6 causas rogandi deinde ipsum quod p&o proxime cum patria mea fuit || 8 una (*add. above, by 1st hand?*) || 11 oportune (*dots by 2d hand*) complures || 12 discere (*corr. by 2d hand from dicere*) | iucundius (*begun with initial c-*) || 13 pudicius (*corr. by 2d hand from pudicus*) || 16 omnia—17 emuntur *om.* || 17 adeo *om.* || 23 uitio uno remedio occurri potest || 26 a me] eam ||

Page 103.—8 studiorum || 9 ad te] apte || 12 tantum (-n- *corr. by 2d hand*) ||

XIII 17 SALVTEM · | xiii || 20 endecasyllabos (*corr. by 2d hand from in-*) || 21 ueiculo || 23 elatius] altius || 25 paulo petulantiora (*-n- added above by 2d hand*) || 28 non (*corr. by 2d hand from no*) ||

Page 104.—4-7 *no division into verses* || 6 tum] tunc | habent (*corr. by 2d hand, app. from hebent*) || 12 aliud || 14 longiore || 16 nugas meas inscribere hendecasyllabi (*dots by 2d hand*) || 17 idyllia] dullia (*not dugtia!*) || 18 poemata || 19 hendecasyllabos (*dots by 2d hand*) || 20 ut *om.* (*F also omits*) ||

Page 105.—XV 2 \overline{xv} | SALVTEM || 6 complexus || 8 ad conecundas (*corr. by 2d hand from aquonectendas*) || 9 sunt (*corr. by 2d hand from sint*) || 10 in *om.* || 18 uirtute tua || 19 ita] & || 20 asinius (*corr. by 2d hand from asinus*) ||

Page 106.—9 primum quia uotis suis amor plerumq · praecurrit · deinde quod || 11 deinde] in summa || 14 duplici laetitia || 16 omni ope omni labore gratia || 19 potissimus || 20 senatus et suffragio ||

XVI 23 ualerio *om.* ||

Page 107.—2 fieri *om.* || 3 uelatus (*dot by 2d hand*) | horis] oris || 4 sed maiore ||

XVII 9 \overline{xvii} | asinio *om.* | SALVTEM · || 10 corelliae absentis causam || 14 correlli || 19 aestimari || 22 suptiliorem deniq · tulit ||

Page 108.—14 cum] dum || 16 destiuissse | correlliae || 19 faeminae || 20 si (*corr. by 2d hand from se*) | actionem lautius || 21 sinunt contigerit michi || 22 dixero] dicere ||

XVIII 24 \overline{xviii} | arrio *om.* | ANTONINO (*corr. by 2d hand from ANTONIO*) | SALVTEM · || 25 magis *om.* || 26 latine *om.* (*but latine inserted after and above 27 aemulari by 2d hand*) || 27 tamen] quidem ||

Page 109.—1 et quae sunt latina (*and so F*) || 3 eis | quae mihi ||

XVIII 6 \overline{xviii} | calpurniae *om.* | SALVTEM · || 8 karitate || 9 adfectum *om.* *after ei, add. after amissi* || 11 dignam te (*add. above by 2d hand*) || 12 frugalitas (*corr. by 2d hand from fra-*) || 14 lectitat (*corr. by 2d hand*) || 17 recito (*corr. from recitato*) || 18 proximum || 20 amore] amare ||

Page 110.—1 uene] reris (*corr. by 2d hand from ue|reris*) ||

XX 7 \overline{xx} | nonio *om.* | SALVTEM || 8 libris tuis || 10 elegans (*corr. by 2d hand from eligans*) || 13 es et horum | doloris | sublimitatem (*erasure of two letters after sub-*) ||

XXI 17 \overline{xxi} | uelio *om.* || 23 *erasure of four letters after angor* | optimorum (*-u- corr. by 2d hand*) || 25 unus (*corr. from unius*) ||

Page 111.—I cuius (c- *corr. by 2d hand*) || 4 quo] quos (and over erasure) ||.

XXII 6 [xxii] || 10 duumviratu suo || 12 disserte (*alt. from diserte*) || 15 uiennensibus (*corr. from bi- by 2d hand?*) || 16 agona (*corr. from agonia*) || 17 a om. || 18 apud neruam imperatorem forte cenabat || 19 uegento || 20 dixi omnia (*in margin at end of last line on page*) || 21 catullo om. || 23 quo om. || 24 optimum] oppidum | contorquebat || 25 de (*corr. by 2d hand from ad*) | sanguinariisque (*corr. from -usque*) || 26 cena ||

Page 112.—I et om. | caenaret ||

XXIII 8 [xxiii] · (*corr. from xxviii*) | pomponio om. | SALVTEM || 12 lætitare || 15 optulerit || 16 impertire (*app. so, though easily mistaken for imperare*) || 20 sed om. ||

XXIII 22 [xxiii] (*corr. from xxviii*) | fabio om. | SALVTEM · || 23 · c · uiros | in quadruplici iudicio om. || 27 conuersiones (*corr. from conuer sationes by 2d hand?*) ||

Page 113.—I recesserunt || 6 obfuerunt (*corr. by 2d hand from of-*) | computes || 7 documento ||

XXV 14 [xxv] | messio om. | SALVTEM || 15 ex tacitis] extractis || 17 feda || 19 ei] & || 25 tabellas ||

Page 114.—2 ΑΛΛΑΤΥΑΥΤΑΤΩΝΥΠΕΡΗΜΑCΜΕΛΗCΕΙ (*and in F the same, except for ΤΟΝΙΤΕΡΕΜΑCΜΕΑΝCΕΙ*) || 3 et] sed (*over erasure*) || (XXVI om. in R and F without sign. In R the numbering of the letters goes on also without omission)

XXVII 18 [xxvi] | pompeio om. | SALVTEM · || 20 poemata || 21 sublimer (*erasure after sub-, of -u-?*) || 23 absolutius (*corr. by 2d hand from -tus*) || 24 me ipsum ||

Page 115.—3 occurrerit (*over erasure*) || 4 ff. no division into verses || 8 mauolt || 9 amare || 10 o om. | quot] quod || 11 amas] apias || 14 iuuenem] iuuentq̃ || 15 gratulare si pro || 20 ΓΕΙΓΝΩC-ΚΩΝΩΤΙΤΟCΕCΤΙΝΟΙCΤΕΡΗΑΕΤΑΙCΥΝΩΝ ||

Page 116.—XXVIII 2 [xxvii] | uibio om. | SALVTEM || 3 bybliotheca (*followed by erasure of one letter at end of line*) | corne- liae nepotiae || 5 Cati] catili || 9 quod] quo || 12 difficillima aesti- mationis imitatio ||

XXVIII 16 [xxviii] | ROMANIO SVO SALVTEM · (*F has in marginal title Romano Firmo*) || 17 eia || 19 praetor acer et fortis uir || 21 senatu (-at- *over erasure*) || 25 leuissimi ||

Page 117.—XXX 2 [xxviii] | licinio om. (*in marginal title F has Licinio Sure*) | SALVTEM || 3 tibi om. || 5 excipitur om. | cenatiunculam || 7 deminutionibus || 9 frigidussipotus || 13 utrum-

que (*but first stroke of initial u- erased*) || 15 incurrit || 18 obluc-
tantes (*and so F*) || 19 crebris (*corr. from creberis*) | an quae]
autque || 21 subprimitur || 24 excursu ||

Page 118.—2 colligit || 3 libramentum (*corr. from liberamen-*
tum) || 4 repletur ||

C · PLINIUS · SECVNDI EPISTVLARVM EXPLICIT
LIBER · IIII · INCIPIT LIBER · V · FELICITER

Adanniumseuerum ·	legatummichiobuenit
Adcalpurn' flaccum ·	accepipulcherrimos
Additium ariston ·	cumplurimaofficia
Adiuliumualerianum ·	resparua
Adnouiummaximum ·	nuntiaturmichi
Addomit · apollinar ·	amaucuram hīc adfi ·
Adcalpurnium rufum ·	necheredeminstitui
Additinium caepionem ·	suades uthistoriam
Adsempriumrufum ·	descenderaminbasilicam
Adsueton · tranquillum ·	//////// liberatandem
Adcalpurn · fabat · pros [pros as if	praecepilitterastuas [-cepi- <i>corr. by 2d</i>
add. as afterthought]	hand from -cipi-]
Adscaurum · recitaturus	oratiunculam
Adterentium scaurum	& turogas
Adpontium · allifan'	secesseram inmunic ·
Adarrium antonin'	cum uersus tuos
Adaefulanmarcellinum ·	tristissimus haectibi
Aduestric spurinna	scioquautoopere
Adcalpurn' macrum	beneest michi
Adualerium paulinum ·	uideoquam molliter
Adcornelium ursum ·	iterum bTthini
Adpompeium · saturn	uariacadfecerunt

[*In right-hand margin, opposite amaucuram, a much later hand has added hīc adfi; with a division mark in left-hand margin; and opposite Adterentium scaurum in left-hand margin a later hand has inserted δ*]

Page 119.—I 6 i · | annio *om.* (*but F has in marginal title annio seuro suo, and V in margin, with extra line left blank, as if for usual heading of book*) || 8 exhereditato (*and so F*) | asudio (*corr. by 1st hand from asiduo*) || 10 aliosque equites romanos splendidos || 12 iuarem (*second -u- corr. by 2d hand*) || 14 donare (*corr. by 1st hand from dare*) || 17 exhereditatum (*corr. from exhereditatum*) ||

Page 120.—1 expectatissimos | correllium (*corr. by 2d hand from correllium*) || 7 mecum non subscripsit || 12 cum curiano

(*corr. by 1st hand from curiano alone*) | aedem] eadem || 16 (*F has exhereditat'*) || 19 mea suscepisse (*but-a somehow deformed*) | coheredes (*corr. by 1st hand from quo-*) || 21 tantundem (*corr. by 1st hand from tandem*) || 24 antiquō (but 2 app. later hand) || 29 honeste (h- add. above) ||

Page 121.—II 2 ii | calpurnio *om.* (*F has in marginal tittle calpurnio flacco*) | SALVTEM || 5 epistolas || 7 imitantis ||

III 10 iii | titio *om.* (*but F has in marginal tittle titio ariston*) | SALVTEM || 12 fuisse (*corr. from fuisset*) | apud (*corr. by 2d hand from apud*) | deuersiculis (*corr. by 2d hand from di-*) || 13 -que after eum *om.* | diuersitate (*corr. from -em*) || 18 facio nam et (*corr. from &iā*) comedias || 19 Sotadicos] socraticos || 24 mirentur (-r- over erasure) || 28 speciem (*corr. by 2d hand from spiciem*) | nominabo (-o *corr. from -a*) ||

Page 122.—2 scaeuolam (*corr. by 2d hand from -ulam*) || 3 M. *om.* | memium || 4 senecam (*and so F*) | Annaeum Lucanum *om.* (*F also*) || 6 erasure of diuum before diuum iulium) || 8 corrumpi (-i *corr. by 2d hand*) | a *om.* || 10 uirgilius || 11 ennius acciusq. || 13 sed (*corr. by 2d hand from s&*) || 17 reuerentiam (*F also*) || 18 consilii (*corr. by 2d hand from -o*) || 19 exuoltu (*corr. by 2d hand from exuoluto*) || 20 nutu (*corr. by 2d hand from nireo?*) | manuum | notis (*erasure of one letter after no-*) || 21 atque (*corr. from adque*) || 22 intellegit || 23 fortass&&iam || 25 erasure of one or two letters before amicos ||

Page 123.—IV 4 iiii | iulio *om.* (*but F has in marginal tittle iulio ualeriano*) | SALVTEM || 5 paruum | praetorius (-o- *corr. by 2d hand from -e-*) || 6 instituere (*corr. from -ret*) nundinas (*initial app. by corr.*) || 7 uicetorum legati | tuscillus || 9 uerbo antiqui aita || 10 interrogati—11 responderunt *om.* || 11 adfuisse || 12 aliquid (*corr. from aliquit*) || 15 proced& | tacita || 17 cognosces ||

V 20 v. | nonio *om.* (*but F has in marginal tittle nonio maximo*) | SALVTEM || 21 nuntiatur mihi e | c (*F has g, but alt. by 2d hand from c*) || 22 elegantem (*corr. by 2d hand from eli-*) || 23 natura acutus || 24 promtissimus | angit (*erasure of one letter after -i-*) ||

Page 124.—8 immatura | inmortale || 13 praesensit (*erasure of one letter after -n-*) || 16 sedisse (*as F*) || 18 uoluisse (*followed by erasure of two or three letters*) idem (i- over erasure) || 19 abisse (*first -s- over erasure*) || 21 uigiliarum (*corr. by 2d hand from uigularum*) || 23 scripta (*erasure of -p- after s-*) ||

VI 28 domitio *om.* | vi || 30 me aestate] maestate (*F had in 1st hand maiestate*) | suasisti (-si- over erasure) ||

Page 125.—4 poenas (*but begun pon-*) | regionis (*corr. by 2d hand from religionis*) || 5 et tibi (*corr. by 2d hand from & ibi*) || 6 frigidum (*by 2d hand*) || 7 myrtos] mistis *or* mistos (*corr. by 2d hand from myrtos*) | estiuo tempore || 8 larum | profr& || 9 nostra (*begun as nrāe*) negat || 10 aestatis (*corr. by 2d hand from ast-*) || 11 quem | hinc (*begun as hic*) || 14 regionis (*corr. by 2d hand from -es*) | amphiteatrum || 15 quale sola rerum (*corr. from qualis | sororum*) || 17 parte progeneramore et || 18 caedue || 19 pingues (*pin-corr. over erasure*) | facile (*corr. from facere*) || 22 per quoquunt | his (*corr. by 2d hand from is*) | porriguntur (*-i-corr. from -e-*) || 23 unaq' facie || 24 ambusta | prata] pararam (*but -ar- by later hand, and -am over erasure*) || 28 et iemme tripholium aliasque erbas ||

Page 126.—1 molles (*m-corr. by 2d hand*) | perhennibus (*-bu-over erasure*) || 3 quidquid (*corr. from quicquid*) | absorbit (*corr. by 2d hand from absoruit*) | tiberim (*corr. by 2d hand from tiberi*) || 4 omnisque || 6 fluminis (*corr. by 2d hand from numinis*) || 7 situm (*s-over erasure*) || 9 ad] & || 10 quoquūq' || 11 lae//uiter (*corr. by 1st hand from laetauit*) || 15 sed (*corr. by 2d hand from s&*) | lassas (*-sa- inserted by 2d hand*) || 18 prominulam] promodo longam | membra (*-e-corr. by 1st hand*) || 19 xystus (*corr. by 2d hand from xystys*) | concisus in plurimas species distinctus buxo || 24 cyrci || 25 *with omnia begins a new hand* || 28 a om. ||

Page 127.—1 uidet (*-e-over erasure*) || 2 hac] ac | adiacentis (*corr. by 1st hand from -es*) || 3 rescidit || 4 quae om. | platanis (*-nis by corr. of 1st hand, and -s- erased before inumbratur*) | marmoreo (*by corr. of 1st hand*) || 8 porticus alia || 12 & *inserted above before fonticulus* | in om. *before fonte* || 13 sipumculi || 16 iucunda || 19 supplet (*-l- begun as some other letter*) || 22 aut tep-over erasure || 26 sole (*corr. by 2d hand from solo*) | longius a luce om. ||

Page 128.—2 cículos || 5 imminent || 6 criptoporticu || 7 ippodromum | uinenas (*alt. by 2d hand from uineas*) | intuetur (*-i-erased after int-*) || 12 appenninis | latissimis (*erasure of two letters before -ss-*) || 20 *erasure of four or five letters before hac* || 22 aut *before sole corr. by 2d hand from ut* || 24 [sta]timque intranti[um oculis] *erased, but the bracketed portions still discernible* || 25 hēdera (*h- added above*) || 26 haedera trunculum | *With pererrat, which completes fol. 18 of the MS as it now stands, the MS suddenly breaks off.*

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NOTES.

THE GERUNDIVE ONCE MORE: OSCAN *Anafriss*.

The phonetic objections to my gerundive theory (A. J. P. XV 217 sq.) which arise from Oscan-Umbrian I sought to explain away in vol. XVI, p. 1, but my explanations are rejected by Mr. Horton-Smith (ib., p. 222). My theory referred Sk. infinitives in *-a-dh(y)āi*, Greek infinitives in *-a(σ)-θαι*,¹ and Lat. gerundives in *-en-dae* (dat. sg. fem.) to an Aryan base *-ṃ-dh(y)āi*. To this Aryan base there might be a by-form *-ṃ-dyāi* (Noreen, Ugerm. Lautlehre, §51). Mr. Smith's answer to this is as follows: "Nor, I think, does his concluding observation, that 'there was an Aryan doublet to *ndh*, viz. *nd*, represented in Grk. *πυθμῆν* || *πύνδαξ*,' give him much help; for it is thereby implied that the gerundive, which was purely an Italic development (v. A. J. P. XV 195), may have had two quite separate starting-points—one in Latin, the other in Umbr.-Osc." The phrase I have italicized in the citation begs the whole question. My argument is simply this: if the gerundive formation in Italic cannot come from **ṃ-dhai*, then it can come from the Aryan by-form **ṃ-dai*, and I have all along claimed that the formation *is* Aryan (A. J. P. XV 217).

I repeat once more, however, that there is absolutely nothing to prove that Aryan *-mdh-* did not give Italic *-np-*, Osc.-Umbr. *nd>nn* || *n*. I believe now, as before, that the separative suffix *-de* of Lat. *inde* and *unde* is directly akin to the Greek *-θεν* of *ἔν-θεν* and *πό-θεν*, and not akin to the locative *-δε* of *ἐνθά-δε*. I do not believe the validity of the comparison of *in-de* with *ἐν-θεν*, and Sk. *adha* can be gainsaid, inasmuch as it is a comparison of finished words, not of suffixes taken here and there; all three forms mean 'thereupon,' the Latin and Greek 'thence,' and the Latin and Sanskrit 'then.' So far, however, from being dogmatic on this point, I think we shall have to recognize an Aryan doublet

¹ So, and not *-ε-<σ>θαι*, the latter being analogical *λύσασθαι* (aor.): *λύσεσθαι* (fut.): *λύεσθαι* (pres.) = 2d plur. *λύσασθε*: *λύσεσθε*: *λύεσθε*; on the origin of *σ* in *σθ* I refer to A. J. P. XVI 3. Note the so-called aor. *πρίασθαι*.

dha || *da*¹ behind all this variety (l. c., p. 2). I am perfectly willing to accept the verdict that my equation Aryan *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nn* || *n* is 'unproven' (*sic*), but I wish also to make it clear that the equation *ndh* > *nf* is even less proved. In Umbrian the laws *mf* > *mb* and *n_x* > *ng* seem well established (v. Planta, Gramm., 465 sq.); there is plausibility even for *np* > *nd*, especially as we have the analogous changes just instanced. There can be little doubt that *°vendu* is akin to Germ. *wenden*, and represents Aryan **vendhetōd*, either through **vendetu* or **venptu* (according to v. Planta, l. c., 468), but just as plausibly through **venntu* with a previous stage **vend-tu*. It may well have been that *-ndh-* and *-nd-* fell together into *-nd-* before the change to *nn* was completed.

Now there is nothing, *absolutely nothing*, to prove that Aryan *ndh* became *-nf-* in Oscan or Umbrian. The only argument for such a change comes from *Anafriss*, which is explained by Bugge (K. Z. II 386) as 'Imbribus,' according to which we should expect **Emfriss* or **Enefriss* (v. Planta, 455); by Henzen (Ann. del Inst. 1848, 400) as *Inferis*, showing change of declension and bad vocalization; and referred by v. Planta (l. c., 456) to *√an* 'breathe,' <**an-dhr-* or **an-s-r-*, that is to say to no known word. Bücheler's claim (Rh. M. 37, 644) that no sufficient explanation of this word has yet been given seems to me to still hold good.

I venture, then, to propose a new one. *Anafriss* occurs in a Samnite inscription (Zvetaieff, Inscr. It. In. M. D., p. 32) among a group of deities to whom regular sacrifices shall be offered; just preceding it come *Diumpais* 'nymphs' (?), *Liganakdikei Entrai*, which seems to mean Law-giver mid-<temple>-goddess' (Bücheler, Lex. Ital. XV *b*; Grassmann, K. Z. XVI 118); just following comes *Maatois* 'Matutis' (Grassmann), but 'Manibus' (Bücheler, ib. XVI *b*). In *Anafriss* I propose to see Grk. *ἀμφορεύς* 'jar, cinerary urn' (ω 74). Of its borrowing in Italic Lat. *amphora* gives testimony. The Romans used *amphorae* as coffins (Smith, Dict. Antiq., s. v.), and the similar *ollae* were in regular use as receptacles for the ashes of the dead (cf. also ω 74). The Arval brothers worshipped the *ollae* (cf. v. Henzen, Acta Fr. Arv. 30, Juv. VI 341, Prudent. Peristyl. II 277, there cited). These *ollae* may have been mere utensils in the sacrifice; thus in the present inscription *Patana* (= Lat. *patina* 'dish') is

¹ I have nowhere said, by the way, that the *-do* of *endo* || *indu* is for Aryan *-dho*, though my critic is excusable for so interpreting me.

worshipped, and the Romans worshipped *Patella* 'little dish,' both divinities being subsequently connected with *patere*, and explained by Arnobius as 'patefaciendis rebus praestituta' 'goddess of shooting grain.' In Plautus the *di patellarii* (Cist. 520) are understood (cf. Schol. to Persius, III 56) as being the Lares.

It may be noted further that in India, where the worship of ancestors was highly developed, the mortuary urns were sex-marked (cf. Āçvalāyana Gr̥h. Sū. IV 5. 2), showing thus an intermediate stage on the way to development of regular images. In the Umbrian cult also there was a large employment of jars, if not a direct worship of them. The goddess specially so worshipped is *Praestota Serfia*, who corresponds with *Perna Kerria* of our inscription, these goddesses having the same epithet (probably), and names of the same meaning 'she who stands before.' Note also in our inscription *Anterstata* 'she who stands in the middle.' We can hardly doubt that Grassmann is right in explaining these titles by the position of the statues (in temple or garden), or by the order in which they are worshipped. Now, in the Latin *Lares Praestites* we have an epithet like *Praestota*, *Perna*, and the Lares, as we have seen, were *Di Patellarii* 'gods of the jars.' Possibly *Praestota*, etc., were special groups of Manes (sometimes fem. in inscriptions). In any case, whether as simple jars or as images of the Manes, the Italic peoples worshipped *amphorae* (*ollae*).

I propose then to connect *Anafriss* with Grk. ἀμφορεύς. There is no reason why the Samnites should not have inflected ἀμφορεύς according to the 4th conjugation, into which it would most naturally fall. Thus *Anafriss* (with anaptyptic -a-, v. Planta, l. c., 268) would correspond to a Latin **amphoribus* sound for sound. There is some question, though, whether -mf- gave -nf- in Oscan, as it does in Latin (? *anfr-actus*) and Umbrian (*an-ferener*). The only word that suggests a different phonetic process is *amfr-el* 'ambiunt,' where *amfr-* is an extension of **amfi* by the compv. suffix -r, as in *inter*, *super*, *subter*, etc. It is a reasonable supposition, I believe, that phonetic change was retarded in its development in words newly coined by analogy, and this we might consider here. Further, Oscan has in *am-vianud*, *am-nod* (Corsen, K. Z. V 84) a form *am-* related to *ambi*. In *am-vianud* we have the result of primitive **amf-vianud*,¹ shortened to *am-vianud*.

¹ It may be well also to note (cf. Noreen, l. c.) that there was a chance for **ambh-* | *amb-* in the Aryan period.

before the change *mf* > *nf* set in; for *-mv-* I note Faliscan *comvivium*. The form *am-* would also have naturally arisen in composition with initial *p, b, m*. Now a form *amfr-* would not part company with *am-*. Entirely different would be the treatment of *am-fr-* in loan-words like ἀμφορεύς, where no semasiotic notion was to be preserved. Here, as the Italic *f* was a labiodental, and not a pure labial, we can understand why *μφ* gave *nf*.

Here arises the difficulty of the phonetic character of *φ* and the other Greek aspirates. I believe, with Miss Dawes (Pronunc. of Grk. Asp., p. 102), that the internal evidence of Greek favors, on the whole, a spirantic pronunciation. Her illustrations (p. 47 sq.) are convincing that Latin loan-words with *p, t, c* for *φ, θ, χ* do not prove that the latter were aspirates. The question may have been a dialectic one with the Greeks, and the Italians had more than one dialect to borrow from. For the Oscans, however, it is certain that they represented their *f* by *φ* in φαλισκοί, and in the coin-legend 'ΦΙΣΤΕΛΙΑ' (*Fistluis*) (Zvet., l. c., p. 78). Further, Bücheler reads *Fαλε[φ]* (= *valens*) in an Oscan inscription (Zvet., l. c., 74). It is not assuming very much to suppose that they also represented *φ* by their *f*, and so it is fair to suppose that Greek ἀμφορεύς may have become in Oscan **amfrus* > **anafrus*. On this point I can do no better than to cite from W. Schulze (KZ. 32, 389): "Ganz anders liegen die dinge bei *ph* [for Greek *φ*], das seine eigene, von den schicksalen des *p* durchweg getrennte geschichte gehabt hat. Schon frühzeitig ist es—wenigstens local und in den ungebildeten volksschichten—mit *f* zusammengefallen. Bereits die pompejanischen pinsel- und griffelinschriften bieten *Dafne Fileto Fyllis Trofime*."

But whether *Anafriss* is a borrowed word or not (= ἀμφορεύς), there is more against its comparison with *Inferis* than with any other of its possible congeners. Now, this comparison is the only basis for claiming that the *-nn-* of Osc.-Umbr. gerundives cannot come from Aryan *m-dh-*.

My theory explains the entire syntax of the gerundive, with its attraction for its object (A. J. P. XV 220). This is a consideration that should outweigh a trifling phonetic irregularity, though I have shown that there is none. In conclusion I would sound a warning against dogmatism about the inviolability of phonetics, especially as to this group *nd*. Thus we have in Latin *tennitur* beside *tenditur*—"folk-dialect"! We also have *bos* for normal **vos*—"loan-word from some dialect or other"! Such are the

defences of the sacrosanct phoneticians, and by freely using them both no one can fail to make good the *a-priori* claim of Inviolable Phonetic Law. I have shown in another place¹ that this is a dangerous working principle, particularly for dialects of fragmentary vocabulary.

EDWIN W. FAY.

TWO NOTES ON LATIN NEGATIVES.

The I.E. *ne* (Skr. *na*, Goth. *ni*, Lith. *nè*, O.B. *ne*, Osc.-Umbr. *ne*) is represented in certain Latin compounds, among which are several negative indefinite adverbs and the negative indefinite adjective pronoun *nūllus*. The list of common forms is *neutiquam*, *neutique* (late), *neuter*, *nunquam*, *nusquam*, *nullus*.

Brugmann (Grd. I 604, Anm. 2) left unexplained the relation of *-eu-* in *neuter* to *-u-* in *nūllus*, etc., until an explanation of the initial sound of *uter*, etc., should be given. J. Schmidt (K. Z. 32, 394 ff.) has established the fact that these indefinites are from a pronominal stem *qu*, the *q* before *u* being dropped in Latin when initial, but retained when medial, as in the compounds *alicubi* and *nēcubi*.

We have then to explain the absence of *-c-* in all these compounds and also the *-eu-* beside *u*. *Neuter* and *neutiquam* may be either transformates of older forms with *-c-* under the influence of the simplices or may have been formed after *qu-* became *u-*. For *neuter*, at least, the first explanation probably applies. We have a few cases of *necuter* retained, e. g. Lucret. 4, 1217 (where *neque* should be emended to *nec*) and 5, 839; Mart. 5, 20, 11; and C. I. L. VI 1527. Probably, too, *necuter* has sometimes been changed by copyists to *neuter*. These words have nothing to do with *nec* = 'non,' as the editors have supposed, but their *-c-* is the same as that of *nēcubi*, *alicubi*, etc.²

But the collocation of negative and indefinite is common, and composition, therefore, was easy at any period when *ne* existed

¹ Proceedings Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1895.

² In Trin. 282 *neque* of the Ambrosian should be kept. We have here verb, adverbial phrase, and object, each with a special negative, and *neque ullum* is used in place of *nullum* on account of the preceding *neque*'s. The passage is

Nolo ego cum improbis te viris, grate mi,
Neque in via neque in foro neque ullum sermonem exsequi.

In regard to a possible *ne-cunquem* see Schmidt as above, p. 403.

as an uncompounded negative. *Neuter* with trisyllabic pronunciation and *neutiquam* (tribrach, i. e. *-e u-*) may be considered as practically uncompounded forms. *Neuter* and *neutiquam* indicate that the treatment of the specific Latin diphthong *-eu-* was its retention, and this supposition is supported by *seu*, *ceu* and *neu*—contraction in these words having taken place only in Latin times.

But *nunquam* and *nusquam* are not transformates of possible earlier forms with *-cu-*, nor, if the supposition just mentioned is correct, is *-u-* the result of the contraction of *e-u*. These words have been thought to be examples of compounds formed with elision of the *e* of *ne*. But such composition in Latin cannot be supported by other examples. Those given by Stolz (Lat. Gram., 276, Anm.) are all to be explained otherwise.¹ *Nūtiquam*, I believe, does not occur; *sorsus* is from **se-vorsus* (Solmsen, Stud. zur lat. Lautgeschichte, p. 60); and *sūdus* may have been formed in Italic times and so have its *ū* from *-ou-* from *-eu-*. Nor is *noenum* formed with elision of *e* in *ne*, but the support for this view cannot be given here. Another explanation of *nunquam* and *nusquam* seems desirable and, I believe, is not far to seek.

In the case of *nūllus* the simplex never had an initial consonant, and, as in the case of *sūdus* just mentioned, the compound is to be considered as made in Italic times. When now the initial of *unquam* and *usquam* came to agree with that of *ullus*, save possibly in quantity, *nunquam* and *nusquam* would be natural analogical formations (*ullus* [*ū?*] : *unquam* = *nūllus* : *nunquam* [*ū?*]). The quantity of *u* in *nunquam* may follow that of *unquam* or that of *nūllus*, more probably the latter.

For the most part the indications are that in syntactical value *ne* was equal to 'non,' but there are also indications for the value 'nē.'

Mr. Elmer's claim (A. J. P. 15, 304) that *neque* is not used as the continuing negative of volitive forms seems to have been urged rather too strongly. It may be questioned whether a distinction should be made here between the usage of prose and poetry. Catullus furnishes at least two cases of *neque* with volitive forms: 11, 21 and 61, 128. There are doubtless a number of others scattered through Ciceronian and later Latin.

¹ Even if *multangulus* and *multanimis* are true examples of compounds with elision, they do not affect the argument here. The compounds like *neuter nunquam* are directly or indirectly the result of sentence-combination.

A number of cases occur in Plautus of *neque* used in the sentence with volitive subjunctive, to some of which it might be objected that the negative belongs to a single word; but the following examples from the *Asinaria* surely deserve to be placed beside examples of *nēve* cited by Elmer from Plautus. The numbers are according to Ussing's edition.

Suspiciones omnis ab se segreget,	
Neque illaec ulli pede pedem homini premet,	
Quom surgat, neque quom in lectum inscendat proximum,	
Neque quom descendat inde, det quouquam manum.	770
Spectandum ne quoi anulum det neque roget.	
.	
Neque illa ulli homini nutet nictet adnuat.	777
.	
Neque ullum verbum faciat perplexabile	
Neque ulla lingua sciat loqui nisi Attica.	786
.	
Nec mater lena ad vinum accedat interim	
Neque ulli verbo male dicat; . . .	793

The usage of Oscan *nep* (Lat. *nec*) is of interest here. The ten examples are all in sentences whose verbs are volitive, but in all but two cases the negative may be taken with a single word. In the following, however, *nep* is used with volitive forms: Zvet. 231₁₀ *nep fefacid* 'neve fecerit'; Zvet. 231₁₈ *nep censtur fuid* 'neve censor sit.'

The following passage from Tab. Iguv. VI A 6 shows that Umbrian *nep* (Lat. *nec*) might be used with an imperative: *erse neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu* 'ea nec muttito nec alis intersidito.'

FRANK H. FOWLER.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Εὐριπίδου Ἑλένη. Ad novam codicum Laurentianorum factam a G. Vitellio collationem recognovit et adnotavit HENRICUS VAN HERWERDEN. Lugduni-Batavorum, 1895.

Euripides. *Helena.* Edited with Introduction, Notes and Critical Appendix by C. S. JERRAM, M. A. 2d edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1892.

The appearance of a new edition of the *Helena* by van Herwerden, the indefatigable and now veteran scholar on whom the mantle of Cobet has not unworthily fallen, should be an event of no little interest in the philological world. van Herwerden is admitted to be by far the best exponent of the great master's views and tradition; and those views are in the strongest antithesis to much which the most eminent German scholars of the present time are agreed to accept. I mean, of course, as to the limits of conjectural emendation. van Herwerden shares with our own countryman, Blaydes, the belief that long acquaintance with the style of an author, combined with continual and unintermitted study of the niceties of the language he writes in, are sufficient, in time, and in the hands of a recognized expert, to justify the assertion that much which forms part of the MS tradition is wrong, and has descended to us from a corrupted original. It is well known that the counter-view is at this time held and asserted with extraordinary positiveness by some leading exponents of classical philology in Germany. The Culex of Prof. Leo is perhaps the most marked illustration of this resolute adherence to MSS in despite of sense and probability: it is not too much to say that if some of the interpretations to be found in it are possible, nothing is impossible.

The new edition starts with a great advantage. Prof. Vitelli of Florence has re-collated the XIVth-cent. Laurentian codex (plut. XXXII 2) on which alone the text of the *Helena* rests as an independent source and which he calls L. He has, however, examined, besides, two other MSS, one in the Laurentian library, which he calls G, the other in the Vatican, which he calls P. Neither G nor P is of any great value except for correcting L; both Vitelli believes to be copies of a copy of L. It appears from this that the hopes which in 1872 were roused by a communication of Prinz sent to Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, CV, pp. 525-8, to the effect that G was a new source for the text of *Helena* of little less importance than L, are not justified by more minute examination. It is, however, in the judgment of Wilamowitz, who collated it some years before Vitelli, of considerable utility, as having been written before the interpolated readings which are found in L from the second or third hand had been introduced into that MS. van Herwerden has thought G of sufficient importance to be cited regularly through the play; and this, combined with the careful manner in which the first hand of L has been distinguished by Vitelli from the second and third, forms one of the chief claims which the new edition presents to supersede all previous ones.

Mr. Jerram's reprint of his former edition, published in 1882, is a scholarly piece of work, which ought to recommend itself to masters and teachers in the universities. It has been read and is sometimes quoted by van Herwerden; I hope that it may take less than ten years to reach a third issue, which it richly deserves, and to which the new labours of the Dutch philologist will make an important accession of new and original materials.

A noticeable feature in v. Herwerden's edition is the substitution of *η* for *ει* in the 2d pers. sing. indic. of the middle and passive verb; of *τιθεῖς* *ιεις*, etc., for *τιθης* *ιης*, as laid down by Cobet; of *σῶζω* *θυήσκω* for *σῶς* *θυήσκω*; of *ὁμοῖος* *ἐτοῖμος*, as in Thucydides and Herodotus, not *ὁμοιος* *ἐτοῖμος*, as is generally assumed for the Tragic and Comic writers: lastly, of combinations like *ἡ ἐν*, etc., for *ἡ 'ν*.

Of the scholars who have in quite recent times written on the *Helena*, F. G. Schmidt, Wecklein, Schenkl are mentioned with most approbation, and their conjectures cited most frequently. But the critical notes are studded with names, insomuch that the editor's own modest 'v. H.' is comparatively obscured, whilst Musgrave, Elmsley, Badham, Paley (to mention only English scholars) recur again and again. This, I think, should recommend the book to Englishmen. How often have our countrymen found reason to complain of being neglected or even ignored in foreign editions! Here at least no such complaint is possible. This is only fair: a glance at Blaydes' *Aristophanes* or Jebb's *Sophocles* is enough to show that we do not ask more than we give.

The following remarks are the result of a careful perusal of v. H.'s edition, and, though slight, are based on a very long familiarity with the play. Mr. Jerram has already incorporated some suggestions of mine in his new issue of 1892.

85. ἀτὰρ τίς εἶ; πόθεν τίνος ἐξανδᾶν σε χρή;

So LG. Pflugk suggested πόθεν; τίν' ἐξανδᾶν σε χρή; This is rhythmically faulty: perhaps πόθεν τίν', *unde quem*, 'whence and whom?' a double question, in which τίν' follows πόθεν so closely as hardly to be separable (metrically) from it. Cf. 871 ἀτὰρ τί τάμὰ πῶς ἔχει θεοπίσματα; v. H. gives ἀτὰρ τίς εἶ πόθεν; τίνος μ' αὐδᾶν σε χρή;

III. v. Herw. accepts and prints *καρπίμους* *ἐτῶν κύκλους*, Nauck's conj. for *καρπίμους*. Jerram defends *καρπίμους* as accentuating the contrast between the succession of fruitful seasons and the fate of the storm-tost warrior on the barren sea. This appears to me fanciful. Without any such idea, Catullus, merely as a description of time that goes on year after year bringing its regular succession of harvest and winter, says, XCV 1, 2 *Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem Quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem*. So far as the word can be thought to have any *special* force, it would seem to lie in the idea of *successive* years, implying a considerable period of time.

117. ὥσπερ σέ γ', οὐδὲν ἦσσαν, ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶ.

Hermann ὁρᾶν, and so Dindorf, Nauck and Badham. v. H. keeps ὁρῶ, translating 'Ita (ye, sc. *vidi eam*) ut te oculis video meis.' Here, as in many other cases throughout the play, the Dutch editor performs a signal service in recalling the MS reading. I will mention some others. 182 θάλλουσι ἀμφὶ for

ἀμφιβάλλουσ' ἐν τε of Seidler; ἐπὶ τὸ δυστυχέστατον | κάλλος, ὡς ἔλοι γάμον ἑμὸν for Hermann's improbable ἐπὶ τὸ δύστυχές τε κάλλος | ὡς γάμον ἑμὸν; 488 σφίζεται, the m. pr. of L and also the reading of G, for σφίζομαι (Badham); 515 σοφῶν δ' ἔπος for δέ του of Dobree and Cobet; 520 μελαμπαεὺς for Cobet's μελαμπαθὺς, cf. κελαιοφαγὸς ὄρνις Ran. 1331, μελαμπαεὺς μυχοῦς Carcin. fr. 5, 3 Nauck²; 620 πατέρ' ἐς οὐρανὸν for πάλιν (Clark, Nauck) or πνεῦμ' (Vitelli); and see especially on 1301-70.

121. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσοις εἰδόμην καὶ νῦν ὁρῶ.

I suggest αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσοις εἶδον ἦν καὶ νῦν σ' ὁρῶ 'I saw with my own eyes the same woman I now see you before me.'

124, 5. Hel. αἰαὶ κακὸν τόδ' εἶπας οἷς κακὸν λέγεις.
Teuc. ὡς κείνος ἀφανῆς ξὺν δάμαρτι κλήζεται.

'Your stay is a misfortune for those whom it affects.' 'Yes, for Menelaus is reported to be lost at sea with his wife.' οἷς κακὸν λέγεις is a *tentative* remark: she wishes to learn more. From this point of view she is taken up by Teucer, who tells her in more detail of what has happened.

148, 9. ὄνομα νησιωτικὸν
Σαλαμῖνα θέμενον τῆς ἐκεῖ χάριν πάτρας.

v. H. remarks: 'ἐκεῖ vix sanum. Exspectes cum Schmidtio ἐμῆς.' I cannot feel the force of this.

175-7. ἀχάριτας ἴν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι
παρ' ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια παιᾶνας
νέκυσσι μελομένους λάβῃ.

LG give νέκυσιν ὀλομένους. Badham prints νέκυσσι μελομένας, which Wecklein and v. H. correct to ν. μελομένους. The conj. is not necessary, and though in Phoen. 1302, 3 Euripides has ἰαχὰν στενακτᾶν | μελομέναν νεκροῖς, the combination νέκυσιν ὀλομένους is supported by Phoen. 1295 νέκυν ὀλόμενον and φθιμένων νεκῶν Supp. 45, 6. Moreover, the change from νέκυσιν ὀλομένους to νέκυσσι μελομένους is rather violent, involving a *double* depravation of letters. The occurrence, too, of the active πυρὶ μέλουσαν δαίω in 195, 6 is rather against μελομένους in 177.

294, 5. ἀλλ' ὅταν πόσις πικρὸς
ξυνῇ γυναικί, καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἐστὶν πικρόν.

σῶμ', which T. B. Macaulay emended into βρῶμ', and of which v. H. mentions besides seven corrections, is retained by Jerram, who accepts W. G. Clark's interpretation, 'even her *life* is hateful to her.' This puts some violence on the passage. May not the meaning be '*his* very person is offensive,' i. e. the person of the barbaric husband? *both* are πικρά, the relation of husband and the *person* of the husband.

308, 9. Cho. πόλλ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ διὰ ψευδῶν ἔπη.
Hel. καὶ τὰμπαλὶν γε τῶνδ' ἀληθείας σαφῆ.

All this seems to me right, and especially ἀληθείας, sc. ἔπη. 'Many a word

may be uttered falsely.' 'Yes, and the reverse, many words may be words of truth and indubitable.'

344. 5.

κατὰ χθονὸς

τὰν χθόνιον ἔχει τύχαν.

χρόνιον v. H., certainly the best conj. yet offered.

380-3.

ἃ μορφῇ θηρῶν λαχωγνίων

δμματα λάβρω σχῆμα †λεαίνης

ἐξαλλάξας †ἀχα λύπης.

To the existing conjectures I add the following: ἃ—μυαίνεις—αισχεα. It seems impossible that Eurip. should have represented Callisto as turned into a *lioness*. Hyginus, who mentions, P. A. II 1, various forms of the Callisto legend, makes no allusion to any transformation except that of a *bear*. σχῆμα would seem to require some genitive; μορφᾶς, which has been suggested, is perhaps too remote from σχῆμα, though otherwise giving a fair sense: 'quae figurae speciem polluis violento lumine horrentis ursae,' or possibly δμματα λαβρῶ is a corruption of σώματος ἀβροῦ. By αισχεα I mean 'ugliness': in becoming a she-bear, Callisto became an unsightly object, but lost her grief.

400.

τοῖς δ' ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀσμένους πεφευγότας.

Cobet's conj., ἀσμένους, is now found to be in LG, not ἀσμένως.

443. 4.

ὦ γραῖα ταῦτα ταῦτ' ἔπη κἄλλως λέγειν

ἔξεστι· πείσομαι γάρ· ἄλλ' ἄνεξ λόγον.

So v. H. most excellently for ταῦτα ταῦτ' ἔ. καλῶς λέγεις. The old woman had requested Menelaus in no very courteous terms to go away. He replies: 'You might have said the same thing civilly; be a little less rude.' The same critic rightly rejects W. G. Clark's χόλον, Badham's μόχλον, for λόγον.

508. 9.

ἦν μὲν ὠμόφρων τις ἧ

κρύψων ἐμαντὸν εἰμι πρὸς νανάγια.

v. H. here accepts Badham's emendation of the MS reading κρύψας (LG). The poet perhaps speaks loosely, and without grammatical strictness. 'I will hide myself and go to the place of the wreck.' It seems very improbable that κρύψων should have become κρύψας: I should prefer to explain κρύψας of *assuming a disguise* than so far violate my palaeographical sense. Does v. H. make sufficient allowance for this important factor in critical questions of text? I see Jerram retains κρύψας, but without explanation. But in 496 Nauck's διπλοῖν for ἀπλοῖν seems almost demanded by the series of interrogative clauses, which is interrupted if ἀπλοῖν of LG is retained.

532. 3.

φησὶ δ' ἐν φάει

πόσιν τὸν ἄμυν ζῶντα φέγγος εἰσορᾶν.

This 'mira abundantia,' as v. Herwerden calls it, seems to mark the Helena, at least as presented by LG. 386, 7 ὤλεσεν, ὤλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας | ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιοῖς, where v. H. gives ὀρομένους. 774, 5 ἐνιασιῶν—ἔτεσι—ἐτῶν, where

v. H. conj. κύκλων. 1310, 11 ζυγίους ζεύξασα θεὰ σατίνας. And may not this be the explanation of the difficult *τείχεα δὲ φλογερὸς ὥστε Διὸς ἐπέσσυτο φλόξ*? If we write *φλογερὰ σ'(α)* for *φλογερὸς* the *absurdity* of the iterated *φλόξ* is avoided, or at any rate lessened. 'Over thy flame-wrapt walls, as it were, a flame of Zeus swept.'

- 578, 9. Hel. οὐ γάρ με λεύσσω σὴν δάμαρθ' ὁρᾶν δοκεῖς;
Men. τὸ σῶμ' ὁμοῖον, τὸ δὲ σφάξ μ' ἀποστερεῖ.

This might be retained by making *σῶμ'* nominative to *ἀποστερεῖ*: 'your figure is like, but it will not allow me to be certain,' literally 'keeps from me any positive certainty.' *ἀποστερεῖν* is followed by a double accusative elsewhere. v. H. prints τὸ δὲ σφάξ γ' ἄπεστ' ἐτι of Schmidt.

661. πικρὰς ἐς ἀρχὰς βαίνει.

This is taken from the margin of L, where it is mentioned as a v. l. for *πικρὰν ἐς ἀρχάν*, the reading of G, and of L itself. v. H. restores it as more poetical, and considers the singular to have ousted it in consequence of the sequent *πικρὰν φάτιν* in 662. The change seems very Greek, and ought, I think, to recommend itself to future editors: hitherto *πικρὰν ἐς ἀρχάν* has been unquestioned.

700. Μενέλαε, κάμοι πρόσδοτέ τι τῆς ἡδονῆς.

πρόσδοτέα Elmsley, and so Badham. I should have thought this conjecture certain, were it not that Hermann, Cobet, Nauck, Paley have offered others, and that v. H. says 'optio difficilis.'

- 738, 9. τούς τ' ἐμοὺς καταδοκεῖν
ἀγῶνας, οἱ μένουσιν, οὓς ἐλπίζομεν.

Musgrave altered this to *μένουσί μ' ὥς*. Though *μένουσιν* is perhaps a little unusual, it is made less so by *οὓς ἐλπίζομεν*, and the double relative is too marked a feature to be lightly sacrificed. Even if *μένουσί μ'* is admitted, *οὓς* should, I think, be retained. Similarly in 737 οἱ τ' ἐσμέν *τύχης* is sufficiently idiomatic to be kept (see Paley and Jerram), and surely cannot have got into the text from depravation.

764. ἢ πόλλ' ἀνῆρον μ' ἐνὶ λόγῳ μῦθ' ὀδῶ.

LG ἐν δλίγῳ. The correction is Pierson's, and is perhaps the finest made by any critic in this play. Superior perhaps in acuteness and equally certain is Bothe's τὸν Νηλέως τ' ἀπαιδα for τὸν Θησέως τε παῖδα of LG (847).

771. κάλλιον εἶπας ἢ σ' ἀνθρώμην ἐγώ.

This is the remark of Helen to Menelaus, who has described to her in outline his chief wanderings. A longer narrative he begs to be spared; it would only be to recall sorrow. Helen, quite satisfied with what he has told her, replies: 'Your courtesy in what you tell me transcends my wish in asking you the question.' *κάλλιον*, I think, is genuine, and refers to Menelaus' kindness and good feeling in gratifying her curiosity to the extent he has done.

803. μή νυν καταδοῦ· φεύγε δ' ἐκ τῆσδε χθονός.

'Think it no shame to fly,' Jerram, hardly giving the full strength of the word. She means that Menelaus must not let shame prevail to the extent of allowing himself to be killed. Heracl. 1027 ἐπεὶ μ' ἄφηκε καὶ κατηδέσθη πτανεῖν allowed shame to prevail against killing Eurystheus. Hipp. 772 Phaedra will hang herself δαίμονα στυγνὰν καταδεσθεῖσα, overpowered by her shame for the unhappiness of her rejection by Hippolytus.

864. LG give thus:

θεῖον δὲ σεμνὸν θεσμὸν αἰθέρος μυχῶν.

For σεμνὸν θεσμὸν I offer σεμνόςθεσμον and (perhaps) τε for δέ. The genitives depend on θεῖον, 'brimstone for the deeps of air,' i. e. which properly belongs to it as a purifier.

903. ἐατέος δ' ὁ πλοῦτος ἀδίκος τις ὤν.

Possibly εἰ τις. 'Cum si quid aliud iniustae sint divitiae,' Wealth is treated as the highest development of injustice.

920, 1. αἰσχροὺς τὰ μὲν σε θεῖα πάντ' ἐξειδέναί
τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια μή.

v. Herwerden in early life made this conj. for τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μὴ, τὰ δὲ δίκαια μὴ εἰδέναί. It has also been made independently by the Cambridge scholar W. G. Clark. The coincidence should go far to recommend it; and the MS reading is extraordinarily tame. Yet see on 532, 3.

1036, 7. εἰσφέρεις γὰρ ἐλπίδας
ὥς δὴ τι δράσων χρηστὸν εἰς κοινὸν γε νῶν.

γε is insufferably weak. I suggest τε.

1049-51. Hel. βοῦλη λέγεσθαι μὴ θανῶν λόγῳ θανεῖν;
Men. κακὸς μὲν ὄρνις, εἰ δὲ κερδανῶ λέγειν,
ἐτοιμός εἰμι μὴ θανῶν λόγῳ θανεῖν.

To avoid the repetition of λόγῳ θανεῖν, Cobet proposed to write τεθνηκέναι in 1049. Dindorf, Nauck, Schenkl, and now v. Herwerden have approved this alteration. I am not convinced that it is right. The triple rhyme θανεῖν—λέγειν—θανεῖν is possibly intentional; and iteration of the same word or combination of words seems particular to the play. But, to take a higher ground, is it not better *poetically*? Menelaus clinches his acceptance by using the very same words as Helen. As for κερδανῶ λέγειν, I think it may be an anticipation by Menelaus of the plan mentioned 1076-7, according to which he himself tells the story of his own supposed shipwreck, as the one seaman saved. 'If I gain (win besides) the right to speak, i. e. if the condition of my being reported dead by shipwreck is to tell the story myself (as the one supposed survivor), I am ready to be so reported; because I shall be not dead, but alive all the time.'

1078, 9.

καὶ μὴν τάδ' ἀμφίβληστρα σώματος ῥάκη
 ζυμμαρτυρήσει ναυτικῶν ἐρείπιων.

The genitive *v. ἐρείπιων* is not after *ζυμμαρτυρήσει* (Jerram, seemingly), but in close connexion with *ῥάκη*, hardly in the sense which Hermann assigned: 'will confirm my assertion that they are rags from the wreck,' but = *ῥάκη δντα ναυτικῶν ἐρ.* 'will join to bear witness, as rags that belong to (or form part of) a wreckage.'

1133-5.

τέρας οὐ τέρας, ἀλλ' ἐριν
 Δαναῶν νεφέλαν ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ἄγων
 εἰδῶλον ἱερὸν Ἦρας.

So L, with -ας over *νεφέλαν*. Badham wrote on this: 'Utinam omnia in his literis aequae certa essent atque Euripidem in hoc loco *Τέρας οὐ Τέρας ἀλλ' ἐριν Δ. νεφέλαν* scripsisse.' He is accepted by v. H. and also, which is more surprising from so sceptical a critic, by Kirchhoff. Yet *τέρας* is used of Helena twice before: 254 *ἄρ' ἡ τεκούσα μ' ἔτεκεν ἀνθρώποις τέρας*; in allusion to the marvellous story of her birth from an egg, and 258 *τέρας γὰρ ὁ βίος καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί μοι*. The meaning might be 'a prodigy that was not so much a prodigy, as a cause of contention,' like Androm. 103 *Ἰλῖω αἰπείνῃ Πάρις οὐ γάμον, ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄταν Ἠγάγετ' εἰναίαν εἰς θαλάμους Ἑλέναν*, or more probably 'a phantom-form that seemed not so, but as if it were the real Helen, was a cause of strife to the Greeks.'

1225.

φίλος γὰρ ἐστίν, ὅστις ἐστίν, ἐνθάδ' ὦν.

The emendations of this *v.* are bad, and the words in themselves look likely to be right. I think the sense may be as follows: 'Why, whoever he is (that brought the news), now that he is here, he is a friend; and treating him as such, I accept his intelligence as true, and have cut off my hair for my husband's death.' The reply of Theoclymenus takes up this doubt suggested by Helen: 'Are you sure that you are right in thus lamenting him?' To which she replies ironically: 'Of course you do not care for the death of *your* relations,' retaining *θανεῖν* of LG.

1247. I repeat here, as at least plausible, my conj. *ἐξορίζομεν*, a word which Eurip. affects. The Indices mention five passages. 'We take beyond the borders and let down into the sea the last offerings to the dead who have perished by wreck.'

1272.

Φοίνισσα κῶπη ταχύπορος γενήσεται.

Paley and v. H. agree in thinking *γενήσεται* to be the auxiliary verb, the latter, however, adding 'si sanum.' The natural sense here, 'shall be forthcoming,' is denied by v. H. to be Greek: he mentions as emendations *σταλήσεται* (Schmidt), *δοθήσεται* (Naber).

Here again I should not feel certain that an occasional, though doubtless rare, usage had not been admitted by the poet. Something like it, at any rate, is H. F. 603 *μένοντι δ' αὐτοῦ πάντα σοι γενήσεται | τῇ τ' ἀσφαλείᾳ κερδανεῖς*.

1301-70. v. H. has done a most important service in recalling throughout this obscure chorus the readings of LG, only admitting such conjectures as

appear nearly certain. Thus in 1310, 1311 *θηρῶν δρε ζυγίους | ζεύξασα* (notice the iteration) *θεὰ σατίνας*, the conj. of Hermann, *ζευξάσα θεῇ*, had displeased my sense of Euripidean manner as far back as 1882, and I rejoice to see the nominative reinstated. Again, 1354 *λύπαν εξαλλάξαι' ἀλαλῶ* is printed (though with an obelus), not *ἀλάν*, which Badham shows to be inept. *ἀλαλῶ* is supported by 1354 *τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῶ*, but the metre seems to require a word like *ἀλλάξαι'* (Musgrave). Again, in 1355, 6 the MS reading, *ὦν οὐ θέμις οὐθ' ὁσία | ἐπύρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις*, whatever the allusion may be, is faithfully retained by v. H. In this perplexing distich, the genitive *ὦν* depends, I think, on the two nominatives *θέμις* and *ὁσία*: Lightfoot's view that *ἐπύρωσας* refers to kindling some kind of sacrifice *must* be right, for the word is used in all the eleven passages where it occurs in Eurip. of *literal*, not metaphorical, kindling. Possibly Paris and Helen offered in their chamber some nuptial rite against religious usage. According to the Schol. Ven. on Il. XIII 461, Rhea was incensed at Paris for some reason not stated: if the scholiast had been more explicit, we might have found the solution of our passage. In the conclamation finale, 1368-70, I make the following suggestion:

*εἰθε νιν ἄμασιν
ὑπέρβαλες, 'Ἐλένα.
μορφῇ μόνον ἡῦχαις.*

'Would that you had joined in the night-vigils of the Great Mother, Helen, had competed with the Goddess in throwing the sacred rods, and surpassed her in your skill: as it is, you did but vie with her in *beauty*.' By which is implied that Rhea was really jealous of Helen's beauty, and wreaked her anger on the plea of Helen's neglecting her cultus. Il. XXIII 891 *ἥδ' ὁσσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἡμασιν ἐπλεν ἄριστος*.

1424. This note would be much improved by excision of half. v. H.'s own highly probable emendation having once been mentioned, the others, which are vastly inferior, are *de trop*.

1498-1500. *μόλοιτέ ποθ' ἵππιον οἶμα
δι' αἰθέρος ἰέμενοι
παῖδες Τυνδαρίδαι.*

οἶμα is in L, with *δ* superscribed by a later hand. The correction had been made by Hermann before L had been collated with the exactness of the present time. *ἄρμα*, which is the reading of most editions, is written in the margin of L, but is rightly condemned by v. H. as inept.

1515, 16. *'Ἀναξ ἤτα κάκις' ἐν δόμοις ἡρήκαμεν,
ὥς καὶν' ἀκούση πῆματ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ τάχα.*

I believe *τὰ κάκις* is an error for *τάχιστα* σ'. The iteration of *τάχα* in the following v. is, as I have noticed above, a marked peculiarity of the Helena. The superlative has its full force: 'we have been as quick as we could in finding you; for you will be told without much delay a story of new misfortune.'

1538-40.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱστόν, ὃ δὲ πλάτην καθίστατο
ταρσόν τε χειρὶ, λευκά θ' ἱστί 'εἰς ἐν ἦν
πηδάλιά τε ζεύγλαισι παρακαθίετο.

Badham (in 1851) wrote: 'In εἰς ἐν ἦν latet aliud uerbum in tempore imperfecto quod cruere nondum mihi contigit.' Will the missing imperfect *ever* see the light? Certainly neither εἰσένει (Jerram), nor ἐνετιθεῖ (Paley), nor εἵλετο (Rauchenstein), nor εἰμέν' ἦν (Böckh) satisfy. Each time I have returned to the passage, I have held exactly the same view, that εἰς ἐν ἦν is genuine, 'the sails fitted nicely into one figure,' 'fitted square.' I see that the edd. are agreed to write καθίστατο: LG give καθίστατο, which may be καθείστατο. In the Hippolytus 31 γῆς τῆσδε ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθείστατο.

1559. κουφίζοντα, sc. πόδα, to be got by anastrophe from ταύρειος δὲ πούς.

1594.

πάλιν πλέωμεν ἠναξίαν κέλευε σύ,
σὺ δὲ στρέφ' ἠλακ'.

This is the most desperate passage in the Helena. Possibly ἠναξ 'lurks' in ναξίαν, some monosyllable preceding, εἰ' or ἀλλ' or ἦν (εν). ἠναξ I should explain proleptically, 'come on, you be master and time the rowing, you turn round the rudder.' The explanation I once proposed, that Ναξίαν = δολίαν, a mythological allusion to the betrayal of Bacchus by a crew who, when he asked to be taken to Naxos, treacherously steered in the opposite and wrong direction (Ov. Met. III 641 sqq.), or to Bacchus' own *treacherous* betrayal of Ariadne at Naxos (Journal of Philol. XII 73), I do not wholly retract, but consider too remote to be very probable.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Word-formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius. An historical study of the development of vocabulary in vulgar and late Latin, with special reference to the Romance languages. New York, Ginn & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. xlvii, 329. \$2.50.

This book contains a List of Authorities, an Introduction (pp. xv-xlvii) and chapters of considerable length upon Derivation and Composition. Under the first head such topics as Abstract Substantives in *-tio* and *-tus*, Concrete Substantives in *-o* (*-onis*) and *-tor*, Adjectives in *-bundus* and *-bilis*, Adverbs in *-im* and *-ter* are considered. Under the second head the main topics are Prepositional Compounds, Nominal Composition and Hybrids.

The List of Authorities contains 90 titles and is of great value, although some additions may be made to it. Thus, no mention is made, on the one hand, of the monographs of Schmalz, Becher and Hellmuth upon the language of Cicero's correspondents, of the admirable lexical paper by Cesareo (De Petronii Sermone, I. A. Cesareo, Romae, 1887), nor, on the other hand, of certain more elaborate collections and treatises like the Corpus Glossariorum of Loewe and Goetz. Now and then a title which is omitted in the List of Authorities may be found in a footnote. This is true in the case of Landgraf's articles in the Blätt. f. d. bayer. Gymn. XVI (see footnote, p. 92, where, however, one should read XVI, not VII), and in the case of Etienne's De Deminutivis, etc. (cf. footnote, p. 141).

With the general view advocated in the Introduction, of the historical relations existing, on the one hand, between the plebeian and classic speech, and, on the other hand, between the *sermo plebeius* and the Romance languages, the reviewer is in accord. The view is in the main that adopted by Schuchardt, Miodonski, Stolz and others, but the author does not seem to keep carefully in mind, either in the Introduction or in the body of the work itself, certain distinctions upon which he lays emphasis; we mean, for instance, the difference between the *sermo urbanus*, the *sermo cotidianus* and the *sermo plebeius*, and the line to be drawn between the *sermo plebeius* and the *sermo rusticus*. Thus the author remarks: "As used in the present work it (the *sermo rusticus*) is neither distinct from, nor altogether synonymous with the *sermo plebeius*. It refers rather to the question of provincial distinctions in the *sermo plebeius*, discussed in the next section, and is used to denote those features which seem to prevail especially in the rustic speech of Italy itself, and which for the most part have remained prominent in modern Italian" (p. xx), and on p. xxiv the *sermo rusticus* is spoken of as an extreme form of the *sermo plebeius*. This conception of the *sermo rusticus* does not seem to harmonize, however, with that notion of it which one gets from reading the lists of rustic words in the body of the work. So, for instance, on pp. 77-84 there are lists of substantives in *-tum*, *-etum*, *-ile* and *-go*. These substantives are all applied to rural things. The substantives in *-tum* and *-etum* indicate the localities where plants abound, and naturally, therefore, are more common in the works of the Scriptores R. R. than elsewhere; but there is no reason to suppose that an urban purist would not use such words as *olivetum* or *aesculetum* if he had occasion to refer to a place where olives or oaks grew. Perhaps such an apparently analogous formation as *bucitum* may properly be regarded as plebeian, but the great majority of these nouns are rustic only in the sense that they are the names of things in the country. The author seems to be conscious of this fact now and then, for in speaking of the substantives in *-go* he says (p. 81): "the majority are by signification appropriate to the rustic language," and yet upon the same page one reads: "although a certain number of substantives in *-go* are quite classical, I have no hesitation in assigning the class as a whole to archaic and rustic Latin. Their vulgar character was evidently recognized by Rönsch, who cites a large number of them in his lists of plebeian words." Are we to say that the vocabulary of the *sermo rusticus* is to contain all the words not found in classical or formal Latin? Such a method would make the vocabulary of the *sermo rusticus* a vocabulary of technical terms, and in the same way, from Vitruvius for example, one could construct a *sermo architectonicus*, but such a *sermo rusticus* or *architectonicus* is not plebeian. In other words, the author has in mind one conception of the *sermo rusticus* while his lists suggest quite another.

In a similar way a confusion seems to exist in the author's mind between two different conceptions of the *sermo plebeius*, a confusion which is more fundamental but less tangible. The *sermo cotidianus* is described (p. xix) as "the free and easy medium of daily conversation" which facilitated communication between the upper and lower classes, while, as it is remarked on p. xx, the distinction between that and the *sermo plebeius* is well illustrated by the difference noticeable between the language of the main narrative in the

Cena Trimalchionis and that used by Trimalchio and his *colliberti*. In the opinion of the reviewer very few of the lists given conform to this description of the *sermo plebeius*, and he would respectfully suggest that the book should be entitled *Word-formation in the Sermo Cotidianus*.

To the lists of words, substantives in *-a* (cf. Rönsch, *It. et Vulg.*, pp. 82, 85) might have been added, and compound prepositions and adverbs like *praeterpropter* and *circumcirca*, both of which classes of words are distinctly colloquial. The great value of the work consists in these lists, in which the author is indicated in whose writings a word first appears, and in the interesting comments which the author makes upon them. The lists must, however, be accepted as illustrative rather than exhaustive, as a somewhat careful examination of a few of them reveals many omissions. So, for instance, to the sublist under Cicero (*Epistt.*), p. 6, should be added *dignatio* and *iocatio*, which were apparently first used by Cicero and in his *Epistt.* *Abruptio*, *adiunctio*, *admonitio*, *altercatio*, *apricatio*, *asseveratio*, *attributio*, *castigatio*, *commissio*, *cretio* and a number of other words similarly formed should also appear here, it would seem, if the list were intended to be more than illustrative. Similarly, on pp. 60-2 we do not find *agitator*, *comissator*, *convector*, *interpellator*, *nugator*, *pacificator*, *praedicator*, *relator*. All of these words occur in Cicero's Correspondence, and two or three of them also in writers of an earlier date. The following diminutive adjectives occur in Cicero's Correspondence and should be added to the list on pp. 188-9: *barbatulus*, *hilarulus*, *horridulus*, *longulus*, *pauculi*, *refractariolus*, *subturpiculus*. These additions come from Cicero's Correspondence only, so that it is evident many insertions must be made before the lists are complete. Among the works from which forms are given it would certainly seem that the *Peregrinatio* should appear, as no book offers us a better specimen of the *sermo plebeius* than it does.

The style of the book is good and the proof-reading excellent. We have noticed only the following slips in these respects: *monogram* for *monograph*, p. 59; *cotidianus*, pp. 157, 166 and elsewhere, but *quotidianus*, p. 80, and on p. 31: "This class of derivatives . . . is an archaism."

The criticisms which have been made upon what seemed to the reviewer certain weaknesses in the book should not prevent one from recognizing its value. It constitutes one of the most important contributions which have been made to the study of colloquial Latin, and those of us who are interested in that subject will wait with interest for the companion volume upon *Plebeian Syntax*, of which the author speaks in his Preface.

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FRANK ABBOTT.

La Mythologie et les Dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Énéide, thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris par H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Paris, Hachette, 1894.

M. de la Ville de Mirmont undertakes to prove in this dissertation (cf. p. vii) that "the mythology of the Aeneid would not be what it is if the poet had not had at his disposal Greek epics other than the Iliad and Odyssey." Within

the limits proposed, the discussion is concerned with the influence of Alexandria upon the growth and development of Vergil's learning and poetic art. No account is taken of any of the other questions suggested by the influence of Alexandria upon the poet. They have been "proposed, if not answered" by M. de la Ville de Mirmont in his article 'Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile' (cf. *Introd.*, p. vii, n. 2).

The work, which, including the table of contents and excellent index nominum, reaches the somewhat portentous length of 778 pages, is divided into three books of four, two and eighteen chapters respectively. The manner in which the subject is treated does not seem to call for any division into 'books'; however, there is no harm in it. The general arrangement of the chapters is in pairs. Each chapter devoted to a divinity as presented by Apollonios is followed by one dealing with the corresponding divinity in the Aeneid. Deities purely Roman are, of course, not touched upon. Nothing is said of Vesta, for Hestia is not mentioned in the Argonautica. So, too, the Argonautica has nothing in it corresponding to Vergil's description of Hades, to which, moreover, Boissier has devoted a special study.

The first book (pp. 3-161) deals with Theogony and Cosmogony, Gaia and Terra, Kronos and Saturn, the Titans and Magic. The second (pp. 161-359), with Zeus and Jupiter. The disproportionate length of this section of his work is due, says the author (p. viii), to the fact that "the Alexandrians in the time of Apollonios, like the Romans of Vergil's age, were practically monotheists. For them Zeus or Jupiter was all." Probably the author has in mind the reading-public of Alexandria and Rome. As applied to the majority of the population in either case, the statement would strike many as surprising. The third book deals with Hera and Juno, Athena and Minerva, Apollo, Artemis and Diana, Hermes and Mercury, Ares and Mars, Hephaistos and Vulcan, Kypris (Apollonios never calls her Aphrodite) and Venus, the gods of the sea and the Chthonian deities.

The author's thesis is one that perhaps no one would deny. His chief merit lies in the collection and orderly presentation of the material by which it is supported. Mythologic learning, as he remarks in his conclusion, was an end with Apollonios. It was only a means to a poet who, like Vergil, addressed his work to a large public. The necessity of adapting Alexandrian learning to Roman ignorance led him into much confusion and error. We must remember, however, that his object was a national poem, not a work addressed to students of mythology; also, that he died before completing his task to his own satisfaction.

M. de la Ville de Mirmont often elucidates the topic in question with that neatness of phrase and aptness of illustration so characteristic of his nation. In describing Athena, for example, he says (p. 430): "Le type de la déesse semble conçu par les poètes du Musée à la ressemblance des précieuses, qui devaient ne pas être rares dans la société alexandrine. L'Athénée des *Argonautiques* a le ton prétentieux et les manières prudes de l'Armande des *Femmes Savantes* . . ." Or again, of Hera (p. 383): "Elle a les travers charmants des grandes dames de l'époque alexandrine: elle est romanesque et nerveuse: elle tient à rester loin de toutes les vilénies qui impressionneraient son âme délicate: elle évite toute compromission désagréable à sa prudence . . ." "Juno n'a

pas dans l'Énéide (p. 409) cette méchanceté particulière qu'on veut lui attribuer. Virgile, après Apollonios, lui conserve le caractère rancunier qu'elle avait dans l'Iliade; le poète romain lui donne d'autre part la dignité austère d'une matrone romaine," etc.

The most serious fault of this book is perhaps its extreme diffuseness. The great length of it is largely due to the fact that the author has rehearsed in detail all the legends treated in Vergil and Apollonios, besides adding many more from other authors. With all due allowance for the nature and treatment of the subject, it would seem that a considerable reduction of bulk might have been effected and would have been a decided improvement.

Judging from his notes, M. de la Ville de Mirmont has made a somewhat limited use of the foreign authorities bearing upon his theme. In his chapter upon the Titans and Magic, for example, no reference whatever is made to Roscher's *Ueber Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), which may fairly be called the definitive work upon that subject. However, the author has studied the poets with whom he deals carefully, minutely and sympathetically, and his work is a decided contribution to the study of the complicated relations existing between Vergil and Apollonios of Rhodes.

KIRBY F. SMITH.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY:

In reviewing Harrison and Sharp's fourth edition of *Beowulf* in your April number, I inadvertently did Prof. Sharp an injustice; and I beg space to correct my mistake.

I was under the impression that Prof. Sharp had no part in the fourth edition; but I have learned recently that he did very valuable work in all parts of the work except the notes, which he left almost entirely to Prof. Harrison. In my zeal to express my admiration for that valuable feature of the new edition, I unintentionally failed to inform myself of Prof. Sharp's contributions to the other portions of the work. Prof. Harrison regrets the mistake no less than I.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE,
Sept. 1, 1895.

J. L. HALL.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. L.

Pp. 1-30. *Paralipomena*. E. Rohde. The writer begins the publication of some excursions to his 'Psyche.' The first is on the Harpies, the second on the Erinyes; the third section of his paper is a reply to some adverse criticism of his book in the second volume of Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Alterthums*. The Harpies are spirits of the whirlwind. They stand in close connexion with the realm of souls and even have their abode there.

Pp. 31-65 and 161-90. *Die vaticanische Ariadne und die dritte Elegie des Propertius*. Th. Birt. 1. There are two main types of recumbent female figures in ancient sculpture. First we have fountain-figures, such as the sleeping nymph of the Vatican, No. 30. 2. What is apparently an older type is represented by the Vatican Ariadne. The motive of this work with especial reference to the position of the right arm. 3. The third elegy of Propertius looks like a commentary on this statue, but in his description of the sleeping Cynthia the poet seems to have had in mind not a statue, but a relief or, more probably, a painting. 4. Propertius seems to think of Ariadne as wrapt in a second sleep; the statue represents her as still bound in the slumber which was upon her at the time of Theseus' desertion. 5. A study of the drapery of the statue. 6. The prevalence of the Ariadne motive in ancient art. 7. The sculptor has taken the principal figure from an older picture, and endeavored to make it tell the whole story alone. 8. Such a statue became possible about the end of the fourth century B. C. 9. Possible models for the statue were to be found in the colossal female figures on the east pediment of the Parthenon. 10. On the irregularity of the face.

Pp. 66-89. *Lessing und Reiskes zu Aesop*. R. Foerster. 1. On a copy of the Augsburg MS of Aesop made for Lessing by Madame Reiske in 1772. This copy, with marginal comments by Lessing, has recently been found in the University library in Breslau. 2. On a copy of the apographum Coberianum made by Madame Reiske in 1773. This is now in the University library in Breslau, the apogr. Cober. in the Royal library in Dresden.

Pp. 90-113. *Die tarquinischen Sibyllen-Bücher*. E. Hoffmann. The writer rejects the common belief in the Erythraean origin of the Cumaean oracles. The oracles brought from Erythrae after the burning of the Capitoline temple in B. C. 83 were poetic and acrostic in form and prophetic in nature; the old Cumaean oracles were not 'vaticinia,' but 'remedia Sibyllina' (Plin., N. H. XI 105), and were consulted only in the face of alarming prodigies, pestilences and other such disasters. The directions of these older books extended not to foreign gods, but only to such as had long been worshipped by a part of the Roman people but had not yet been recognized by the whole community.

The Magna Mater and Aesculapius were probably not mentioned by name in the Sibylline responses, but were introduced by order of the Delphic oracle (Ovid, *Fast.* IV 257 ff.; *Met.* XV 626 ff.). The Sibylline books were in a way supplementary to the libri pontificales. The name Σιβυλλὰ may come from σιδῶς (= θεός) and the stem ΙΑ, ΦΙΑ, from which ἱλ-αος (ἱλ-εως), ἱλ-ημι, ἱλ-ηκω, ἱλ-ἄσκομαι, etc., are derived. The compound σιυ-Φιλ-ο (σιυ-Φιλ-ο) thus means 'god-propitiating.'

Pp. 114-36. Die Abfassungszeit des Octavius des Minucius Felix. M. Schanz. The writer gives a statement of the various views that have been held with regard to the agreement between Minucius and Tertullian. Other writers relying upon literary comparison have failed to determine the date of the dialogue, and S. begins by examining its purpose. The fundamental Christian dogmas are passed over in silence, and the Christianity of Octavius is little more than a philosophical monotheism. Octavius is concerned only with the attack of Caecilius. The sentiments ascribed to Caecilius are drawn from Fronto. The 'homo Plautinae prosapiae' (XIV 1) is Fronto, and 'Octavius' in the same sentence is an interpolation. The dialogue was written in the lifetime of Fronto, who was born between 103 and 106 and died not long after 175. It seems to have been written in the reign of Antoninus Pius or Hadrian; the passage XVIII 5 must have been written before 161, the first year of the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

Miscellen.—Pp. 137-40. L. Radermacher. Notes on Diodor. XVII 11, 5; Dio Chrys. VII 117; Lesbon. *Protrept.*, p. 172 St.; Plut. *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 814 C; Plut. *Mor.* 777 B.—P. 140. Theod. Kock. Bruchstück eines Hexameters (from the scholia of the Geneva MS of the Iliad).—Pp. 140-1. O. Hense. Ein Vorbild des Herodas (Eubulus).—Pp. 141-4. F. Rühl. Zu Menander von Ephesos und Laetos. The terminus ante quem for Laetus is the time of Alexander Polyhistor. He must have written, too, before the historian Posidonius.—Pp. 144-8. H. Usener. Uebersehenes. 1. On the life of the Abbot Hypatius written by his pupil Callinicus. Interesting for the church history of the time of Arcadius and Theodosius II. 2. Another contribution to the ancient religious history of Asia Minor. From the life of S. Theodorus of Sykeon. 3. Evidence that the old rock- and stone-worship of Asia Minor still survived in Mt. Latmus in the 10th century. From the life of S. Paul the younger (†956).—Pp. 148-52. H. Rabe. Nachtrag zum *Lexicon Messanenense de iota ascripto* (Rhein. Mus. 47, 404-13).—P. 152. Ed. Wölfflin. Ein Fragment des Ennius. The words *gladiis geritur res*, Liv. IX 41, 18, seem to be the ending of a hexameter from Ennius. Cf. *Enn. Ann.* 276 M *pellitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res*.—Pp. 152-4. M. Manitius. Zu lateinischen Dichtern. 1. Zu dem Gedichte de laude Pisonis. The last three verses of the poem, which assert the author's youth, should be struck out. 2. Ein Fragment aus Ciceros Homerübersetzung. In *Aug. Civ. Dei*, III 2 (I 87). 3. Zu dem Mimographen Marullus. The latest mention of this poet is found in the poem of a S. Paulinus who wrote in Southern Gaul at the beginning of the 5th century.—Pp. 154-5. C. Weyman. Zur *Anthologia Latina epigraphica*. On the acrostic poem, which is also a telestich, of the Spanish bishop Ascaricus (Buech., *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* I, p. 347). The bishop has borrowed freely from the last canto of the *Hamartigenia* of his countryman

Prudentius.—Pp. 155–8. F. Schöll. Zu dem Turiner Cicero-Palimpsest. In Pro Scauro 3, §2, the palimpsest has *se ipsum morte mullarit*, and in the same section *corpore* and *iecit* (not *legit*); in 23, §47 eripuit *e* flamma; in Pro Cluent., §2 *desidero* (not *considero*). The first page of the speech Pro Tullio has been found since the days of Keller and Krüger, and is now joined to the MS A II 2.—Pp. 159–60. A. Zimmermann. Zu *Titus, titus, titio, titulus*. The various meanings of *titulus* may have developed from *titus* = *penis*.

Pp. 191–204. Die Epigramme des Damasus. M. Ihm. De Rossi has established three criteria of what is genuine in the poems ascribed to Damasus: the evidence of Damasus himself, the style, and the character of the writing. Ihm examines these and adds a fourth, the prosody. A new critical edition of this early Christian poet is desirable. Almost all his vocabulary is drawn from Vergil. In his verses he avoids the 'copula' *et*, using instead, regularly *que*, rarely *ac* or *atque*; *et* is used only with the force of *etiam*. His fondness for *que* is so great that he allows himself such quantities as *regnâque, telâque*.

Pp. 205–40. Zu den Assyriaka des Ktesias. P. Krumbholz. On the sources of Diodor. II 1–34. In the 6th suppl. vol. of the Philologus, pp. 503 ff., J. Marquart has attempted to show that the direct and only source of these chapters was the work of Agatharcides, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. K. maintains that they were based upon the early books of the Ἡεροικά of Ktesias.

Pp. 241–9. De Christophori commentario in Hermogenis librum περὶ ὁράσεων. H. Rabe publishes the passages in which Christophorus quotes other authors by name.

Pp. 250–67. Zur Geschichte der älteren griechischen Lyrik. J. Beloch. 1. Theognis von Megara. Eusebius and Suidas place the 'floruit' of Theognis at about 540. But if, as is probable, the prayer to Apollo, vv. 773–82, contains a reference to the expedition of Xerxes, the writer cannot have been born long before 540. The Sicilian origin of the poet is attested by Plato and confirmed by the contents of the elegies. The social and political conditions which they describe did not exist in Nisaeon Megara during the lifetime of Theognis, but might be found in Megara Hyblaea. 2. Alkaios und der Krieg um Sigeion. We cannot assume that Sigeum was twice captured by the Athenians. Alcaeus and Pittacus may be regarded as contemporaries of Peisistratus.

Pp. 268–76. Ueber die Weihinschrift der Nike des Paionios. F. Koepp. The name of the conquered enemy was not omitted through fear.

Pp. 277–85. Antikritische Streifzüge. O. Ribbeck. I. On the plots of the Myrmidones and Epinausimache of Accius, and the Dulorestes of Pacuvius. A reply to the criticism of Carl Robert (Bild und Lied, pp. 129 ff.).

Pp. 286–300. Römische Dichter auf Inschriften. C. Hosius. The Latin poetry of the inscriptions, the first volume of which has recently been published by Prof. Bücheler, contains many borrowings from the Roman writers. The principal source of these is Vergil; next to him, but longo proximo intervallo, comes Ovid; then Lucan. Horace and Martial are seldom used; Lucretius, Tibullus, Propertius, Statius, Silius and Juvenal, only occasionally.

Miscellen.—Pp. 301-4. C. Fr. Müller. Zu den Monatscyklen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Litteratur.—Pp. 304-8. K. Fuhr. Zum codex Palatinus des Lysias.—Pp. 308-10. W. Schmid. Eine Reise des Aelius Aristides in die Milyas. It is unlikely that Aristides made such a journey as Br. Keil has inferred (Herm. XXV 313).—Pp. 310-11. W. Schmid. Das Alter der Vorstellung vom panischen Schrecken. The notion was familiar to Thucydides (IV 125, 1; VII 80, 3).—Pp. 311-14. V. Gardthausen. Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes. The siege lasted from May 3 or June 3, B. C. 37, to Oct. 3.—Pp. 314-15. O. R. Ad Porcii Licini de Terentio versus. V. 4 may have read: dum se ab his amari crepitat, etc.; v. 5 dum se attolli ad caelum sperat, etc.; v. 6 post suis latis rebus, etc.; v. 8 would be improved by the presence of an adjective like *obscurissimo*, or *tristissimo*, or *pauperrimo*, referring to *oppido*.—Pp. 315-20. M. Manitius. Zu lateinischen Dichtern (continued from p. 154). 4. Zum Florilegium des Micon.—P. 320. E. Wölfflin. Der Vorname des Rhetors Seneca. It is probable that the two Senecas bore the same praenomen, Lucius; otherwise Quintilian, X 1, 125, would have added the philosopher's praenomen for the sake of distinction.

Pp. 321-47. *Aviens ora maritima*. F. Marx. The Greek original of the *Ora Maritima* was probably written in iambic senarii, not earlier than the time of Caesar or Augustus. This was itself made up of two peripli of different dates and very different character: a shorter one, τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἑρακλείων σπηλῶν, written about 200-150 B. C., and a longer one, τῶν ἐντὸς, written about 400-350 B. C. They seem to have been combined into one by some Greek writer of the Augustan period.

Pp. 348-56. *Aischylos und der Areopag*. F. Cauer. The warning of Athens in Aesch., *Eumen*. 690-5 refers not to the decree of Ephialtes, which was passed in the archonship of Conon, 462-1 (Arist., *Ἀθην. πολ.* 25, 2), but to some proposed legislation which was being discussed in 458. This was probably the law which the democratic party succeeded in passing in 457-6, by which the *zeugytai* became eligible for the archonship (*Ἀθην. πολ.* 26, 2).

Pp. 357-66. *Ueber das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen*. Ad. Ausfeld. The so-called will of Alexander the Great given by the pseudo-Callisthenes is confused and inconsistent in itself. It seems to have been derived from a forged document composed in B. C. 321 by some of the Greek opponents of Antipater, and afterwards revised by some Rhodian who had at heart the glory of his native land.

Pp. 367-72. *Zur Ueberlieferung des älteren Seneca*. M. Ihm. A note on the codex Riccardianus of Seneca's *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae*, with a selection of readings from the same.

Pp. 373-81. *Topographie und Mythologie*. E. Curtius. The numerous seats of the worship of Apollo on the coasts of Hellas marked the landing-places of Greeks who came by sea, bringing their god with them. We cannot trace the origin of this worship farther than to Delos or Crete.

Pp. 382-93. *Thessalos der Sohn des Peisistratos*. J. M. Stahl. In the 18th chapter of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* the vengeance of Harmodius and Aristogeiton is referred to the behavior of Thessalus, not of Hipparchus. Aristotle's

account of the assassination is inconsistent, and his description of the character of Thessalus differs widely from the statements of Herodotus and Ephorus (Diodorus). The words *τῷ βίῳ θρασὺς καὶ ὑβριστής* must have belonged to the description of Hipparchus. The words *καὶ τοὺς περὶ 'Ανακρέοντα . . . Θετταλὸς δὲ νεώτερος πολὺ* seem to have crept into the text from the marginal comment made by a later reader. [The expression *τοὺς περὶ 'Ανακρέοντα καὶ Σιμωνίδην* with the meaning of *'Ανακρέοντα καὶ Σιμωνίδην* is probably not found earlier than Polybius.] A similar interpolation is found in cap. IV 2 *τὰς δ' ἄλλας . . . παρεχομένων*.

Pp. 394-452. Platons Sophistes in geschichtlicher Beleuchtung. O. Apelt. 1. Die sophistische Logik. 2. Platons Sophistes. 3. Vergleichungsformel und Urtheil. 4. Verschiedenheit, Widerspruch und Widerstreit. 5. Das Nicht-Seiende. 6. Moderner Platonismus.

Pp. 453-74. Blitz- und Regenwunder an der Marcus-Säule. E. Petersen. The Emperor's letter quoted by the early Christian writers is a forgery. It is not likely that he would refer his escape to the prayers of soldiers of a particular faith, and, besides, he seems not to have been with the army at the time of its great distress from thirst. The relief on the column points to two miraculous deliverances of the Roman army during this war: one scene represents the great rain, the other (and earlier) a hostile siege-tower being struck by lightning and bursting into flame. This tower is the 'machinamentum' of Capitolinus, Vita Marci, 24. These two miracles were in later tradition welded into one. The most recent literature on this question is mentioned on p. 453. (See vol. XLIX, pp. 612-19; A. J. P. XVI, p. 249.)

Miscellen.—Pp. 475-8. L. Radermacher. Textual notes to Dion. Halic. De Lys., p. 483 R; Strabo, C 263; C 716; C 483; Dion. Halic. De Demosth., p. 1096 R; and several passages where the text has been corrupted because of the confusion of *καὶ* and *διὰ* in MSS: Diodor. I 4, 2; XV 95, 3; Dion. Halic. De Demosth., p. 960; etc.—Pp. 478-81. O. Brugmann. Zu den Sprüchen des Publilius. Textual conjectures.—Pp. 481-4. A. Dyroff. Zu den Anticatonen des Caesar. The title of Caesar's reply to Cicero's panegyric on Cato was 'Anticato.' The plural 'Anticatones' in Juvenal and Suetonius is due to the fact that Hirtius had previously written a reply to the same panegyric, and this afterwards passed under Caesar's name.—Pp. 484-6. E. Hoffmann. Das Aquilicium. The name of the 'lapis manalis' which was carried in procession at the ceremony of 'aquaelicism' was probably derived from *manes*, not from *manare*.—Pp. 486-8. E. Hoffmann. *Sardi vinales*. This is perhaps a popular corruption of *sarti vinales*.—P. 488. Aufruf betr. den Thesaurus linguae Latinae.

Pp. 489-557. Die peregrinen Gaugemeinden des römischen Reichs. A. Schulten. A study of the cantonal communities of the Roman provinces, the manner of their incorporation into the Roman dominion, their obligations and privileges.

Pp. 558-65. Antikritische Streifzüge. II (continued from p. 285). O. Ribbeck. Criticism of some recent interpretations of several passages in the 'Dirae.'

Pp. 566-75. Thukydides über das alte Athen vor Theseus. J. M. Stahl. Dörpfeld's recent excavations have convinced him that the Lenaion and the Enneakrounos were on the west of the Akropolis, and in support of this hypothesis he has offered a new interpretation of Thuk. II 15 (Athen. Mitth. XX 189-96). Stahl defends the common interpretation. The aim of Thukydides, II 15, 3-4, is not merely to show how small the ancient city was, but chiefly to describe its site with reference to the city of his own day. He states that it occupied the Akropolis and the region lying under it to the south. The sentence which follows τεκμήριον δέ is his proof of this statement, and, therefore, the temples referred to in τὰ ἔξω must have been situated to the south of the Akropolis, not on the west. Dörpfeld maintains that the four temples mentioned by Thukydides were outside the ancient city, but with τὰ ἔξω we must supply τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, not τούτου τοῦ μέρους τῆς πόλεως. Moreover, he gives to πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος an impossible meaning, 'before this part.'

Pp. 576-99. Anecdota medica Graeca. R. Fuchs. Nachtrag zum cod. Paris. suppl. Graec. 636 s. XVII. Der cod. Paris. Graec. 2324 s. XVI. (See vol. XLIX, pp. 532-58.)

Pp. 600-35. Nekyia. E. Rohde. The Nekyia in its oldest form was an integral part of the original Odyssey, and never existed as a separate poem. As for the several parts of the eleventh book, the closing lines, 628-40, undoubtedly belong to the original Nekyia; so also, probably, the Elpenor episode, 51-84. The speech of Tiresias, 100-37, contains an interpolation (116-37). The catalogue of women, 225-327, cannot be the work of the same poet as the interviews with Antikleia and the ἐταῖροι. The 'intermezzo,' 333-84, looks like a later insertion. The account of the ghosts of Minos, Orion, Tantalos, Sisypheos and Herakles, 525-627, has been inserted by a strange hand; vv. 602-4 by a still later hand. This account is not, however, an 'Orphic' interpolation. Incidentally, the writer protests against the 'compilation' hypothesis of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, finding more probability in the older view that the Odyssey, as we possess it, is the expansion of an original 'kernel.'

Miscellen.—Pp. 636-9. W. Kroll. Die chaldäischen Orakel. Zeller regards the *λόγια Χαλδαϊκά* as a production of the later Neo-Platonists. The terminus ante quem is Porphyry, and they may have been composed about A. D. 200.—Pp. 640-1. R. Förster. Das Ikariongebirge. In Myth. gr., ed. Wagner, I, p. 194, 23 ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ is probably to be changed to ἐν καρίῳ.—Pp. 641-3. M. Manitius. Zu lateinischen Dichtern (continued from p. 320). 5. Zu Q. Serenus (Sammonicus). This man seems to have been at once a practising physician and a philanthropist. 6. Zu Maximianus. In reply to A. Riese, Literar. Centralbl. 1890, Sp. 1711, it is maintained that the poems of Maximian date from a time earlier than Charles the Great.—Pp. 643-4. J. Ziehen. Fortuna populi Romani. In Justin 30, 4, 16 and 39, 5, 3 we should read Fortuna Romana, not fortuna Romana.

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HERMES, XXIX (1894).

A. Cosattini, *Epicuri de natura liber XXVIII*, restores this work from the fragments in Apogr. Oxon. VI and comments briefly on the philosophic contents.

F. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Die Anagraphe der Priester des Apollon Erethimios*, publishes a facsimile of Ross. Inscr. Ined. III 277 from a recent squeeze, dates the priests from 109 to 82 B. C., and determines the position of the Rhodian intercalary month, Πάναμος β'.

H. Schrader, *De Odysseae codice Caesenate* (plut. XXVII 2), describes this MS and gives a collation of β, which agrees with N and D. The scholia are worthless.

B. Keil, *Athens Amts- und Kalenderjahre im V. Jahrhundert*. At this time the official year did not coincide with the calendar year. In 411/10 the official year began 10 Skirophorion (Ar. Rep. Ath. 32), and a detailed study of CIA I 183, 188, IV 274, shows that from 415 to 409 it began some time in that month. A new reconstruction and interpretation of CIA I 273 proves that from 426 to 423 the official year began later than the calendar year, and since at the time when Antiph. VI was written the official year began as late as 18 (15) Hekatombaion (v. §§44, 45), this oration must be dated somewhere between 430 and 420. Before 410 the archons are rarely named in decrees, for their term of office, beginning with the calendar year, did not harmonize with the prytanies; but in 410 the two years were made identical, and the archons' names appear regularly. Probably Kleisthenes, in agreement with a business year of 12×30 days, introduced an official year of 360 days, 36 in each prytany.

G. Kaibel, *Aratea I*. Aratus imitates Hesiod, yet Hesiod is decidedly pessimistic, while Aratus holds the Stoic doctrine of a beneficent God. Aratus' work is not an epos, but imitates the easy, descriptive style of Hesiod's Shield. II. Extracts from Eudoxus, whom Aratus follows, are preserved in Vitruv. IX 6, 7; 7, 4. III. The *περὶ σημείων* in the corpus of Theophrastus is not derived from Democritus, nor is it an excerpt, but an original work, written in an Ionizing style through the influence of Hippocrates, and with many additions by the author from Aratus. Here again Aratus probably used Eudoxus, and he Democritus. IV. Kallim. Ep. 27 W. (read *σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίας*) is imitated by Anth. P. IX 25 (read *οἶσι τ'*).

C. Trieber, *Zur Kritik des Eusebios, I*, compares the lists of the Alban kings in fifteen authorities and discusses the origin of their names. Dio's list of ten is the oldest. Eusebius uses Diodorus and Dionysius, but alters names and dates and lets the Canon contradict the Chronicon. This arbitrary treatment appears elsewhere and is characteristic of Eusebius.

F. Spiro publishes the only existing Pausanias scholia from FabVtR.

Miscellen.—U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. The Melanthios cited by Plut. De Sera Vind. 5 was a Rhodian living about 150 B. C.—Th. Nöldeke parallels Hdt. III 19 (cf. Herm. XXVIII 465) in the Persian Marzbännāme and thinks Persia was the originator, not the transmitter, of the story.—M. Koehler. Ion, who is the source of Plut. Perikl. 8, was at Sparta with

Thukydides about 440. In Ar. Rep. Ath. 3 read ἡ ἐκκλησία, or else omit these words.—A. Funck in Digg. 50. 16, 203 upholds Victorius' reading *unctores*.

R. Helm, Ueber die Lebenszeit der Aerzte Nikias, u. s. w. Chrysippus was born 390, and visited Egypt with Eudoxus 370. Metrodorus was born 360, married Pythias 310, taught Erasistratus 300, Nikias 295. Erasistratus was born 325, Nikias and Theocritus 315.

R. Fuchs, De Erasistrato, sets forth the teachings of Erasistratus on medicine, dissecting, nervous diseases, respiration, and various organs as criticized by Galen and others.

A. Schulten, Die lex Hadriana de rudibus agris, restores and explains a new inscription from the African *saltus* (Rev. Arch. XIX 214) which gives important details concerning the administration of the imperial lands, and shows that their organization was begun by Hadrian.

R. Reitzenstein, Pausanias-Scholien. The first part (through I 1. 5, etc.) was taken about 900 from an unfinished Byzantine commentary of the time of Photius based on Hesychius and the Etymologicum Genuinum. The second part was written by Agathias, or one of his friends, between 550 and 600. In the epigram from R read 'Ἐρωτ' ἀρ' and cf. Anth. P. XVI 204.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Pausanias-Scholien. These are merely marginal notes of some reader who used Hesychius, Etym. Mag. and the *Altra* of Kallimachus. Pind. frag. 101, 102 B. is restored on the basis of the note to Paus. IX 23. 6.

B. Keil, Eine Halikarnassische Inschrift (Dittenb., Syll. 6). On fragment *a* appears a monetary system based on a drachma unit and using for numerals the initials of the money values, as in Attica, while on *bcd* is found a stater unit and the numerals are letters of the alphabet, supplemented by the characters D 1—. The monetary system of both is silver, but that of *bcd*, which is the older, is derived from the Persian, that of *a* from the Phoenician. The letter Ω came into use about 700, but the Ionian alphabet did not enter Caria before 550. The alphabetic system of numerals originated in Dorian Caria between 550 and 425, while the characters D 1—, though invented in Caria, are derived from the monetary system of Aegina.

P. Stengel. Πέλανος was a sort of dough or gruel, which was eaten before bread was invented, in Homer only by the poor (cf. *παλινω*). Used like honey and milk in the earliest sacrifices, it was supplanted by wine in all but the conservative chthonian rites. When thick it was thrown in the fire, when thin it served as a libation.

E. Norden, De rhetorico quodam dicendi genere. Apul. De Socr. 16 read *Sunt autem in posteriore numero, praestantiores longe dignitate*, and cf. Dem. Ol. III 15 and many imitators in Greek and Latin.—Zur Nekyia Vergils. Luc. Katapl. 5, 6 confirms Norden's interpretation of Verg. VI 426 ff.

H. Blümner, Zu Apuleius Metamorphosen. Over fifty emendations.

Miscellen.—H. Zimmer defends *stemmata* (meaning asterisks) in Auson. Lud. Sept. Sap. 13, and compares the Hisperica famina, where *stemma* means

star.—B. Keil. *Bab̄s* in Hesychius, s. v. *Κλαζομένιος*, is merely an abbreviation for *βασιλείς*.

B. Keil, *Das System der Kleistheneischen Staatskalenders*. In 503 Kleisthenes introduced a cycle of forty official years, 360 days each, which were made to correspond exactly to forty calendar years, and both cycles were divided into pentads. Before 422 the first, after 422 the second, of the two calendar leap-years that fell in each pentad coincided with one of the seven official leap-years. At the beginning of each pentad the two years began on the same day. In 422 the calendar was behind the sun, so one month was omitted and the 'new octaeteris' (Unger) with a nineteen-year cycle was instituted. This whole system was a compromise between the lunar and solar years, and shows the theorizing tendencies of even a practical politician.—Antiphon VI was written in 425.—There is appended a table of the dates of New-Year's Day in Julian, Attic and official calendars from 503 to 405.

A. Gercke, *Der δεύτερος λόγος des Lucas*. The first part of Acts often contradicts the third gospel and the Pauline teachings, while the second part omits the Arabian journey, adds two visits to Jerusalem and exhibits minor inaccuracies. The evangelist could not have written the first part, nor Paul's companion the second. About 120 the unknown compiler of Acts used for the first part Jewish-Christian sources, for the second the *δύτερος λόγος* of Luke, written 80-90, consisting mainly of the dedication and Paul's travels. The compiler has abridged the dedication and altered and distorted the history.

H. Dessau, *Die Ueberlieferung der Script. hist. Aug.* A new collation of P and B shows that Peter's collation is full of errors. B is a copy of P, which belongs to the ninth century and was in Italy as early as the fourteenth. It is also the original of Vat. 5301, 1899 (group Ψ), Par. 5807 (group Σ) and the *Excerpta Palatina*, but not of the *Cusana*.

C. Robert, *Archaeologische Nachlese*, VIII, shows that a Berlin relief representing Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, perhaps Speusippus and Axiothea, is a modern forgery after portrait-busts; IX restores and interprets the Abercius inscription (the source of the *Vita*), and dates Abercius about 200; X shows by a comparison of the Lycosura statues with Roman sarcophagi and by Hadrian's visit to this city in 124 that Damophon lived in the second century A. D.

U. Wilcken, *Ein Beitrag zur Seleukidengeschichte*, restores and interprets a Cyprian inscription (J. H. S. IX 229, No. 14) containing letters from Antiochus VIII to Ptolemy XI and from the people of Seleukeia near the Orontes to the Paphians; in Justin. XXXIX 3. 3 reads *Grypi* and discusses the history of Seleukeia.

Miscellen.—H. Dessau paraphrases and interprets Tac. Ann. I 1, 1-3. The historian has suppressed many points.—Th. Thalheim upholds the unity of Ar. Rep. Ath. ch. 4.—J. Toepffer reconciles Ar. Rep. Ath. 17, 3 with Thuc. VI 55, 1. Iophon remained a νόθος, but Hegesistratus became an Athenian citizen under the name Thessalos.—Th. Mommsen. The *Mathesis* of Firmicus was written between Dec. 30, 335 and May 22, 337.—G. Knaack. In Suidas' list of Aratus' works read *θηριακά, ἐπικήδεια*. Aratus was a physician.

—S. J. Warren parallels Hdt. VI 126 ff. by Jātaka 32 (Fausb.), and the ring of Polykrates (and Sakuntala) by Jātaka 288.—E. Meyer. The true close of the Odyssey was recognized by Apollonius (cf. Argon. IV 1779, ψ 297) and perhaps by Zenodotus.—G. De Sanctis reads Ἀστανόν in Diod. XII 34. 5.

A. Schulten, Das Territorium Legionis. The provincial legion had an extensive *territorium*, divided into *pedaturae*, which were, however, public property, like the *saltus*. A city could be built near the *castra*, if separated by an open space. The *canabae* were not a settlement of veterans, but a *conventus* of tradesmen, which later developed into a city and united with the *castra*. Witness Numidian Lambaesis and other cities.

W. Kroll and F. Skutsch, In Firmicum. Two hundred emendations to Sittl's very faulty edition. Firmicus wrote the De Errore.

E. Preuner, Datirungen griechischer Inschriften. Inscriptions from Delphi, Kos, Iasos and Attica are discussed and Brit. Mus. N. CCCCIII is dated about 180 B. C., Paton Inscr. Cos 10 and N. CCLIX about 200.

J. Kromayer, Zur Geschichte des II. Triumvirats. The peace of Brundisium was concluded in Sept. 40 and Antony went to Greece later than Aug. 39. Herod took Jerusalem in July 37. Antony first ceded lands to Cleopatra early in 36, and proclaimed her his wife and himself king of Egypt in the same year.

O. Cuntz, Die Grundlagen der Peutingerschen Tafel. This map was drawn about 170 A. D.; its distances are based upon Ptolemy, but it also follows Juba, Eratosthenes and others.

M. Schanz, Sokrates als vermeintlicher Dichter. Sokrates did not write poetry in prison any more than Chaerephon consulted the Delphic oracle. Plato merely wishes to imply in the Phaedo that poetry is divinely inspired, as in the Apology that Sokrates was sent by God.

J. Beloch. Siris was a colony of Achaean Metapontion, founded about 700 and destroyed 530–520. The Athenian claim (Hdt. VIII 62) rested on a myth that an Attic king had founded it in honor of his wife (cf. Rh. Mus. 49. 91 ff.).

W. Soltau, Nachträgliche Einschaltungen bei Livius. These are indicated by Livy himself in 4. 20, 5–11 and 7. 3, 5–8; other additions are 9. 17–19; 5. 33, 4–35, 4; 8. 24; 10. 2, of which the last three are taken from Nepos.

Miscellen.—Th. Mommsen points out the errors in Sittl's collation of the Munich MS (560) of Firmicus.—R. Reitzenstein emends thirteen passages in Seneca De Vita beata.—R. Herzog cites Herond. IV 90, Verg. VI 420 to support Stengel's view of the πέλανος.—C. Weyman quotes from a Byzantine homily a reference to the representation of Ὁμόνοια in art.—G. Knaack explains πυρήν in the Oropos inscription (Herm. XXV 618) as a knob to hold the κάδος.—P. Stengel. The οἶλαι were salted, though the σπλάγχνα were not.—W. Soltau. Liv. 23. 49 (from Antias) and 24. 41 (from Coelius) are double accounts of the same events; L. (not Q.) Tubero was the historian.—F. Blass reads ἀπένθεια in Aesch. Ag. 413 K. and δασοις (exclamatory) in 448 K.

BARKER NEWHALL.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, Vol. XLVIII (1894).

Pp. 1-21. J. Barth continues his interesting studies in comparative Semitic grammar, discussing: 1. The vowels of the augmented or derived perfects. Arabic and Ethiopic show a short *ä* in the second syllable (*qattäla*, etc.), while Hebrew and Aramaic in the active conjugations have the vowel of the imperfect of the same conjugation (*gittäl—iḡgattäl*, etc.). Nöldeke argues for the priority of the latter vocalization; the majority of scholars declare the Arabic-Eth. system the earlier, considering the Hebr.-Aram. vocalization as the result of an analogical formation after the imperfects. Barth sides with this view. The same can be said of the infinitive formations in these two groups. Assyrian *i-kaššad*, *u-kaššad* and *u-šakšad* seem to support Barth, who explains them to be of the same origin with the common Semitic perfect (see, however, Haupt, Journ. Am. Or. Soc. XIII, 1887, 263). As further proof Barth states that in modern Arabic dialects the same process of assimilation can be observed that took place thousands of years ago in the Hebrew and Aramaic dialects. 2. As regards the vocalization of the imperfect prefixes, Barth says that the original forms were *ja* and *ta* for the *u*-imperfects (the *i* of the 3d sg. and pl. to be explained from the initial *j*), and *ji* and *ti* for the *a*-imperfects. Traces of this can still be seen in all Semitic dialects, especially in Hebrew. Later on the prefix of one group in a dialect encroached upon the other, so as to oust it, in a few instances, entirely. Thus originated *ṣ* (= *i*) prefixes in Ethiopic also for *u*-imperfects, *ä*- in Assyrian and Arabic also for *a*-imperfects. 3. Not one of the independent nouns having the 'alif *u'* *qaṭṭi* in Arabic began originally in a double consonant; all, with the exception of *imruww*, were originally biliteral nouns with *i* after the first consonant; thus, Arabic *'ibn* = Semitic *bin*. Barth discusses, in this connection, the origin of the verbal

prefixes *أذ* and *أن*. 4. On nouns derived from perfect and imperfect forms; on the *nisbe* formations.

Pp. 22-38. A. Socin and H. Stumme publish an Arabic Piūṭ composed in the dialect of Morocco by a Jew toward the end of the sixteenth century. The MS is in Hebrew characters. The text is now reproduced in Arabic characters with transliteration and translation. It must be maintained against H. Hirschfeld (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1891, 293 foll.) that there is a certain metre in this poem: there are eight iambs to the strophe of four lines, with an occasional hypercatalectic verse. The poem has 32 verses of four lines each, the fourth ending in every case in *-āhū*, and lines 1-3 of each verse rhyming among themselves. These two characteristics in metre and rhyme are very often found among the Provençal troubadours, whence they probably came to northern Africa by way of Spain.

Pp. 39-42. Martin Schreiner discusses the apologetic work of Salomo b. Adret against a Muhammedan Abū Muhammed Aḥmed b. Ḥazm, the author of a book on comparative religion. Schreiner, pp. 43-4, calls attention to a Kaṣida of al-Gazālī which the latter is reported to have uttered immediately before his death.

Pp. 45-8. Nöldeke speaks a word in favor of the etymology of *ḥafī* from *ḥaf* 'wool,' against Merx's new derivation from Greek *σοφός*, proposed long ago by Scaliger. The *ḥafī* were people who originally dressed in woolen garments, the dress of piety and renunciation.

Pp. 49-64. Geo. Bühler sends additional remarks to his edition and annotation, in former volumes of ZDMG., of the Aṣoka edicts.

Pp. 65-83. Ernst Leumann prints and explains three legends concerning King Bharata, the earliest representative of the fifth generation among the descendants of the first Manu. He belongs to the same circle of Vedic legends as King Marutta. Additional notes are found on pp. 498-503, by P. v. Bratke, containing objections to several statements and inferences of Leumann's.

Pp. 89-94. H. Ethe communicates the earliest document concerning Firusi. It is a report of Imām Aḥmed bin 'Umar bin 'Alī an-Nizāmī al-'arudī of Samarkand found in the Chronicle of Ṭabaristān by Muhammed bin al-Ḥasan bin Isfandijār (613 of Hegira = A. D. 1216).

Pp. 95-100. Ignaz Goldziher discusses a ritual formula of the Muhammedans, introducing the ceremonies connected with the house-offering of the Muhammedans on the 'īd al Ḳurbān, in memory of the sacrifice of Abraham. Additional notes, by David Kaufmann, on pp. 425-8.

Pp. 101-19, 676-84, 710-11. R. Roth. Orthography in the Veda, in four sections, treating: 1, of abbreviations and tachygraphy in the MSS; 2, of clerical errors and false orthography; 3, addition and insertion of letters and syllables for metrical purposes; 4, contractions; and on pp. 710-11 additional remarks.

Pp. 171-97. Bruno Meissner examines the sources of the story of Ḥaikār, the wise vizier of Sennacherib, and his impious nephew Nādān. The Arabic text is found in Ṣāliḥānī's *Contes Arabes* (1-20). The story is identical with the second part of the Aesop-biography of Maximus Planudes. Of late a Syriac version of the Ḥaikār legend has been found which may help to determine the relatively oldest recension. The Arabic version is more closely related to the Syriac than either is to the Greek. Meissner follows Keller (*Unters. z. Gesch. d. gr. Fabel*, 364 foll.) in assigning priority to the Greek recension. The Arabic is an adaptation from the Syriac, whose author was a Christian. Among the sources of the Greek biography are mentioned the Alexander novel of Pseudo-Callisthenes and Oriental (Syriac) legends. The close resemblance between the Syriac and Greek recensions and the story of 'Αχιλᾶραρος in the book of Tobit may point to an old Hebrew legend whose hero was probably Achikār of the Old Testament. Traces of this legend are found in later Hebrew-Jewish and Syriac literature; here, however, partly borrowed in turn from the Greek. The legend wandered as far east as India, where we find it in the *Çukasaptati*, 48th-49th night. The occurrence of the name 'Ακικ(χ)αρος in classic Greek literature as that of a wise man proves the wide spread of the legend, although its knowledge was imperfect. The legend originated before the composition of Tobit (second or first century B. C.), but later than the downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Juda. Additional remarks by M. Lidzbarski on pp. 671-5.

Pp. 198-217. F. W. K. Müller publishes the transliterated Thai-text (Siamese) of the introduction and first six of the thirty-one stories of the Piṭṭācaprakaraṇam, from a MS brought from Siam in 1863 by Professor Bastian. Prefixed are some grammatical and syntactical observations. A translation of these stories closes the article.

Pp. 218-34. Moritz Steinschneider sends the preface of Maimonides to his commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates in the Arabic text, with Hebrew characters, and two Hebrew translations, followed by his own translation into German.

Pp. 235-352, 429-89. P. Jensen communicates a lengthy study on the decipherment of the Hiti- or Cilician inscriptions, commonly called the Hittite.

Pp. 353-7. E. Windisch shows that the riddle of the year quoted by B. Meissner, p. 182, from Diogenes Laertius, I 6, No. 3 εἰς ὃ παῖδες δὲ θυώδεκα, and explained by him as genuine Greek, can be traced in early Sanskrit literature.

Pp. 358-60. Ignaz Goldziher examines the Hebrew element in some Muhammedan formulas of exorcism and witchcraft.

Pp. 381-406. H. Stumme sends transliteration, translation and notes of eleven fairy-tales and fables in the Shilha dialect of Tázérwalt in the Berber country (see A. J. P. XI 250-1). M. Lidzbarski has some additional notes on pp. 666-70.

Pp. 407-17. In their reviews of H. Jacobi's 'Das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, 1893,' A. Barth and G. Grierson maintained that the epos of India was for a time written in Prākṛit, and later, toward the beginning of our era, translated into Sanskrit, thus overthrowing Jacobi's main position. Jacobi now answers, denying their assertions and adducing additional proof for his arguments.

Pp. 486-9. Julius Lippert has a note on Ibn al-Kiṭṭī's explanation of the origin of the 'Απαρόμια, showing that the Arabic version is, in the main, based on the scholion to Plato's Symposion, 208 D.

Pp. 541-79. M. Bloomfield publishes the sixth series of his contributions to the interpretation of the Veda, consisting of: 1. The legend of Mudgala and Mudgalānī; 2. On the meanings of the word *śuṣṭma* 'lightning' and 'fire' in the literal and applied senses of the word ('vigor, force'); 3. On certain aorists in *āi* in the Veda.

Pp. 580-628. Richard Schmidt contributes remarks to his edition of the textus simplicior of the Çukasaptati, published in Abhandlungen für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Pp. 629-48. H. Oldenberg writes on the Vedic calendar and the date of the Veda against H. Jacobi's article in Festgruss an Roth, 68 foll. Oldenberg agrees, on the whole, with Whitney's position (Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1894, pp. lxxxii foll.).

Pp. 653-65. F. H. Weissbach reopens the question as to the tomb of Cyrus and the inscription of Murghāb. He comes to the conclusion—1. that the

so-called 'tomb of the mother of Solomo' near Murghāb is not the tomb of Cyrus; 2. The 'prison of Solomo' not far away from the former monument corresponds exactly to the description of the tomb of Cyrus made by Aristobulus, the officer of Alexander the Great, contained, in part, in Strabo (*Geogr.*, 729 foll.) and Arrian (*Anab.* 6, 29, 4 foll.); 3. The pillars and columns with inscriptions are remnants of palaces built by Cyrus the younger; the relief-pillar was erected probably by his mother Parysatis.

Pp. 685-91. J. Fürst explains some Greek loan-words in Talmud and Midrash. A knowledge of the Roman political and provincial government will aid greatly in the explanation of many Greek loan-words in Talmud and Midrash.

Pp. 692-8. A. von Kégl calls attention to the first collection of modern Persian proverbs by Muhammed Hibelrûdt (1054 of Hegira = 1644 A. D.).

Among the numerous reviews the following are specially noteworthy: M. Hartmann, pp. 123-32, reviews unfavorably S. Freund's *Die Zeitsätze im Arabischen mit Berücksichtigung verwandter Sprachen und modern arabischer Dialecte* (Breslau, 1893). Whoever undertakes so difficult a task should remember "Qui trop embrasse, mal étreint."—Bartholomae, pp. 142-57, raises a number of objections to statements in Jackson's *Avesta Grammar*, part I (Stuttgart, 1892). The same reviewer, pp. 504-31, attempts to do for the Iranian and Zend comparison in Fick's *Vergleichendem Wörterbuch*, I. Teil, 4te Auflage, what Wh. Stokes did for the Celtic in his review in the *London Academy*, vol. XL, 340, col. 2.—W. Bacher, pp. 133-8, is rather non-committal in his notice of M. Grünbaum's *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893).—Nöldeke, pp. 158-63, 367-79, has words of commendation for Pereira's *Vida do Abba Samuel* (Lisboa, 1894) and D. H. Müller's *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien* (Wien, 1894).—Praetorius, pp. 361-7, prints many additions to Schwally's *Idioticon des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Giessen, 1893), which he considers a useful complement to Nöldeke's article in vol. XXII of *ZDMG*.—H. Hirschfeld bestows high praise on M. Hartmann's *Hebräische Verskunst nach dem metek sēfatajim des 'Immanū'el Fransfs*, etc. (Berlin, 1894).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

BRIEF MENTION.

Two American scholars, Dr. D. H. HOLMES and Dr. F. L. VAN CLEEF, have done good service to the study of the Attic Orators, the one by his *Index Lysiacus*, the other by his *Index Antiphonicus*. Dr. Holmes's *Index* is an index pure and simple, and undertakes to give every word in Lysias according to Scheibe's edition, obsolete & subscript and all. The only omissions are *δέ*, *καί* and the forms of the article. Dr. VAN CLEEF does very much more for Antiphon, and groups the facts about syntactical centres. It is true that syntactical grouping is not altogether lacking in Dr. HOLMES's *Index*. So the prepositions appear according to the cases with which they are construed. *ἀν* shows its moods and so do *ἐνα* and *ὅπως*, and under *ὥστε* we learn when the finite verb is used and when the infinitive. But *πρίν* we should have to look up and *ἐως* likewise. Still, a detailed index like Dr. VAN CLEEF's lay outside of Dr. HOLMES's plan, and we must be thankful for what we have received. Those who wish to get to the bottom of things would have to verify the arrangement themselves, at any rate, and the main thing is the accuracy of the index, which seems to be assured by Dr. Holmes's method, which involves the careful copying of the entire text and the careful checking of every example. The two orators here indexed represent the two poles of oratorical style, and the *γένος δόρον* and the *γένος ισχνόν* are stamped on the long columns of words and the long rows of figures. Very instructive is the comparison of the vocabulary of the two authors. The range is very different, determined, it is true, in part by the character of the themes, because we should naturally expect a higher range for an orator like Antiphon, who has to do with tragic subjects alone—such subjects as justify the use of *δράν*—but partly also by stylistic ideals. So the large number of verbal nouns would of itself suffice to mark the *αἰσθηρὸς χαρακτήρ* of the earlier orator. The verb is not suffered to remain as a simple act, the moral responsibility of the doer, the dread irrevocableness of the deed must be emphasized. Hence the frequent periphrasis with *γίγνεσθαι* which Thukydean scholars have not been slow to point out, though some of them have been slow to see the significance of it. Nor is the relative frequency of *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω* without interest. Whatever else is uncertain about *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω*, certain it is that *ἐθέλω* belongs to a higher sphere, as Tycho Mommsen noted long ago (*Beiträge*², 667). *θεοῦ βουλομένου* is as rare as *θεοῦ θέλοντος* is familiar. Only we must not be too quick in drawing an inference as to the character of the will of the easy-going Homeric gods—the *θεοὶ βεῖα ζῶντες*. In Homer *ἐθέλω* preponderates, an old story which has recently been emphasized by Mr. HIGGINS in the *Classical Review* for Nov. 1895. In Pindar *βούλομαι* occurs but once in a fragment. With the incoming of prose *ἐθέλω* retreats. A glance at VON ESSEN's *Index Thucydeus*, a glance at DUNBAR's *Concordance of Aris-*

tophanes will show the state of things. Counting is needless. Antiphon, according to Van Cleef's Index, has 38 *ἐθέλω*'s against 36 *βούλομαι*'s. Lysias has about 50 *ἐθέλω*'s and about 172 *βούλομαι*'s. Mr. Higgins's count (l. c.) gives for Homer 294 *ἐθέλω*'s and 38 *βούλομαι*'s. In the same paper Mr. Higgins calls attention to the parts of the verse in which the two occur, but, of course, that is largely a matter of metre. The only forms of *ἐθέλω* that could stand first in the line are the augmented imperfects, and of 42 augmented imperfects recorded by Gehring, no less than 14, or one-third, take the head of the verse. Assuredly, one would not deny unusual vigor to K 229, 230, 231, and δ 334 = ρ 125 *ἤβελον εὐνηθῆναι* speaks for itself. Of the 28 imperfects which take their place elsewhere, not a small part belong to fixed phrases. *ἤθελε θυμὸς* occurs nine times at the end and *ἤθελε θυμῷ* four times. We really gain nothing by all this. More important is the preference for the negative with *ἐθέλω*, which can hardly have escaped the notice of any attentive reader of Greek. According to Mr. Higgins *οὐ* never occurs with *βούλομαι* in Homer. Rhythm may have something to do with this also, but as the same preference is shown throughout prose, it is fair to base on that an argument for the less aggressive character of *ἐθέλω*. The *οὐκ ἐθέλω* 'I am not willing' becomes stronger than *βούλομαι* by the Greek love of *λιτότης*, and we may neglect Mr. Higgins's metaphysical explanation. So *βούλομαι*, which in Dr. VAN CLEEF'S *Index Antiphonticus* occurs thirty-six times, has the negative but twice; *ἐθέλω*, with thirty-eight occurrences, has the negative eighteen times. But I must not let the suggestiveness of the two indexes carry me farther, and will simply emphasize the importance of these lists for the lightening of much-needed work in the language of the orators.

In the preface to the *Letters of James the Just in eight forms* (Boston, Ginn & Co.), President STRYKER speaks of this epistle as 'a piece of pure and elegant Greek.' He ought to have weighed his words more carefully, especially as his 'eight forms'—that is, the original and seven versions—seem to show that the edition was intended primarily for the comparative study of varying idioms. 'Purity and elegance' are not consistent with unclassic words, unclassic syntax, foreign phrases and a remarkable paucity of particles. The epistle may be 'thrilled with a passionate truthfulness and a commanding zeal that makes the rhetoric alive,' and it is doubtless an excellent textbook for Christian socialism, but the rhetoric is not Greek rhetoric, and the Grecian refuses to be comforted for the absence of *μέν* and for the scarcity of *ἀλλά*. *μὴ οἰέσθω δρι* and *δοκεῖτε δρι* strike one unpleasantly even if defensible at a pinch. *ἀπὸ θεοῦ πειράζεται* has, it is true, Ionic and Thukydidean warrant, but *γλώσσαν αὐτοῦ* and *καρδίαν αὐτοῦ*, and the rest of the *αὐτοῦ*'s, and *προσωποληψία* and *εἰσελήλυθαν* and *προσενχῇ προσήξατο τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι* can hardly be called, according to any standard, 'pure and elegant Greek.' And in fact nothing is gained by such extravagant claims. The divine message needs no such praise, and would only have been open to suspicion if it had been delivered by a mincing rhetorician in the best Attic the period afforded.

Mr. FORBES, who has presented the world with a handsome edition of the *First Book of Thukydides* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press; New York, Macmillan & Co.), seems to have no special qualification for the task. He is not a critic, as he frankly confesses, and he is not a grammarian, if one is to judge by the compilation called a 'Grammar of Thukydides,' which contains nothing that shows individual insight. Whether Mr. FORBES the critic, Mr. FORBES the grammarian, or Mr. FORBES the proof-reader is responsible for the blunder *ἐξεῖσαι* for *ἐξίησαι* (c. 46), which disfigures the text of the fair volume, does not appear. The chief interest of the book will be found to lie on the historical side, but the few notes the editor had to make might readily have been despatched in a brief article; and one rather dreads eight books of Thukydides on this scale and with this meagreness of results. Nothing could be more amateurish than the treatment of the writers of the age of Thukydides, among which writers Herodotos does not figure, although one problem to be resolutely grasped by the editor of Thukydides is the comparison of the two great historians, who during the formative stages were under very much the same set of influences, the influences which, for want of a better name, we call sophistic. The vindication of the trustworthiness of Thukydides, of late so ferociously impugned, is welcome, but here as elsewhere in the volume, one feels that the editor lacks the vocation, lacks the equipment demanded of a man who is to edit Thukydides on this scale.

In a little book which was popular thirty years ago and may, for aught I know, be popular now—*Day-dreams of a Schoolmaster* (p. 188)—Mr. D'ARCY W. THOMPSON amused himself by constructing a charade on *cornix*, a bird which he proceeds to identify with *κόραξ*. The slip is pardonable or not, according to one's standard in such matters. At all events, it is interesting to find a *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York, Macmillan & Co.), dedicated to the elder D'ARCY W. THOMPSON by his son, who bears the same name and who looks at *cornix* and *κόραξ* with ornithological eyes. Of late years we have had several monographs on the birds of antiquity, LORENTZ on the dove, KELLER on the hawk, BÆTHJEN on the cock, but nothing that rivals the completeness and erudition of Mr. Thompson's book, which will be welcome to every classical scholar. It is to be noted that Mr. THOMPSON is more shy of identification than some scholars, but this caution is natural in a Scotchman and a professor of natural history. On the other hand, however, he is much given to astronomic symbolism, and is prone to seek the birds of the air in the constellations of heaven. That is at all events a happier field than the regions of phallic mystery, and it is not surprising that, when he comes to *κορώνη*, he contents himself with a modest reference to the commentators on Pindar, P. 3, 19, where, it will be remembered, Boeckh apologizes for the *sordes* into which he has plunged. And yet the phallic interpretation seems to be inevitable. Comp. the oracle cited on O 4, 8: *ιστοβοήη γέροντι νέην ποτίβαλλε κορώνην* and the famous epigram of Archilochos:

σुकῇ πετραίῃ πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας (= πορνοβοσκός)
εὐθύθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλῃ.

For similar use of bird-names see Bücheler, *Arch.* II 116; A. J. P. II 256.

There is generally more or less prejudice against collections of essays and studies, especially those that have already seen the light. Publishers, in this country at least, are shy of undertaking them; and no matter how carefully the papers may have been elaborated, they are supposed to have served their generation and to have fallen on sleep, a sleep that ought to know no waking. And as to the propriety of rousing them from that sleep, the public seems usually to be of the same mind as the publishers. But there are noteworthy exceptions. No more noble monument to an illustrious scholar, no more welcome addition to a student's apparatus than such a volume as HERMANN SAUPPE's *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), in which the famous *Epistola critica ad Godofredum Hermannum* shines forth, if not in the forefront of the book as a *πρόσωπον τηλανγής*, still as a *στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμός*. Such learning, such sanity, such simplicity can never become obsolete.—Another collection which is welcome in a different way is that which bears the title *Aus Allertum und Gegenwart* (Munich, Beck), by Professor PÖHLMANN, of Erlangen, author of an elaborate work, *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*, the first volume of which appeared in 1893. The contents of these twelve essays, most of which were first published in the last three years, are sufficiently varied, but there is a common thought running through them all, and no student of antique life can read these fascinating studies without having his attention stimulated and his views widened. The study of ancient history is still too much a study of political and military movements: too little a study of the underlying operations of social and economic forces; and under Professor Pöhlmann's guidance, antiquity becomes a very modern and very instant thing. Even that rhetorical Turveydrop Isokrates becomes less forlorn and ceases to suggest the inevitable avoidance of *hiatus*.

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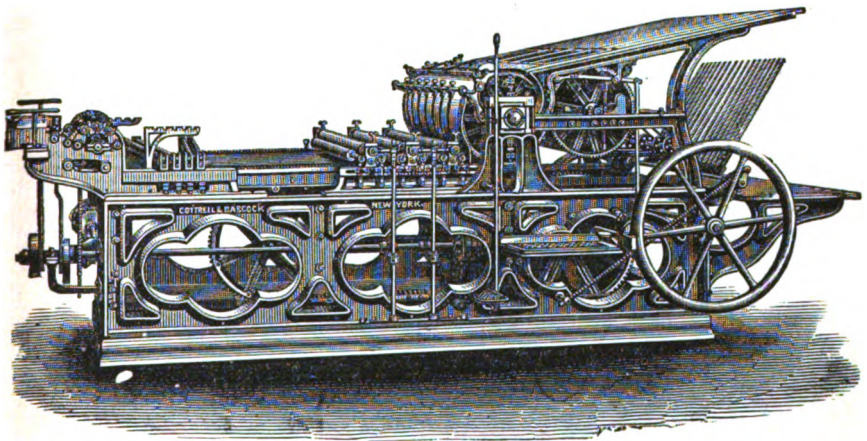
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